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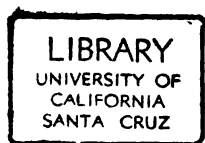
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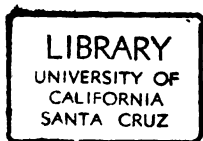
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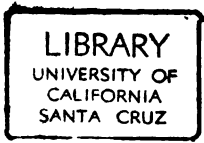
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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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Editorial

PROFESSOR EASTMAN

It is discouraging to go forward to a new year's work with the knowledge that one of our staunchest friends and supporters has dropped out of the ranks. But, like every faithful and heroic soul who goes out fighting, we know that he would say: "Don't stop to think of me or miss me. Just carry on." Whatever we may say or write in laudation of him and his work, the best memorial of him is the carrying on of that work in which he was so intensely interested. The heaviest burden will fall upon his colleagues in his own university and his own state. They will see to it that his well-laid plans are carried through. Those of us in the larger field of his acquaintance will be prompted to more earnest endeavor by the fact that there is one less man to do the work, but more especially by the example of one who planned widely and wisely, who always took his work seriously, and who spared no time or strength in bringing it to a successful issue.

MORE ENCOURAGEMENT

In spite of the fact that the good effects of the Princeton Classical Conference of June, 1917, are still being felt, and in spite of other encouraging signs, the writer has, within the last few weeks, listened to a considerable number of pessimists who seem thoroughly convinced that Greek and Latin *are* dead languages. It is hardly necessary to note that many newspaper and magazine articles to

the same effect have appeared since America went into the war, or even before that time. Science, especially mathematics and chemistry, and modern languages, especially French, are the only subjects worthy of the student's deepest attention, though he may find it advantageous to devote some time to certain phases of history as well as to economics and government. Something like this is to be the standard college curriculum, according to at least one Commencement orator last June, and for this the schools must prepare their candidates. Even Oxford and Cambridge, it is said, will no longer be devoted to the classics. The old humanities are gone, never to return, and Science reigns supreme, with its little court of subservient underlings. Thus spake Efficiency, and our own pessimists believe that she spoke truly.

In view of the events of the last four years, I am ready to admit that one man's essay in the field of prophecy is as good as another's. Without doubt Apollo still inspires his Pythians, and their inspirations are so various, so widely divergent, that some of them must be true. Quite naturally, of course, it appears to me that *my* prophecy will surely be proved by events to be the only accurate one. And let me hasten to say that I hold no copyright on this prophecy. In recent conversations I have found that many others entertain the same belief. The only trouble is that the pessimists seem to constitute the great majority and, as usual, they are more vociferous.

It is perfectly certain that Latin still holds its place in the school's curriculum. Indeed, it was shown at the Pittsburgh conference that its position has been improved recently, especially by the natural defection from German. The pupils in the schools are for the most part under military age, and Latin is still a requirement for entrance to college. Moreover, Latin will surely remain a requirement for the duration of the war. The only question is in regard to what will happen *after* the war, for all agree that the world will never be the same as it was in "the good old days."

In the girls' colleges there has been no falling off in attendance and in the study of the classics, so far as I am aware. There are many forms of war activity open to girls, as our best colleges are splendidly demonstrating; but the girls are not yet subject to

the draft, and therefore they are not eagerly looking for opportunities to train themselves to become officers before the law drafts them as privates.

In the men's colleges Latin, like Greek, is at present down in the very depths of the Slough of Despond. There is no question about this. Registration, particularly in the upper classes, has dropped to a minimum. One does not have to count the Seniors. He can take them all in at a glance. Almost without exception the men fitted for military service have, with the purest of patriotic motives, left college to enter that branch of the service for which they have the highest qualifications. In no other war, I believe, have all the people been so anxious to do their best for the country. Everybody knows that Princeton, which has always been devoted to the classics, has become a war college, pure and simple, *if* the students elect the course favored by the authorities. In another great university known to the writer only eight Sophomores have elected Latin for the current year, whereas in other years more than two hundred have regularly made this election. Likewise in a small college, where about thirty Sophomores ordinarily take Latin, only eight "signed up" for this subject last May. Necessarily the classical instructors in these institutions have been obliged to seek positions in schools or to go into war work or business. In many cases even assistant professors have changed their occupations, while many faculty members of all ranks are in their country's service at Washington or elsewhere. What is true of the colleges and universities known to the writer is without doubt true of all. And this is as it should be *for the duration of the war*.

Just now our one aim of great importance is winning the war and winning it quickly. To that end our best energies must be given, while we still continue to do everything within our power for the classics. In the reorganization of the world after the war I believe that Latin will come back to its own and even to more than it has ever previously enjoyed. "Efficiency" is rapidly passing along the shadowy road to that bourne already long since reached by "Kultur." This idea has been well expressed by one of the characters in *Foe-Farrell*, a recent romance by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch: "As I see it, the more you beat Fritz by becoming

like him the more he has won." More and more are we coming to hate the word, and in the not distant future we will have none of it, in the German sense of the term. At the alumni dinner of the small college referred to above a distinguished educator, not a classical scholar himself, said he was sure that what enabled the men of his college to take such a prominent part in the various forms of service for our country was not what they had gained from their mathematics, chemistry, history, and economics in particular, but from the *whole* curriculum. These subjects must of course remain in the future college curriculum, but he would also include therein Greek and Latin. In this particular college, I should like to add, when the faculty voted to make Latin elective in order that the students might take the special military courses, it was distinctly stated by some of the non-classical professors that this is purely a war-time measure and that after the war the college will return to its Latin requirement of college Latin for the B.A. degree.

It seems to me that those who take a pessimistic view of the status of the classics are looking forward to an inconclusive peace, during which the world will remain an armed camp, in readiness for the next more terrible war. The fact is that we are going to win this war. As Mr. Taft has said, it may take ten years and twenty millions of American men, but win we shall. When this happens, and we all pray that it may happen in much less than ten years, the whole world will turn from its devotion to science and "efficiency" to the ennobling arts of peace, and the humanities will make a new appeal to men's minds, an even stronger one than before. It will be realized by all that real culture and real preparedness for the service of mankind are possible only in this way. "Our possessions and material things will be our destruction unless we use them not only for our own good, but for the good of the world. And these possessions we can never properly use till we learn to prize those other possessions of heart and mind and soul." For the guidance of life in the years to come men must possess a thorough understanding of the history, the civilizations, and the literatures of the peoples of the past, and the only way by which to procure this knowledge lies through the languages. It needs no demonstration to prove that translations will not serve. The

real teacher and the real student of history, English, or any modern language must go "straight to the primary sources." Our business, meanwhile, is to *teach*. We must do our best to make Greek and Latin so interesting that our pupils will work cheerfully and eagerly, and in the end they must fully realize that they have derived more benefit from the classics than from anything else in the curriculum.

"Behind the clouds is the sun still shining."

M. N. W.

A THIRTEEN-VOLUME INDEX

The *Classical Journal* is just entering upon its fourteenth volume; and in its thirteen volumes already published, increasing from year to year in size, a very considerable amount of valuable material has been accumulated. The need of a complete index of this material has been more and more urgently felt and expressed, especially of late years. Accordingly, on the recommendation of the Executive Committee, the Classical Association at its meeting in April at Omaha authorized the publication of an index. This index has been compiled and its publication may be expected at an early date.

LATIN AND THE LIBERAL COLLEGE

BY HENRY W. LITCHFIELD
Amherst College

The following outline is motivated by the writer's belief that the methods and content of Latin instruction in most American liberal colleges are destined soon to undergo certain radical changes if that instruction is to make in future valid claim to the attention of any considerable number of undergraduates. This view¹ is shared, I think, by many other teachers. In the hope that they will give these pages the benefit of their criticism I am offering them as an attempt to formulate in a reasonable way the main difficulties of the educational situation so far as Latin studies are affected, and to suggest practical means of meeting these.

One's perception of the place of Latin in the liberal college is proportioned, naturally, in point of clearness and validity, to the definiteness of his thought about the function and methods of such a college. There are few of us Latin teachers, I believe—generalizing somewhat widely from my own experience—who do not stand badly in need of a vigorous course of self-education² with regard to the aims and relevance of the teaching which, in co-operation with our colleagues in other departments, we are undertaking to give. To realize increasingly that with us the college will come first and the subject afterward; to cultivate with cheerfulness the faculty—if I may put it so—of *seeing over* our specialty, of seeing it, rather, in true perspective with its surroundings; to remind ourselves mercilessly that, as the two are brought together in college,

¹ Developed in its relation to recent educational discussion by R. K. Hack, "The Case for Humility," *Atlantic Monthly*, CXXI (February, 1918), 222-31.

² My own best textbooks have been C. F. Birdseye, *Individual Training in Our Colleges* (1907); M. H. Morgan, "The Teacher of the Classics," in *Addresses and Essays* (1909), pp. 54-61; W. L. Phelps, *Teaching in School and College* (1912); *College and the Future* (edited by Richard Rice, Jr.) (1915); W. H. Crawford, *The American College* (1915).

Latin is made for the student, not the student for Latin—these are attainments not easy for any of us, and they are really possible, I suspect, only as we come to understand and love the work of the college as an instrument of liberal education, and as interest in its work universal takes even rank for us with allegiance to our classics.

The changes to be suggested for undergraduate courses imply some modification of the training of teachers in graduate schools. So far as the outline deals with these it takes account, further, of two allied considerations: (a) that the studies pursued in such a school by the intending teacher should bear a closer relation than in most cases at present to the instruction he is to give to undergraduates; and (b) that some direct training and suggestion as to the practice of teaching is desirable for college as well as for secondary-school work.¹ The relative importance of different departments of graduate instruction is not, of course, a subject for exact definition; I have meant simply to suggest the desirability, in the case of most schools known to me, of a shift of emphasis corresponding to that which is here roughly sketched.²

It would be hard to trace to their sources the general ideas determining the program which follows. The beginnings of them were responsible for the choice of some subjects of my own college course; others date from advisory work with undergraduates at Harvard under the old elective system and the present plan of concentration and distribution; and they have all been greatly modified and defined by study of the "new curriculum"³ which on President Meiklejohn's initiative is now in process of realization at Amherst. The materials for this outline have been talked over from time to time with friends, many of them teachers at Amherst, and any usefulness which it may be found to have will be due largely to their interest and encouragement.

¹ See R. W. Livingstone, *A Defence of Classical Education* (1916), pp. 269 ff.

² See p. 18.

³ Outlined in *Amherst Graduates' Quarterly*, II (1912-13), 56-73 (President Meiklejohn's "Inaugural Address," reprinted by Rice, *op. cit.*), and developed in *Amherst College Bulletin*, III, No. 3, January, 1914 ("Report of the President to the Trustees"); cf. W. H. Hamilton, "The Amherst Program in Economics," *Journal of Political Economy*, XXV (1917), 1-13.

LATIN STUDIES IN THE LIBERAL COLLEGE

- I. The purpose and methods of the training actually to be given by the liberal college
 - A. Are hard to define; for undergraduate students naturally look for training both
 1. Technical, preparing directly for a vocation, and
 2. Non-technical—"liberal"—preparing for service to
 - a) Society, apart from a special vocation, and to
 - b) The individual self ("individual interest").¹
 - B. Vary according as the college seeks to provide, in pursuance of its policy toward
 1. Vocational studies,
 - a) Only the liberal training, leaving technical work to the professional school² (the medical school, e.g., must teach its own advanced chemistry), but making due provision in disciplinary studies for development of the mental powers (for promoting ability to reason, e.g., in the philosophy of history, and for observational training in natural science) or
 - b) Both technical and liberal training simultaneously: from considerations of equipment only the large college or the university can do this advantageously; and in pursuance of its policy toward
 2. Individual interests,³
 - a) Mainly courses looking more directly toward service to society, prescribed for all students, and others for election only incidentally, or

¹ Cf. President Eliot's phrasing of this distinction in *Latin and the A.B. Degree* (Occasional Papers, No. 5, in the publications of the General Education Board, obtainable on application to the Board at 61 Broadway, New York City), p. 10: "... Certain new conceptions have obtained a somewhat wide recognition concerning the function of education, and concerning the subjects through the study of which the educated young man may make himself most serviceable to the community in his after life, and at the same time procure for himself the best satisfaction in the exercise of his own powers."

² Cf. A. Flexner, *The American College* (1908), pp. 56 f.

³ Cf. Flexner, *ibid.*, pp. 136 ff.

- b) Both such prescribed courses and as wide a range of electives appealing to individual tastes as the resources of the college may allow; again, only the large college or the university can follow the individualistic policy with advantage.
- C. May be designated briefly as "humanistic": an attempt to understand, in their bearing upon the individual and his fellows, the activities—political, social, moral, religious, intellectual, aesthetic—shared by all men.

II. Humanistic discipline as thus suggested

- A. Is conveyed most directly and comprehensively through the humanistic sciences—the "newer humanities"¹—which make a natural center for the liberal course above outlined, giving a scientific correlation of the scattered facts presented by history and literature.
- B. Finds its most concrete exemplification in
 - 1. History, important as furnishing the material facts of experience in more or less second-hand form, and in
 - 2. Literature, important as
 - a) Giving the authentic individual expression of life presented at second-hand by history, and
 - b) In its artistic elements serving to refine the taste of the student, and
 - c) Making a strong and varied appeal to individual interests.

III. The importance of Latin studies in the humanistic program varies with the relevance of their content: the chief results sought from them

- A. Are no longer those most prominent with the secondary school,² since
 - 1. Their disciplinary value, in any case considerable, will, however, be incidental merely, the liberal college rejecting purely disciplinary studies;³

¹ Cf. C. H. Haasins in Crawford's *The American College* (1915), pp. 41-57.

² Cf. Livingstone, *op. cit.*, pp. 245-57.

³ Adopting an obvious solution of the difficulty made much of by Dr. Flexner in "Education as Mental Discipline" (*Atlantic Monthly*, CXX [April, 1917], 452 ff.)—a program of studies all of which shall be concerned with a reasonably valuable content, and a reasonable proportion of which shall combine with such content requisite general training in reasoning, observation, and the like.

2. Help derived for the mastery of English vocabulary is proportionately far greater in the earlier years of Latin study; and
 3. Greater proficiency in the use of Latin as a language than that gained in the secondary school will not be an important object with any considerable number of students in the liberal college.
- B. Are those corresponding to the aims of the liberal college as outlined, being attained through study of
1. Roman literature—as a great literature, though not of the first rank—with especial attention to
 - a) Form, to be apprehended mainly in the original, but also in English translations, as a means to
 - (1) Aesthetic appreciation generally, and in particular to
 - (2) Sense for form in English, to be developed largely by translation from Latin into English and in individual cases by the reverse; and
 - b) Content,¹ mainly as relevant to the aspects of Roman civilization suggested below; to be apprehended both in the original and in English translations;² and more particularly of
 2. Roman civilization or “history,” with especial regard to its political, social, economic, educational, ethical, and religious aspects; to be prescribed in some form, either absolutely or, for students majoring in literature or philosophy, as an alternative with Greek civilization, since

¹ Cf. Livingstone, *op. cit.*, pp. 261-64.

² Cf. a drastic but fair statement by President Eliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 15 f.: “It is a fanciful idea that to understand Greek and Roman civilization and to appreciate the historians, philosophers, orators, military heroes, and patriots of Greece and Rome, one must be able to read Greek and Latin. The substance of Greek and Roman thought and experience can be got at in translations. It is only the delicacies and refinements of style and of poetical expression which are, as a rule, lost in translations.” Tempered with “Le style, c’est l’homme,” this view leads naturally to the compromise developed in the following pages.

- a) Roman social conditions present perhaps the most valuable parallel or contrast in history to American;¹ and
- b) The value of a study in broadening the mental outlook of a student varies in inverse proportion with its immediate application to his environment as regards time and place.

IV. It follows that Latin instruction in the liberal college will, in practical adjustment, be organized, in line with the policy of the college toward

A. Vocational training, if that policy

- 1. Postpones such training to the professional school, as a series of non-technical courses in literature and civilization having regard only to service to society; the college

¹ Cf. President James, of Illinois, in *Value of the Classics* (Princeton, 1917), p. 188: "The study of Roman history—which I am sure I should never have been able to understand in any such way as I think I understand it, without the study of Latin stretching over six years—has been to me an abiding source of strength for all my work. The study of a civilization which in a certain sense represents to us a closed cycle is full of helpful suggestions. At least it has been so to me, and I am free to say that the study of Roman institutions, Roman law, Roman history, Roman life, has been distinctly more valuable than a corresponding study of things German, to which I have also given much attention and from which I have derived great benefit." The claims of both Greek and Roman civilization are stressed by President Lowell (*ibid.*, p. 167): "The problems, social, political, and international, that forced themselves upon antiquity are on the whole nearer to the ones that we face, and still more shall face, than are those of any intervening period." For a discussion and comparison of these claims see Livingstone, *op. cit.*, especially chaps. iv and v: "In studying the classics we are acquiring standards independent of our own age and its prejudices, by which to judge ourselves and it. Without some such standards we are like boys who have been brought up entirely at home and have never been disciplined by coming to know dispositions and ideas and habits foreign to a narrow circle. . . . We are driven to Greece and Rome. Not only are they 'two cities set on a hill, which could not be hid; all eyes have seen them, and their light shines like a mighty sea-mark into the abyss of time.' But nowhere else in European history shall we find two civilisations which satisfy the necessary conditions. They, unlike the states which grew up on their ruins, have run their full course from start to finish; they have been judged and heard the final verdict of time; because they are dead their history excites little prejudice and passion, and they resemble us sufficiently to admit of comparison, yet are sufficiently different to allow a contrast. There is no other Western civilisation of which this can be said." President Eliot's remarks on the British Empire in this connection (*op. cit.*, p. 13) fail to take account of the fact that as a more complex and still existent system its availability for college study will be correspondingly less. Cf. Livingstone, above, and below, p. 14, n. 1.

will not pledge itself to provide for specialized training,¹ and, inasmuch as a curriculum so organized provides incidentally ample material for the satisfaction of individual interests, will offer other Latin courses only if resources are abundant.²

2. Seeks to combine such training with liberal studies, as a series of non-technical courses in literature and civilization—as above (IV, A, 1)—supplemented yearly or in alternate years by a course in linguistics and composition; and in line with the policy of the college toward

B. The importance, for knowledge of a civilization, of attention to its authentic individual expression in its literature, as

1. A four years' non-technical course of reading in Latin³ and of general literary and historical study, to be
 - a) Prescribed for all students in the first two years or in the first year only, or
 - b) Prescribed as an alternative with Greek in the first two years or in the first year only, or
 - c) Elective throughout; and
2. A year's course of historical study of Roman civilization, supplemented by reading in translation of Latin authors; not open to Seniors; prescribed⁴ for

¹ Cf. A. Meiklejohn, "The Values of Logic and the College Curriculum," *Religious Education*, VII (April, 1912), 65 ff.

² Cf. L. F. Snow, *The College Curriculum in the United States* (1907), p. 177; and President Lowell's report for 1915-16 (*Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, January 18, 1917), pp. 13-15.

³ The amount of reading in Latin to be prescribed in the liberal-college course will vary, naturally, with local conditions and aims, perhaps beyond the limits suggested below. My own preference would be for a year or two of alternative prescription; aside from the importance of such reading for historical study it would (a) insure the student's introduction to the reading of Latin as literature, and (b) avoid an educational "dead-end" (Eliot, *op. cit.*, p. 16)—the desirability of intensive study of Latin or Greek, or both, as a preparation for the work of the liberal college at least, being taken for granted; cf. James, in *Value of the Classics*, p. 188, and *passim*.

⁴ That is, I would propose for the liberal-college course a greatly increased emphasis on Roman "history" (civilization), at the expense, if necessary, of attention to Roman literature. It is perhaps not needful to add that a like emphasis would not follow for Greek.

- a) All students who have not elected three years of the Latin reading course; or for
- b) All such students who have not elected the corresponding course¹ or courses in Greek—such course or courses to be prescribed for students majoring in literature or in philosophy.

V. The four years' reading course will, as regards content and method, provide

A. In each year for a threefold division of material:

- 1. Reading in Latin of selections only, the mere reading of large quantities of Latin being
 - a) Irrelevant, for the main purpose² of this work is
 - (1) Not language study, since
 - (a) Latin as a disciplinary subject gives way in college to other studies, and
 - (b) In the case of a typical student of the liberal college the aim is not to enable him to read more freely and more extensively—"at sight"—in Latin;³ but

¹ The main interest in the course on Greek civilization to be literature and philosophy; in that on Roman civilization, political, social, and ethical development.

² Not inconsistent with the appreciation of literary form (above, p. 10, B, 1, a, and p. 15, 1 b); but cf. H. W. Johnston, *The Private Life of the Romans* (1903), p. 15: "The literary criticism which was once taught exclusively in connection with classical authors and which claimed so large a part of the time allotted to classical study has found a more appropriate place in the departments of English that were hardly known a generation ago. . . . Modern theories of education, which have narrowed the stream of classical instruction only to deepen its channel and quicken its current, have caused more stress to be laid upon the points of contact between the ancient and the modern world. The teacher of the classics has come to realize that the obligations of the present to the past are not to be so clearly presented and so vividly appreciated in connection with the formal study of art and literature as in the investigation of the great social, political, and religious problems which throughout all the ages have engaged the thought of 'cultivated men.'"

³ "Sight reading" reasonably adapted to the degree of proficiency already attained by the student remains in any case, of course, the most valuable means of testing his ability, and should be employed with decidedly greater enthusiasm than is evidenced by most colleges at present.

- (2) Understanding of the essential character of the work, the author, and contemporary civilization;¹ for which purpose the reading of selections, supplemented by reading in English translations, will be ample, since
- (a) For example, a few hundred lines in Latin of the *Georgics* or of Lucretius are for practical purposes as good as much more in Latin, to give the essential spirit of the poem; and since, in line with this illustration,
 - (b) The greater part of Latin literature may be apprehended about as well in translation, after a specimen of the style to show what this is like: for example, Cicero's and Pliny's letters, Caesar, Cicero's essays, Suetonius; most of Lucretius; hardly so, Livy; less so, Tacitus; not Virgil, Horace generally, Lucretius in parts, Catullus—nor poetry in general.

¹ Cf. E. V. Arnold, *Roman Stoicism* (1911), p. 1: "In the generations preceding our own, classical study has, to a large extent, attended to form rather than to matter, to expression rather than to content. Today it is beginning to take a wider outlook. We are learning to look on literature as an unveiling of the human mind in its various stages of development, and as a key to the true meaning of history. The literature of Greece proper does not cease to attract us by its originality, charm, and variety; but the new interest may yet find its fullest satisfaction in Roman literature; for of all ancient peoples the Romans achieved most, and their achievements have been the most enduring. It was the Roman who joined the ends of the world by his roads and his bridges, poured into crowded towns unfailing supplies of corn and perennial streams of pure water, cleared the countryside of highwaymen, converted enemies into neighbours, created ideals of brotherhood under which the nations were united by common laws and unfettered marriage relations, and so shaped a new religion that if it shattered an empire it yet became the mother of many nations. We are the inheritors of Roman civilization; and if we have far surpassed it in scientific knowledge and material plenty, we are not equally confident that we possess better mental balance, or more complete social harmony. In this direction the problems of Roman life are the problems of Western life today; and the methods by which they were approached in the Roman world deserve more than ever to be studied by us. Such a study, if it is to be in any sense historical, must break through the convention by which ancient Greece and Rome have come to be treated as a world apart; it must seek its starting-point in the distant past, and count that of chief importance which will bear fruit in the ages that follow."

- b) Impracticable, from lack of time; for this reason the reading in Latin will consist only of passages at once
 - (1) Masterpieces of style, and
 - (2) Interesting to the majority of students;¹ the work in other important authors to be managed in various ways.
- 2. Reading in translation of parts of authors not read in Latin
 - a) To give the full content of worth-while authors; in most cases such reading will be obviated by summaries. There will be, for example, no use to read historians or letters so; and
 - b) To supply important passages for which there is not time otherwise.
- 3. Reading of historical discussions. There is need for definite synopses and reviews correlating the authors read. The course must be shaped, not primarily according to difficulty of authors and of literary forms, but with regard to the development of civilization in its larger movements. These are not apprehended by mere scattered, desultory reading: in the philosophy of history, for example, no adequate attainment will result from the reading of Livy or any purely narrative historian. Such assignments will include both
 - a) Literary discussions: books like Froude's *Caesar*, Boissier's *Tacitus*, Mackail's *Latin Literature*, and histories of literature in general; and
 - b) Books on Roman life and thought, dealing with aspects
 - (1) Material: geography; political: foreign relations, social orders; economic: houses, dress, occupations, trade; and
 - (2) Spiritual: education, amusements, religion, ethics, ideals, character of age.

¹ A subjective standard; but some cardinal principles hold: that they will prefer the concrete to the abstract; the individual and specific to generalities; a direct, concise style to a diffuse; biography and narrative to the essay; broadly speaking, the literature of action to that of reflection.

B. In successive years for study of the following authors and topics:

1. In the first and second years a discursive treatment of the chief periods in Roman history, with illustrative readings, which may be tentatively arranged thus:¹
 - a) The Middle Republic:² Plautus (*Rudens*?),³ Terence (*Adelphoe*?), Livy (passages relevant to his main interest, *quae vita, qui mores fuerint*);⁴
 - b) The Ciceronian Age: Cicero (*Verrines*, especially the *Actio Secunda*, treated as a political pamphlet),⁵ Catullus;
 - c) The Augustan Age: Horace (*Odes*, with a few only of the more interesting *Satires*);⁶

¹ The common practice of reading prose in the first semester and poetry in the second is perhaps open to question. Why not catch the student's attention with Horace's *Odes* or Plautus' *Rudens* at the beginning of the year and open the way for some prose reading of equally vital, though perhaps less obvious, interest? Of course it must be seen to that the content of the prose set shall have independent value. Perhaps the best solution will be to combine in rather brief selections prose and verse.

² As representing the highest development of distinctively Roman civilization—in the Latin courses of most colleges at present a much slighted period—cf. G. Ferrero, *Greatness and Decline of Rome*, I, 1-34; H. L. Havell, *Republican Rome*, pp. 123 f.; W. E. Heitland, *The Roman Republic*, I, pp. 175 and 354 f.; W. M. West, *The Ancient World*, p. 357. It seems to me beyond question that the greatest value of Livy to college students will be in this connection; Plautus and Terence, read collaterally with Mommsen, Book III, chap. xiv, may be used as interesting illustrations of Greek influence upon Rome.

³ The setting and the parallel with Shakespeare's *The Tempest* make this perhaps the most effective introduction to Latin drama; if the *cantica* are omitted it may be used with advantage for reading at sight.

⁴ *Praef.* 9; I have made some progress on such a selection, and should be grateful for notice of any editions based on a like principle.

⁵ Cf. Heitland, *op. cit.*, III, 20: "The great written speech, supposed to be delivered on the second hearing of the case . . . was a political pamphlet in the form of a fictitious oration." So Mackail, *Latin Literature*, p. 67: "The cause turned on larger issues than his [Verres'] particular guilt or innocence. The whole of the material prepared against him was swiftly elaborated by Cicero into five great orations, and published as a political document. These orations, the *Second Action against Verres* as they are called, were at once the most powerful attack yet made on the working of the Sullan constitution, and the high-water mark of the earlier period of Cicero's eloquence."

⁶ Cf. above, p. 15, n. 1. College catalogues for the last twenty years show a steady decrease of attention to the *Satires*.

- d) The Early Empire: Tacitus (selections from *Agricola*, *Histories*, *Annals*, on much the same plan as with Livy),¹ Pliny (*Letters*, mostly in translation).
- 2. In the third and fourth years an intensive development in detail by periods, with special provision for important phases of civilization; for example
 - a) Convenient periods: B.C. 700-500, 500-250, 250-100, the Ciceronian, the Augustan, the first century A.D.
 - b) Significant topics, about many of which the majority of students now come out uninformed: Stoic—as well as Epicurean—philosophy at Rome; the agricultural problem—city and country; the coming in of Greek influence; the old Roman religion and its later developments; the significance of emperor-worship; Roman prohibition of free speech, in connection with the drama.²

LATIN STUDIES IN THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

- I. The aim of Latin instruction in the graduate school may be most comprehensively defined as the training of
 - A. Teachers for the liberal college;
 - B. Scholars to produce for college graduates and for the general public;³
 - C. Scholars⁴ to provide tools for A and B;
 - D. Students desiring to pursue the subject for its own sake, as an individual interest or “hobby.”

[Topics II-V offer a tentative definition of the scope and methods of training looking toward these objectives, considered in reverse order.]

¹ Cf. H. Furneaux, *The Annals of Tacitus*, I (1896), 27-37; *Agricola* 1-5, 39-46, and *Hist.* 1-3 might be read as an introduction to relevant passages from the *Annals*.

² In the later years of the course much more may be done, naturally, with drama as a phase of social development; a suggestive parallel is at hand in the influence of the theater and its by-form the “movies” on contemporary American society.

³ Cf. W. W. Fowler, *Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero* (1909), p. viii: “I firmly believe that the one great hope for classical learning and education lies in the interest which the unlearned public may be brought to feel in ancient life and thought.”

⁴ Also teachers for the graduate school; but graduate study seldom leads directly to such teaching.

- II. Courses and equipment not important for A, B, and C—providing, that is, for highly specialized or occasional interests—might be maintained by one university in the Atlantic and one in the Pacific states; this would be hardly a proper use of a general university or college endowment.
- III. In the typical comprehensive graduate school—that which undertakes C as well as A and B—there will be a marked increase, in comparison with present conditions in most schools, of courses and equipment dealing with Roman civilization, notably political and social history, economics, education, and religious and ethical development. On the other hand, many subjects not given prominence in graduate work must yield place correspondingly, for
 - A. The disproportionate emphasis accorded them during the last half-century in conformity with the practice of German universities has resulted in an excessive development of these sciences as contrasted with the humanistic studies mentioned above; and
 - B. In any case, apart from a need of making up lost ground, they deserve comparatively less stress than is now generally given them, in the training of the scholar whose main production is to be technical, as well as of the popularizing scholar and the college teacher.¹ Hence there should be a marked decrease, even in the graduate school which contemplates the needs of the intending technical scholar, of attention to such departments as formal grammar, comparative philology, metrics, text criticism, paleography, epigraphy, numismatics, and the technical aspects of sculpture and architecture.² These should be presented very cursorily to the majority of students in the typical

¹ In editing a Latin author, for example, I am sure that better work would result from more attention to Roman education, social adjustments, and ethical ideals, and less to historical Latin syntax, metrics, text criticism, or epigraphy—important as these are—than the majority of students will be led to give, at present, in the American graduate school of classics.

² Lest an animus against the offending subjects be suspected, it may not be out of place to add that the writer's chief interests in the field of graduate studies have been paleography and metrics.

graduate school; they might be kept up at their present highest development by, for example, perhaps two universities in the Atlantic states, with the intention that

1. Students wishing to specialize for production in one or more of them should take a year's course at such a university on the old plan of study in Germany; and that
2. Students wishing to develop these subjects principally should normally choose such a university as their headquarters.¹

IV. The training of the popularizing scholar, which will be mainly on the same lines² as that of the college teacher, will provide for a threefold division of material:

- A. Literature: not in "reading courses," or at least with much fewer meetings, for general direction of thought about the works read—resulting in almost the same treatment as in a general course on the history of literature; no critical attention to be given to the transmission of the text, little to language and meter. A proper arrangement might be: a course in drama, in history, in epic, and the like. The work of such a course, and in line with it the student's plan for independent study, would include
 1. Wider reading in Latin works and authors: there will, however, be no object in reading, for example, all Martial or all Livy in Latin; Cicero's philosophical works, again, may be glanced over in summary or in translation, with reading of some passages in Latin; and
 2. Further and fuller acquaintance with books like Sellar on Virgil, Bury's *Ancient Greek Historians*, Boissier's

¹ The difficulty of persuading the universities to agree upon such a division of labor might be less than one would at first anticipate; it cannot be too keenly realized, I would urge, that a university may look to leadership in humanistic studies directly in proportion as it turns to these, at the expense, naturally, of attention to the specializing sciences mentioned.

² It may include consideration of popularizing technique—that is, of effective methods of presentation, to be illustrated in books like Fowler's *Social Life*, Boissier's *Cicero and His Friends*, and Dill's *Roman Society*, as the intending technical scholar is now offered guidance in the preparation of a thesis.

Cicero and His Friends, Cruttwell's and the larger histories of Roman literature.

- B. Civilization: presented fully in courses, with direction of reading in important discussions like Dill's and Fowler's. The central topic may be political history treated from the social, economic, and constitutional points of view; with this will be correlated, either as independent courses taken later or as related studies under each period: commerce, finance, trades; education; amusements; religion and morals; ideals, interpretation of character of period.
 - C. Philology, in the narrower sense: a sketch of the history of classical studies; a general survey only—occupying perhaps one-fourth of the student's time given to courses during two years—of methods in, and means of approach to, epigraphy, paleography, text criticism, meter and dialects, and archaeology; a careful and methodical introduction to periodical literature, both scientific and popular.
- V. The training outlined under IV will be supplemented in the case of
- A. Students intending to teach in college, by
 - 1. A full review of grammar and meter;
 - 2. Practice in writing Latin; and
 - 3. Extended discussion of methods in teaching,¹ with practice if possible.
 - B. Students intending to teach in secondary schools, by
 - 1. A thorough review of grammar;
 - 2. Practice in writing Latin; and
 - 3. Careful consideration of methods in teaching.

[Such students, having as a rule less time to spend in the school, will naturally give less attention to philology in the narrower sense, and in general will receive a less thorough preparation under IV.]

¹ It would be hard to overestimate the value, for example, of an adaptation to college teaching of the principles underlying such treatments as W. E. Chancellor, *Class Teaching and Management* (1910), pp. 51 f.; or C. P. Colgrove, *The Teacher and the School* (1910), Part III, pp. 206-345. See Livingstone, *op. cit.*, pp. 269 ff.

- VI. Upon the satisfactory completion of reasonable requirements in the foregoing studies the graduate student may receive, as indicating his qualification
- A. To teach in a liberal college, a degree corresponding to that of M.A., but representing a somewhat higher attainment than under the present system; as a rule, only candidates who have this degree should be accepted for such positions.¹
 - B. To give graduate instruction, a degree corresponding to that of Ph.D., but normally attained rather later than at present—that is, some time after the beginning of teaching in college—when the candidate has made an approved contribution to scholarship in scientific or in popular form.
- VII. It is evident that as the aims and methods here outlined may come to prevail in Latin instruction the equipment of teachers trained under the former system of graduate study will be found correspondingly defective. Philology in the narrower sense, that is, proves to have been mainly a disciplinary study. But it remains true that under present conditions the teachers of Latin, as a class, will be the most available members of the community to serve as interpreters of Roman culture. Such deficiencies of training as exist must be recognized as unavoidable, and these made up by study and work with classes.
- VIII. The changes here forecasted for higher Latin studies have been treated thus far as forced upon the graduate school mainly by the requirement that it prepare teachers more adequately for work in the modified program of the liberal college, and upon the Latin departments of the colleges by the community's insistence that their teaching shall have greater relevance to the increasingly dominant purpose of the liberal college—service to society. It will be of interest to teachers of Latin to consider these changes from the standpoint of their personal preference, and to ask whether "the cause of the Classics" and the best things which it implies

¹ Cf. Flexner, *The American College* (1908), pp. 183 ff. and 216 ff.

are furthered by them. An answer to the question may best be reached through a partial review of the more recent history of Latin studies in the American college:¹

A. In the college of 1850

1. A relatively small proportion of the community was represented, for
 - a) The material wealth of the country was not great enough to encourage a wide diffusion of liberal education,
 - b) Preparation for most vocations took the form of apprenticeship, and
 - c) Tradition prescribed what corresponded to the liberal education as a preliminary to certain "learned professions"; while
2. Latin studies occupied a relatively prominent position, for
 - a) They profited by the tradition, descending from the universal currency of Latin in mediaeval times, that high proficiency in it was an essential for all educated men,
 - b) Most of the students were looking forward to a profession for success in which a considerable attainment in Latin was held essential, and
 - c) Literature studied from the stylistic point of view held a leading place in the curriculum.² In the community of 1850, therefore, while Latin scholarship was held generally in higher regard than now, it was not much more widely diffused: it was a greater factor in the colleges, but the colleges were a smaller factor in the community. Its claims to attention, moreover, were faulty, in that³

¹ C. F. Thwing, *History of Higher Education in America* (1906), pp. 300 ff., 430 ff.; C. F. Birdseye, *Individual Training in Our Colleges* (1907); L. F. Snow, *The College Curriculum in the United States* (1907); W. T. Foster, *Administration of the College Curriculum* (1911); I. Sharpless, *The American College* (1915), pp. 107-34.

² Cf. above, p. 13, n. 2; Flexner, *The American College* (1908), pp. 35 ff.

³ Cf. above, under A, 2.

- (1) As a language it no longer deserved the place which its earlier currency had then assured it;
- (2) The attainment in it desirable for the "learned professions" in question was coming to be considerably less than public opinion held generally; while
- (3) As a literature it was surpassed by Greek and by several modern literatures.

B. In the college of 1880, as compared with that of 1850,

- 1. An increasingly greater proportion of the community was represented, for¹
 - a) Wealth had increased,²
 - b) A college education came to be esteemed as a preliminary to more occupations, and
 - c) There was a marked decrease in the prestige of the "learned professions" and in the feeling that liberal education was their prerogative; but
- 2. Latin studies had lost little of their ascendancy, for they
 - a) Were maintained by the force of inertia,
 - b) Were stimulated by application to them of the scientific method, largely on German initiative, and
 - c) Had to meet but a slight increase of competition.³

C. In the last years of the nineteenth century Latin studies had lost ground—a loss evidenced in withdrawals of prescription—for

- 1. Their positive claims were disallowed,⁴ because
 - a) The force of the mediaeval tradition had largely ceased to be felt,

¹ Cf. p. 22, under A, 1.

² Cf. Thwing, *op. cit.*, p. 432.

³ English and modern languages, the chief rivals, basing their claims to attention largely on the same literary and stylistic grounds as Latin; cf. above, p. 13, n. 2, and below, C, 2, a and D, 2.

⁴ Cf. p. 22, under A, 2.

- b) Their vocational usefulness had diminished, and
 - c) The increased registration of the colleges represented a class of students who found Latin irrelevant to their interests; while
2. Their position was contested by a great influx of other subjects,¹
 - a) Notably by the "natural sciences," with which they had almost no common ground of content, and
 - b) Less markedly by the "humanistic sciences," developed later by the retarded application of scientific methods to the difficult field of human experience.
- D. In the last decade, while the status of Latin scholarship itself has not greatly changed, yet certain educational tendencies which have direct bearing on that status have become dominant in the program of liberal studies represented by the A.B. degree:
1. The old system of partial prescription regained much of the ground which it had lost, through the institution of majors and required alternatives; this change is favorable² to Latin, the advantages of which are less evident to most students than are those of other subjects less remote as regards time and place.
 2. The humanistic as contrasted with the natural sciences have attained almost universally a marked ascendancy in the curriculum. Not only are Latin studies, in so far as they promote an acquaintance with Roman civilization, directly relevant to these interests, but whereas among European literatures the Latin holds a place in the second rank only, Roman civilization is not surpassed by any in availability to the "new

¹ With the growth of the elective system, increasingly likely to be substituted for Latin.

² In so far as it tends toward systematic planning of his work on the student's part, or still more toward the instituting or retaining by the colleges of a definite requirement in classics.

humanities" as a field of research¹ and illustration. Furthermore, the primacy of these, and the interest in Latin studies thereby assured, is likely to be permanent, for

- a) Their method is scientific; that is, they are in conformity with the principles generally accepted in modern attempts to understand and account for the world of phenomena; and
- b) The claim of their content—human experience—to priority over that of the other sciences² or of any other subject in the program of the liberal college has a sound logical basis in the axiom of the paramount importance for man of an understanding of human nature, illustrated in the case of philosophy by the continued predominance there of the motive proposed by Socrates.

¹ Cf. Livingstone, cited above, p. 11, n. 1, for some advantages compensating the drawbacks of remoteness and lack of statistical material.

² For a natural scientist's estimate cf. R. D. Salisbury, "Geology in Education," *Science*, XLVII (April 5, 1918), 325 ff.

CICERO ON PEACE AND WAR

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It is always interesting to turn back to former periods of history, to examine the ideas and ideals of men of former days, and to compare them with those held in one's own day. At the present time, in the world-war with all the problems which it raises, the attention of one who is interested in Roman affairs is turned almost inevitably to Roman views and Roman practices in relation to war. This paper does not, however, aim to follow those topics through a thousand years of development and change, but to present the views of one man at one period—Cicero in the first century before Christ. Cicero has been selected for a number of reasons. He lived in a time of wars, foreign and civil, and of tremendous political and social changes, in which he played some part. He gave expression to his opinions on conditions, in different kinds of literary works which have been largely preserved. His views can be studied in his political and philosophical works, in speeches in the senate, in the law courts and before the people, and in his letters to relatives and personal and political acquaintances.

It is often stated that among the Greeks and Romans war, or at any rate a latent hostility, was recognized as the normal condition in the relation of one state to another. The statement is probably not true of the Romans¹ and certainly not true of Cicero. It is impossible to understand his expressed views on peace and war except on the basis of his belief in peace as the normal international relationship. His condemnation of war is strong enough. He says, "Rashly to engage in line of battle and hand to hand to fight with an enemy is somehow monstrous, and like the actions of wild beasts."² And a preference for peace is evident from his statement, "In my opinion we should always plan for peace, peace which will

¹ Tenny Frank, *Roman Imperialism*, p. 8.

² *De officiis* i. 23. 81.

involve no treachery."¹ This is not to say that Cicero was a pacifist. Far from it. War was horrible and yet should be entered for cause.

What are the proper reasons for war, in Cicero's view? In his own words, "Now since there are two ways of contesting for a decision, one by discussion, the other by force, and since the former is proper for man, the latter for beasts, one should have recourse to the latter only if it is impossible to use the former. Wars then are indeed to be waged for this reason, that without wrong life may be lived in peace [*ut sine iniuria in pace vivatur*]."² In the *De republica* he states, "Those wars are unjust which are undertaken without cause. Now without a purpose to punish wrong [*ulciscendi*] or to beat back an attacking enemy, no just war can be waged."³

But how is the state to be certain that wrong has been done that would justify war? Cicero would leave that question to the decision of a very old and sacred college of priests, the *fetiales*.⁴ To these priests also formal demands for reparation and the formal declaration of war were left. "No war," says Cicero, "is just except one which is waged after demands for reparation have been made, or the war has been officially declared and proclaimed."⁵ By this Cicero does not mean that the making of formal demands and declarations justifies war. He had in mind no doubt the old fetial formula, "If I unjustly or impiously demand that those men and those possessions be surrendered to me, then do thou [*Juppiter*] never permit me to return to my native land."⁶ No mere technical justification would be proper. "But you may say that Sulla, Marius, Cinna were in the right; no, I would say, only formally in the right."⁷

Not all wars, in Cicero's view, are the same in their character and, curiously, are not to be waged with the same degree of bitterness. In *De officiis* he states:

When the struggle is for rule and fame is sought in war, still there should be the selfsame reasons which I mentioned a little while ago as the proper

¹ *De officiis* i. 11. 35.

³ iii. 23. 35.

² *Ibid.* i. 11. 34-35.

⁴ *De legibus* ii. 9 and 14. 34.

⁵ *De officiis* i. 11. 36; cf. *De republica* ii. 17.

⁶ Livy i. 32. 7.

⁷ *Ad Atticum* ix. 10. 3.

reasons for wars. But those wars which have the glory of rule as their object are to be waged with less bitterness. . . . Wars were waged with the Celtiberi . . . for actual existence, not for rule; with the Latins, Sabines, Samnites, Carthaginians, and with Pyrrhus the struggle was for rule.¹

The rather remarkable grouping of Italians, Carthaginians, and Greeks in one class of opponents as distinct from the Celtiberi and Cimbri illustrates the Roman dread of the unknown hordes of the North. Again Cicero would distinguish civil wars from foreign wars. A foreign war is always in comparison a *bellum justum*.²

When war has been entered "it should be fought out and death is preferable to slavery and disgrace."³ It should be waged properly and justly. "Let our commands . . . wage just wars justly, let them spare the allies, let them hold themselves and their men in check."⁴ Agreements made in the course of the war with the enemy are to be strictly observed. In Cicero's words, "And even if they [Roman commanders], under the press of circumstances, have made some individual promise to the enemy, good faith should be kept in that very particular, as for example Regulus in the first Punic War."⁵ Observance merely of the letter of the law will not do. "Even in affairs of the state," Cicero says, "many wrongs are done, as for example the case of the commander who, when a truce for thirty days had been arranged with the enemy, devastated their lands by *night*, on the ground that the truce had been arranged for the *days*, not for the *nights*."⁶

But when victory is gained those are to be preserved who have not been cruel or horrible in the war, as for example our ancestors even received into our state the people of Tusculum . . . but they entirely destroyed Carthage and Numantia. . . . And not only should you plan for the safety of those whom you have overcome by force; but those also who throw down their arms and trust themselves to the protection of our commanders are to be received in surrender [that is, not butchered by the soldiers], even though the battering-ram is shaking their walls at the time. In this respect justice was so practiced by our people that they became the protectors [*patroni*] of those states and nations whom they had entirely defeated in war and whose surrender they had accepted.⁷

¹ *Ad Atticum* i. 12. 38.

² *Pro rege Deiotaro* 5. 13.

³ *De officiis* i. 23. 81; cf. i. 11. 35.

⁴ *De legibus* iii. 3. 9; cf. *De officiis* i. 11. 34.

⁵ *Ibid.* i. 13. 39.

⁶ *Ibid.* i. 10. 33; cf. iii. 32. 113.

⁷ *Ibid.* i. 11. 35.

Again he states, "In respect to destroying and plundering cities you should very seriously consider that you do not commit any rash or cruel act. It is the duty of a great man in times of trouble to punish the guilty, but to save the majority, and under all circumstances to hold to the upright and honorable."¹ Again, "Under the pretense of utility, very often wrong is done in the state, as in the destruction of Corinth."² Cicero evidently does not approve of the indiscriminate cruelty so often practiced in destroying, plundering, murdering, when a war was won or a city captured. He is quite a man of his own time, however, in his assumption that the admission of the defeated to Roman citizenship, or to Roman protection, was genuine kindness and justice. He also apparently accepted the principle that the land of the conquered belonged to the conquerors.³ In his speech for Fonteius, in fact, he takes this principle quite as a matter of course.⁴ While this does not prove that he fully believed in the principle—for he himself warns against taking as his own personal views statements found in his law-court speeches⁵—it does decidedly prove that he was certain that the ordinary Roman would not object to it. Cicero's real opinion, I think, is found in the *De republica*:

Policy bids you increase your wealth . . . advance your borders (for whence comes that praise carved on the monuments of the greatest commanders, "He extended the borders of the empire," unless something was added from another's possessions?), to rule over as many as possible . . . but justice teaches you to spare all, to plan for mankind, to grant every man his own, not to touch sacred or public or another man's possessions.⁶

Treaties are inviolable. This principle is involved in the quotations which have been given about keeping agreements made with the enemy in war time, and is suggested by a number of statements in Cicero's philosophical works.⁷ When he wishes to make the worst possible remark about the Carthaginians he calls them "breakers of treaties" (*foedifragi*).⁸ And in his speech for Balbus, in which he defends the legality of that gentleman's change of citizenship from the city of Cadiz to Rome, his numerous statements

¹ *Ibid.* i. 24. 82; cf. ii. 8. 26.

² *Pro Cluentio* 139.

³ *Ibid.* iii. 11. 46; cf. i. 11. 35.

⁴ iii. 15. 24.

⁵ *Ibid.* i. 7. 20-21.

⁷ *De officiis* iii. 31. 111; *De republica* iii. 29. 41.

⁶ *Pro Fonteio* 5. 12; 6. 13.

⁸ *De officiis* i. 12. 38; cf. *Pro Scauro* 42.

about the treaty plainly indicate that to Cicero and his hearers the inviolability of treaties was a matter of course.¹

Cicero's justification of the growth of the Roman Empire and its continued existence are of peculiar interest. As might be expected, he raises the question in the *De republica*: "This people of ours . . . in whose empire now the world is held, in justice or by policy has it grown from the least to be the greatest?" It is then most tantalizing to read at this very point in the text, *Desiderantur minimum quattuor paginae*.² But the tone of the passage indicates that he believed that Rome's growth had been "in justice." It is true that he has one character in this same work state in a striking phrase *legitime iniurias faciendo*, "the Roman people has gained control of all lands,"³ and that he admits and disapproves of acts of injustice by Rome, for example, the destruction of Corinth. For all that he would apparently justify Rome's expansion, "But our people in defending the allies has now gained control of all lands."⁴ The text of Cicero's justification of the existence of the empire is also lost, but fortunately a résumé of it is given by St. Augustine:⁵

It is unjust that men should be under the domination of men, and yet unless the imperial state indulges in this injustice . . . it cannot rule the provinces. On the part of justice the reply is made that it is just because for such men subjection is advantageous, and the rule is carried on for their good, when it is properly carried on, that is, when license to do wrong is taken from the bad; and (under this rule) the subdued will be in better condition, for they were in a bad condition when unsubdued. And finally the question is raised. (Do we not see that by nature herself mastery has been granted to all the best men to the very great advantage of the weak?),⁶ "Why does God rule man, the mind rule the body, and reason rule lust and all other vicious qualities of the mind?"

Evidently Rome's rule is considered better for the subject peoples than independence. The theory has a Germanic tone. To Cicero, however, it was a proper theory whose justification was

¹ See especially 5. 13.

² iii. 15. 24.

³ iii. 12. 20 from Lactantius *Inst. div.* vi. 9. 2-4. It is not absolutely certain that Lactantius is quoting Cicero here; but cf. *De republica* iii. 14. 24.

⁴ *Ibid.* iii. 23. 35.

⁵ *De civitate Dei* xix. 21.

⁶ St. Augustine *Contra Julianum Pelag.* iv. 12. 61.

to be found in actual conditions of his time. His thought is perhaps best made clear in a letter which he wrote to his younger brother Quintus advising him as to his conduct as governor of the province of Asia:

Now in the first place for the Greeks that condition, which is most bitter, that they are subject to tax ought not to seem so bitter, for the reason that without the rule of the Roman people they were so subject by their own institutions. . . . At the same time let Asia think of this point, that there is no calamity of foreign war or internal strife from which she would be free, if she were not held in this empire. But since this empire cannot possibly be maintained without taxes, with a certain share of her produce she should be content to purchase for herself everlasting peace and tranquillity.¹

Cicero was not, however, laboring under the delusion that all was well in the empire. He knew that all was not well. He puts these words into the mouth of Laelius (about 130 B.C.), "If the custom [of disregarding laws and treaties] should spread, and should draw our empire from law to force, so that those who as yet voluntarily obey us are bound by terror . . . I fear for our posterity and for the immortality of the state."² In the *De officiis* he says, "But as long as the Roman Empire was held together by benefits conferred, and not by injuries . . . it could have been called a protectorate of the world with greater truth than an empire. . . . Into this present disaster [the rule of Caesar] we have fallen, since we prefer to be feared rather than to be loved."³

These are Cicero's theories. The books in which he has stated them, written after he was fifty years old, based in part on his own experience and thinking and in part on Greek philosophy, present the final mature political ideas of a man who had himself been a politician and statesman for half a lifetime.

It is interesting, after an examination of Cicero's theories, to review in various periods of his public life his statements and to some extent his acts.

Cicero's first public speech relates to a war. It is his support of Manilius' proposal that Pompey be given entire control in the East against Mithridates. Cicero was appealing directly to an

¹ *Ad Quintum fratrem* i. i. 11, 33-34.

² *De republica* iii. 29. 41.

³ ii. 8. 26 and 29.

assembly of the people which was to vote yes or no, and consequently the speech is one of practical politics. Cicero's attitude is that the war is essentially one of defense, and such it really was, although many Roman capitalists may have hoped that Pompey would make it something more. Cicero appealed for support of the war on the grounds that Rome's honor and prestige were involved, that her allies were in danger, and that the state's revenues and the investments of Roman citizens in Asia were at stake. In advocating Pompey as general in charge he asserted that the essential qualifications of a commander are military knowledge and experience, ability and courage, prestige and good luck. A commander should also exercise self-restraint (chiefly with reference to Rome's allies or subjects), should act in good faith, should listen to complaints, should act humanely. It goes without saying that Pompey was the paragon who exhibited all these qualities in their perfection.

Some ten years later we find Cicero interested in the problem of restoring Ptolemy to the throne of Egypt from which he had been justly ousted by his subjects.¹ There is a great deal on this topic in Cicero's correspondence with Lentulus, governor of Cilicia, and there is one letter to Cicero's brother Quintus, but not one word on the merits of the king's case or on the rights of the Egyptians. This may be due partly to the fact that Lentulus wanted the chance to restore the king. It would seem to indicate a certain callousness with regard to foreigners' rights in comparison with the wishes of a personal friend.²

In the same year as the Egyptian affair, 56 B.C., Cicero spoke in the senate in favor of extending the term of Caesar's command in Gaul. Now it is true enough that Cicero was not in favor of the high-handed methods of the Caesar-Pompey-Crassus coalition in running the Roman government;³ but it is not therefore necessary to accuse Cicero of insincerity in favoring Caesar in Gaul. Two provinces were to be allotted for the coming year, and Cicero may well have wished in the state's interest,⁴ to say nothing of private reasons,

¹ W. E. Heitland, *A Short History of the Roman Republic*, pp. 397 and 414.

² *Ad familiares* i. 1-8; *Ad Quintum fratrem* ii. 2.

³ *Ad familiares* i. 7, 10, and i. 9.

⁴ Cf. *Pro Balbo* 27. 61.

that Macedonia and Syria be relieved of their grasping governors, Piso and Gabinius. Caesar, Cicero argues, should be allowed to remain so as to settle affairs in Gaul and bring it thoroughly under Roman sway. Caesar had been waging an offensive war, Cicero had been compelled to admit, and yet in a broader sense it was a war of defense. "No man," he says, "has wisely thought on the interests of our state, from the very beginning of this empire, who has not considered Gaul particularly an object of danger to this empire."¹ The same idea is illustrated in another statement: "I believe, senators, that at this time in assigning the provinces we ought to plan for an unbroken peace. Now who does not know that all our other possessions are free from all danger and even from the suspicion of war?" Even in Cicero's boast of Caesar's achievements that idea is in his mind: "Nature with some divine power had in former times protected Italy by the Alps; for if that way of approach had been open to the barbarous and numberless Gauls, this city would never have provided a home and abode for the greatest empire. But now let them sink! For there is nothing beyond those lofty heights, even as far as the ocean, which Italy need fear."² The necessity for the protection of Italy then is justification for the complete subjugation of Gaul to Rome. "One or two summers now can bind Gaul in everlasting chains either by fear, or by hope, or punishment, or rewards, or arms, or laws."³ In this speech it is made plain, quite incidentally, that to maintain an army and conduct a war by money derived from plunder was a matter of course.⁴

The many letters which Cicero wrote to friends in Gaul show us his interest in the war on the personal side. They show that he kept in touch with the progress of the war, but that he was more concerned about the affairs of his friends in Gaul. Caesar himself, his brother Quintus of Caesar's staff, and his young friend Trebatius were his chief correspondents.

Of the Caesar-Cicero correspondence one letter to Caesar is extant, but none from Caesar. We learn something of the correspondence, however, from various bits of other letters. Caesar

¹ *De provinciis consularibus* 13. 33. ² *Ibid.* 14. 34; cf. *In Pisonem* 33. 82.

³ *Ibid.* 12. 30.

⁴ *De provinciis consularibus* 14. 34.

⁵ *Ibid.* 11. 28.

in the midst of all his military activities took time to write Cicero at least some things about Gallic affairs and to read some poetry of Cicero's composition and give him his estimate of it. To quote from a letter: "How does Caesar like my poetry? He writes me that he has read the first book, and declares that he never read anything better than the first part even in Greek, but that the rest was a trifle careless. . . . Tell me the truth; is it the subject-matter or the style that he does not like?"¹ The correspondence was no doubt kept up partly from friendship and partly from policy. Certainly it was policy as well as friendliness that led Caesar even to urge Cicero to send on young Roman friends who were ambitious for a public career. Cicero quotes from one of Caesar's letters: "Marcus Iteius, whom you recommend to me, I will make king of Gaul, or put him under Lepta's charge, if you like. Send me someone else to promote."² On this very invitation Cicero sent to Gaul the lawyer Trebatius. At his arrival Caesar again wrote as we learn from Cicero: "He even thanks me [for sending Trebatius] in a very witty and courteous tone, for he says that in all the crowd of those who are with him there is not another man who can arrange a bail."³

From the first letters of the Trebatius-Cicero correspondence it is clear that Cicero felt responsible and that Trebatius was discontented. "You have a commander," Cicero says, "of the most liberal character, your age is just right for your work, your recommendation is certainly unique, so all you need fear is that you don't do yourself justice."⁴ In a few months the young man had evidently settled down to his work, for we find Cicero writing to him: "At last I can approve of you, because you seem to have become settled in purpose. For I was very much troubled by your letters during the first months, because you seemed sometimes light-minded—pardon the expression—in your longing for the city and city life, and sometimes lazy, and sometimes timid in regard to military work."⁵ Cicero was not always so serious with Trebatius;

¹ *Ad Quintum fratrem* ii. 15. 5.

⁴ *Ad familiares* vii. 7.

² *Ad familiares* vii. 5. 2.

⁵ *Ibid.* vii. 17; cf. vii. 18.

³ *Ad Quintum fratrem* ii. 13. 3.

in fact he found a great deal of pleasure in poking fun at him on occasion.

I have read your letter, from which I gathered that you impress our friend Caesar as being a great lawyer. . . . If you had gone to Britain, certainly no one in all that great island would have been more learned in law than you. . . . I'm very much afraid that you'll freeze in winter camp. . . . And yet I hear that it's hot enough for you there now—on this news I really was very much alarmed for you. But you are a much more cautious man in military matters than in legal. . . . You didn't care to look at the British charioteers, though some time ago we couldn't keep you even from a blindfolded gladiator's fight.¹

From Cicero's letters to his brother Quintus, and about him, it is evident that Quintus was serving in Gaul to procure some much-needed money and to keep himself and Cicero in Caesar's good graces.² The letters show a very human interest and anxiety about his brother's doings. An extract from a letter to Atticus will illustrate:

From my brother's letters I gain unbelievable evidence of Caesar's affection for me, and that has been confirmed by a splendid letter from Caesar himself. I am awaiting the result of the British war with anxiety, for it is certain that the means of approach to that island are protected by astonishing cliffs. This too is now known, that there is not a bit of silver in that island and no hope of booty except from slaves; and among them I think you'll not expect any trained in literature or music.³

A little later he learns of the landing in Britain: "From Britain Caesar wrote me, on Sept. 1, a letter which I received on the 27th, very satisfactory about the British business, and he writes, so that I wouldn't be surprised at not receiving a letter from you, that you were not with him when he reached the coast."⁴ Some time later he writes Quintus again: "I am terribly bothered and anxious about you, for nothing has come from you, or from Caesar, for over fifty days, from those regions, not a letter, and not even a rumor. The sea there and the land make me anxious, and I can't help thinking of things which I least desire to happen."⁵ A little later he had reassuring news, for he writes to Atticus: "From my brother and from Caesar, on Oct. 24th, I received letters dated from the nearest

¹ *Ibid.* vii. 10.

⁴ *Ad Quintum fratrem* iii. 1. 25.

² *Ad Quintum fratrem* ii. 13 and 14, and iii. 8.

⁵ *Ibid.* iii. 3. 1.

³ *Ad Atticum* iv. 17. 6.

coast of Britain on Sept. 25th. Britain over with, hostages accepted, no booty, but a tribute imposed, they were ready to bring the army back from Britain."¹ In all these letters there is much talk of personal interests of one sort or another, but none of serving the country. The explanation may be in the fact that the war in Gaul, after all, was no life-and-death struggle for Rome. It was simply a job to be done which did not tax the resources of Rome to any considerable degree.

It is interesting to turn from this group of letters to those written when Cicero was himself a governor, just a few years later, in Cilicia. This position fell to him much against his own desire. In contrast with the majority of governors of that day he kept himself and his staff from every sort of oppression of provincials and from graft. Yet he had to act with great caution so as not to offend the moneyed interests at Rome. He was very much pleased at the genuine joy of the provincials in his government, but even more so perhaps at his military success against some robber mountain tribes. A long letter to Atticus shows a peculiar blending of pride in his campaign and realization that it was comparatively of little importance. He writes:

On the morning of the Saturnalia the Pindenissetae surrendered to me, on the fifty-seventh day after we began to besiege them. "Who the deuce are those Pindenissetae of yours?" you will say, "I never heard the name before." Well, what am I to do? Could I change Cilicia into Aetolia or Macedonia? Let me tell you this, that with this army and in this place such an undertaking was quite impossible. . . . I arrived at Tarsus on October 5th. From there I hurried on to Mount Amanus, which separates Syria from Cilicia. . . . Here we cut to pieces a large force of the enemy. . . . I was saluted as Imperator. For a few days we were encamped on the very spot held against Darius at Issus by Alexander, a commander not a little better than either you or me! . . . [After some sentences which apparently indicate Cicero's pleasure at the lack of success of the neighboring governor of Syria, who was engaged in similar military work, he goes on] I was at Pindenissus, the most strongly fortified town of the Free-Cilicians, never peaceful in the memory of man. The people were wild and brave and equipped with everything for defence. . . . With great labor and preparation, many wounded, but no one killed, I finished the business. We are spending a merry Saturnalia, the soldiers too, and to them I have given all the booty excepting the captives. They were sold.²

¹ *Ad Atticum* iv. 18. 5.

² *Ibid.* v. 20.

In a letter to Cato, Cicero outlines the purposes of this campaign:

Now since it [Pindenissus] was situated on a very high and well-fortified spot, and was inhabited by people who have never obeyed even kings, and since they were receiving deserters and were very eagerly looking forward to the coming of the Parthians, I believed that it was of importance to the prestige of the empire to check their boldness, with the purpose that the spirits of all others, who were inimical to our empire, might be broken.¹

Here Cicero despite his theories seems quite the hard Roman—the policy of frightfulness, the plundering of the captured town, and the selling of its inhabitants raise no objection in Cicero's mind. Of course it should be remembered that these people were robber tribes, with whom, as with pirates, ordinary regulations of warfare need not be observed.²

Cicero had hoped to gain from his victory a triumph from the senate; but the civil war of Pompey and Caesar interfered. In this war Cicero took no part at the first, hoping to persuade the leaders to peace; but after an unsuccessful interview with Caesar he joined Pompey's side. He really believed that peace by compromise was far the best for the state. "What we want is peace," he writes to Atticus. "From a victory there will come many evils, and certainly a tyrant will rise."³ A decision by arms was bound to lead to either Caesar or Pompey controlling the state. After the defeat of Pompey, Caesar pardoned Cicero, but the latter practically took no part in public life during Caesar's rule. Although in a speech of this period Cicero told Caesar that the state needed him,⁴ it was a lawyer's plea, for at the same time he was writing his son that the republic was lost and that Caesar's rule was a disaster.⁵ A year or two later, during his effort against Antony, Cicero told the senate that Caesar's rule had been slavery.⁶

In this struggle with Antony, Cicero, as leader of the senate, took quite a different attitude from that during the war between Caesar and Pompey. He now evidently believed that by overthrowing Antony constitutional government could be restored.

¹ *Ad familiares* xv. 4. 10.

⁴ *Pro Marcello* 8.

² *De officiis* iii. 29. 107.

⁵ *De officiis* ii. 8. 29.

³ *Ad Atticum* vii. 5; cf. vii. 7; *Ad familiares* iv. 9.

⁶ *Philippica* viii. 11. 32.

Therefore he approved of war. To the senate he says, "The name of peace is sweet, and that condition itself is salutary; but between peace and slavery there is a very great difference."¹ In another speech, "And I am not opposed to peace, but I fear war rolling upon us under the name of peace. So then, if we would enjoy peace, we must wage war; if we give up the war, we shall never enjoy peace."² Again, "Peace made with them will not be peace, but an agreement for our own slavery."³ It is curious today to notice in these speeches expression of the hope that this war will bring about some permanent settlement. Appealing to the consul Cicero says, "You have an opportunity such as no man ever had. . . . You can free the republic from fear and danger forever."⁴ In attacking Antony he asserts, "He promises his robbers our homes, and asserts that he will divide up the city. . . . Antony has then something to promise his men. Well, have we any such? The gods forbid! For it is this very object that we aim at, that no man hereafter may be able to make any such promises."⁵ Cicero's hopes, however, were not destined to be fulfilled, and his fearless attacks only brought about his own death.

¹ *Philippica* ii. 44. 113.

² *Ibid.* xii. 6. 14.

³ *Ibid.* vii. 6. 19.

⁴ *Ibid.* vii. 9. 27.

⁵ *Ibid.* viii. 31. 8-9.

A SYSTEMATIC STUDY OF ENGLISH DERIVATIVES IN CONNECTION WITH LATIN IN THE HIGH SCHOOLS¹

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In the state of Missouri there are five hundred classified public high schools, and of these one out of seven offers four years of Latin; two out of three offer some Latin. Of the 19,000 Latin students in these schools, 2,000 are found beyond Caesar and the other 17,000 in the first two years of the Latin course. It may be true that in the next generation the state's leaders in thought will come from the 2,000; but if we maintain Latin in the public high school so that future leaders will have an opportunity to study it at high-school age we must pay more attention to the 17,000. Besides, these 17,000 are an asset in themselves and worthy of more attention than we have given them.

There are latent in the Latin language powers that we have never utilized, particularly in our two-year courses. We have never been able to get our eyes off a third or a fourth year, and so have shaped the two years to fit on to a third—a connection of which seventeen out of nineteen, to speak in the figures of Missouri, have never availed themselves. We have felt that great good would accrue in the form of interest at the end of four years, but we have not made the interest payable annually. This fact partly explains the hostility we have met at the hands of the educational theorists. If we want the young democracy to invest in our bonds we must make the interest payable at least annually.

If we could cease to see a third and a fourth year and a college course, the writer believes we would see new values in a first year and a second year, and that these new values would come largely from a more definite association of Latin with English. Of all the good reasons that have been advanced in recent years for the study

¹ Read before the fourteenth annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South.

of Latin, the one of supreme consideration so far as the high-school Latin is concerned is the value to English, and for the student who discontinues the study after two years I doubt whether there is much value aside from the aid in English.

At a large gathering of teachers recently I visited three sections—history, English, and agriculture. All seemed to be struggling with the same questions, viz., how to associate the work of their departments with the child's life and experience, and how to make use of the problem-method in their several departments. Those discussions by teachers in other departments enabled me to see the work of my own department from a new angle. If the educator's task is to set present-day problems and then proceed to solve them by the subject-matter of the curriculum, surely no subject furnishes better material for the educator than does Latin. The problem is already set in the vocabulary, syntax, structure, and history of the language which the child uses. Unless the child's study of Latin helps him in the solution of these problems, in the interpretation and use of English, it has failed at the most critical point, at the point where he needs help as a high-school boy and where he will continue to need help as a man.

As Latin teachers we have been so sure of the possibilities of our subject to aid English that we have not made those possibilities become realities. We have expected the help to English to come naturally as a by-product. By-products are sometimes more valuable than the main product, but it requires some expenditure to get the value out of what would otherwise be waste. Latin does not automatically render to English the help we have supposed, nor will it automatically render what it is capable of rendering. Perhaps all of us have been shocked at times that our student's knowledge of Latin did not enable him to unravel the meaning of some new English word, or did not prevent an error in spelling. And yet how much of the class time have we given to the application of Latin to English?

The brain of the *average* high-school boy or girl does not automatically apply his Latin to his English. His brain is of the Ford type and has to be cranked every time before it starts off along the road of application. This belief that Latin will automatically help

in English and our lack of well-directed, systematic effort to *make* it help have caused our most serious troubles and given our Mr. Flexners their ammunition. Even though their ammunition is only powder with no bullet in front of it, powder makes a big noise, and beclouds the atmosphere, and necessitates a loss of time before the public can be assured that we have not been hurt.

Systematic study of derivatives should begin with the first lessons of the first year, yet an examination of the texts commonly used will show that little or no attention has been given to derivatives. Of those first-year texts with which I am familiar, the most that anyone does is to give a list of half a dozen English words at the end of a new vocabulary and ask the student to name the Latin word suggested by the English. Some other texts give in parentheses after the Latin word an English derivative. No effort is made to show the connection between the Latin word and the derived English word, and the connection is not always clear to the student. The Latin word might be of quite as much help in a dozen other English derivatives as in the one named; the student's knowledge of both Latin and English might be helped by a few lines showing the steps in getting from the meaning of the Latin words to the meaning of the derivatives. If a few lines on derivatives, with explanations, were inserted in the body of the book with each new vocabulary, it would be a help to the teacher who does not know how to make the one language help the other, and would give the student work that could be assigned, taken home at night between the covers of his book, and brought back next morning, let us hope, between the covers of his brain along with the declensions and conjugations.

Some years ago Mr. Harry Pratt Judson wrote a little book which he called *The Latin in English*. In every lesson there is a definite aim to teach the connection between the two languages with respect to vocabulary, and the Latin vocabulary seems to have been chosen for its ability to give English derivatives. The book is now out of print, and I do not know what success it had. Being unable to decide whether it was meant for a course in English or as a course in beginning Latin, I recently wrote Mr. Judson regarding it. He replied that to the best of his recollection it was

intended primarily as a study in English for students who were not familiar with Latin, but that secondarily he hoped the book would be an incentive to those who found out the direct connection of Latin with English to acquire a further knowledge of Latin. He added that English teachers did not like the book because it involved Latin, and Latin teachers did not like it because it involved English! And that is the crux of the matter. Latin and English teachers in high schools must get closer together, and there must be co-ordination in the work of these departments. Mr. Judson and Mr. Gray have had a vision that we must all catch.

Perhaps no one in this country has done so much to connect Latin with English as Mr. Mason D. Gray, of the East High School, Rochester, New York. His articles on the correlation of Latin with other subjects of the high-school course have appeared from time to time in the *Classical Journal*. He has prepared a text for use in his own high school on *Introductory Lessons in High-School English and Latin*. The book is an outgrowth of the correlation of the two subjects in the East High School and is used for supplementary work in both departments. In the introduction Mr. Gray says, "Application is always more difficult than acquisition." Writers of our secondary texts have left it to the individual teachers to make the application and to devise their own methods. Mr. Gray asks, "Why leave the more difficult part of the task wholly to the teacher?"

The capable teacher has risen to the need, has of her own initiative devised means of applying Latin to English, and has given systematic instruction in English derivatives, but it would have lightened her work, at any rate, if her texts had made some provision for such work. I wrote to a half-dozen teachers in as many states who are giving systematic work in derivatives in connection with their Latin work and asked them what methods they had for the teaching of derivatives. In every case the work depended on their own efforts and ingenuity, without much help from textbooks. But what of the incapable teacher who lacks the initiative or the knowledge necessary to plan such work? In her case the work is left undone. It will not help the situation to maintain that one who does not know the relations between the two

languages in vocabulary, syntax, nomenclature, etc., has no right to teach Latin, for such people are teaching and will continue to do so until you, and I, and others give them better instruction when they are in our classes, and until our state laws demand greater preparation on the part of public-school teachers. Candidates for positions as Latin teachers are not so plentiful at present that we can discard the teachers we have. Rather should we strive to make them more efficient by the aid we render them when they are our students, and by the aid we render in the textbooks which we write for their use when they become teachers.

In the state of Missouri three units of Latin in high school, followed by ten hours in college, qualify one legally to become a teacher of Latin in a first- or second-class high school. And when the work of showing the connection between Latin and English and of giving systematic instruction in derivatives is left to the inventive genius and philologic knowledge of such a teacher, without guidance in the textbook, it is left undone.

Our classical magazines contain much material that would help the teacher and the student of high-school Latin if only it were put into their hands. For example, the *Classical Weekly* last year published an article which gave a long list of Latin nouns in the nominative form that we have brought over bodily into English. A pamphlet put out by the Emporia Normal School last fall gave a similar list. If such lists could be embodied in a first-year text, along with the declensions under which the words fall, they would be in the hands of those who need them most—the teacher and the student of the first-year work. Granted that such words do not prepare for Caesar, or even that they could not be made to fit into the vocabulary of a first-year book, they might be printed on a page given to derivatives and serve to make the Latin declensions seem a little less remote from the child's life.

If such lists of words were put on the printed page they would go directly into the hands of the student—the ultimate consumer—without dependence on the teacher as middleman. The capable writers of our texts have had too much confidence in the middleman and have left too much for this overworked class of public servants. In answer to one of the half-dozen letters which I sent out to

teachers in other states inquiring about their methods for systematic work in derivatives, one very excellent teacher replied: "I think every year I will find time to get some lists ready for each year's work, but *tempus fugit* and my hands are so full." She then proceeded to tell how she copies lists of words for each day's assignment for work on derivatives. Another teacher sent me a sample of the derivative card she uses. Another writes that she gives a part of the period, three days in the week, to the work, and explains the derivative cards she keeps on her desk, the system of notebooks and printed lists that she uses in her advanced classes, etc. In the case of these teachers the work of associating the two languages in vocabulary is done, and doubtless well done. But these are the exceptional teachers who do not need the help of textbooks, or at any rate do the work without it.

It may be true that nine words out of ten in Caesar yield English derivatives, but the average teacher in the high school has not had the language-study to enable her to pick out so large a percentage. Some help in the textbook would lighten the work for the student in vocabulary, which is always heavy, particularly in the second year, and would give the one who does not go on with Latin more clutches by which to hold, and more facility in applying, that which he may have obtained from a brief study.

In a second pamphlet which Mr. Gray has written, entitled *The Study of Words and Their Uses*, based on the co-ordination of Latin and English, he says in the Introduction: "The importance of a word in first-year work should be determined, not solely by the frequency of its occurrences in Caesar, Cicero, Vergil, which but a small percentage of the first-year pupils will read, but equally, if not more, by its occurrence in contemporary biology, algebra, and English." He would apply the same revolutionary principle in choosing the syntax to be taught in the first year. It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss these two principles that are at variance with the present practice, but the writer does believe that some changes are soon to be forced upon us, not because the present methods have not been good for their purposes, viz., to prepare for more advanced courses, but because so large a number never get to the advanced courses. From the viewpoint of the high school

and of the public, whose support we want, each year must be made to serve an end in itself, and not become useless unless attached to another year. The ideal course, when it is worked out, will have a more direct bearing on the child's life, and a larger part of the work of the classroom will be given to applying the Latin to the English which is met by the child.

To select the vocabulary and syntax for a first-year text on the basis of frequency of occurrence in the other three years of the course is unjust to the one-year student, provided it can be shown that other words or constructions would be of more value to him. The question may well receive attention at the hands of one who attempts to prepare a new, ideal course in high-school Latin.

While we are waiting for the muse that looks after the welfare of the high-school children and of the classics to inspire someone to prepare the ideal course, we might render a service by preparing some pamphlets to accompany the first-year texts now in general use. The one by Mr. Gray referred to above, entitled *The Study of Words and Their Uses*, was prepared to supplement the text that is being used in the first year in the East High School, Mr. Hale's. The pamphlet takes up the Latin words as they occur in the Hale text and gives a few derivatives from those that yield derivatives, and in case the connection in the meaning of the two words is not clear it traces the steps from the root meaning to the derived meaning. The pamphlet makes the Latin assist also in English spelling. For example, from *culpa* is given the word "culpable," with the *a* in italics and a note calling attention to the help rendered by the Latin word in the English spelling. Such a pamphlet to accompany Mr. D'Ooge's text would be welcomed by many teachers of northeast Missouri.

Last year the Carnegie Foundation published a series of suggested curricula for teachers' colleges. In the three- and four-year courses for the preparation of teachers of the seventh and eighth grades, and in the courses for teachers of history and English in high schools, two years of Latin are recommended in the following words:

The courses in Latin should emphasize primarily the relationship between Latin and English. For students who have completed otherwise satisfactory

courses in Latin in high school a special course of one term (three months) should be required, dealing specifically with these relationships; the remaining five terms may then be devoted to a modern foreign language. Students who have not had satisfactory courses elsewhere should carry Latin through the six terms here scheduled [that is, through two years].

If the Carnegie Foundation was wise in recommending that prospective teachers of the seventh and eighth grades and of history and English in the high schools be required to devote three months to the study of the relationship between Latin and English, it seemed to the writer that surely nothing less than that should be required of prospective teachers of Latin. So on receipt of a copy of the proposed curricula I wrote Mr. Learned, of the Foundation, asking for a more detailed statement of his view of this three months' course on the relationship of Latin to English, and for the address of some teachers or some schools that were doing the thing he wanted done. He replied that he could not cite me to the page or line, but that the course was merely an ideal one that the Foundation left for the classical teachers to work out. He referred me to Mr. Lodge as one who had given encouragement to the Foundation in making the recommendation. I then wrote to Mr. Lodge and told him that I should like to give a course, and asked where I could find any help. He replied that the course would take much preparation, as no one had worked it out and there was not much help to be had from books. He referred me to Mr. Gray. I then wrote to Mr. Gray and secured what material he had in print. Since it was a game of "Pussy, go to the next neighbor," and I had been to several corners, I proceeded to make use of such knowledge as I had, or could get on the subject, in a three months' course which I was giving for the preparation of teachers. The course has had to be adjusted and made to serve some other purposes, from local conditions, and falls far short of the Foundation's ideal, but it has had a marked effect on the work that students in this course do in other Latin courses, and they have assured me that it has also a marked value, in that it gives them increased ability to interpret English.

Some modern educators whose voices are heard at our gatherings of teachers proclaim that it is the business of the public school

to give the public what it wants. A sounder principle is that it is the business of the educator to give the public what it ought to have. Classical teachers have striven earnestly for the latter principle. But I believe that the time has come when we must give more of our energy to getting the public to *want* what it ought to have.

We have been so sure of the dietetic value of the mental pabulum which we have to offer that we have not been willing to put it out in any of the popular forms. In spite of the fact that the age has clamored for breakfast foods, we have not been willing to serve our golden grain in this form. We have the grain that will make the best food on the market. Can we not put out a food that is wholesome, nourishing, and a little more easily assimilated than the pure pabulum of former days—put in more that has already been partly digested in order to add a more familiar flavor and a relish, so that greater numbers will want to stay for the other meals with us, not just two students out of nineteen? Can we not make the new product so rich in food values that the child who can eat only one meal with us will go out to life's work stronger in brain and brawn than if he had eaten any other of the numerous brands on the high-school market?

There is in Latin that which the child needs, and if by changing our procedure somewhat in the early stages and making a systematic effort to connect our subject with the child's daily language we can convince the educational theorist and the public that the study of Latin has an immediately practical value, we shall have saved many a boy and girl from the misfortune of having gone through high school without any study of Latin, and shall thus have made provision for the competent to be discovered and sent on to that greater good that comes from the longer course.

CAN LATIN BE REVIVED AS AN INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC LANGUAGE ?¹

By JOSEPH B. PIKE
University of Minnesota

The problem of an international language was most earnestly discussed during the latter part of the nineteenth century. It was the period that saw the rise and fall of Volapük, the first of the artificial languages which, in a certain sense, did become international and indicated at least the possibility that some such scheme was not entirely visionary.

It was in the period between the decline of Volapük and the rise of Esperanto that the project of reviving Latin as an international language, either solely for scientific purposes or for communication of all kinds, was first seriously considered.

It is interesting to note that the present revival of the project to make Latin serve the purpose follows in the wake of the apparent failure of Esperanto to meet the requirements, though its phenomenal vogue for a short time gave hopes of ultimate success. After its successor, Neutral'Idiom, has run its course, we shall probably see another resurrection of the Latin project.

At the time of the Paris Exposition, where many learned societies convened, a committee was appointed to study the question of an international language. In the following year the committee submitted a report embodying the following dicta: that the international language should be merely an auxiliary language, to serve as a medium of oral and written communication among peoples of the civilized world, and should not interfere in any way with the vernaculars of the individual peoples. It should be a language easily adapted to the uses of everyday life, to commerce, and to all scientific and philosophical discussion. It should be easy enough to be learned in a very short time with a minimum expenditure of

¹Read before the fourteenth annual meeting of the Classical Associations of the Middle West and South.

effort. It should under no circumstances be one of the international languages now in use.

These conditions certainly had in view an artificial language, as none of the existing tongues would seem to meet all the requirements.

During the subsequent lull in the popular discussion of the problem, extending up to last year, we have seen the fate settled of several of the artificial languages which had been invented and placed upon the market.

It is not my intention to discuss those so-called languages, because in my opinion such attempts are predoomed to failure. It will suffice to say that at the present time rarely does a scientific article appear in Esperanto, and that Neutral Idiom has as yet fallen far short of the degree of popularity that Esperanto once attained.

The principle laid down by the Paris committee that the international language should not be one of the present national languages was dictated by the idea that national jealousy would inevitably prevent the adoption of a modern language now in use, and that any attempt to effect this would be labor lost.

The artificial languages hitherto tried having proved a failure and a modern tongue being seemingly disbarred, in the present revival of the discussion in England, and more particularly in Italy, Latin is the language that is proposed. It is suggested that Latin can be made to meet the requirements of scientific and philosophic thought as it did to the very beginning of the nineteenth century. Its most enthusiastic advocates insist that with the inexhaustible Greek vocabulary from which to draw, it can meet all new scientific needs. Latin forms part of the educational pabulum of all Western nations. It is a language closely connected by direct descent or by history with the principal vernaculars of Western Europe. It already supplies many scientific nomenclatures, some of which have been reduced to remarkable uniformity. There is nothing to prevent adapting it to the necessities of everyday life and even of commerce. It can also meet the requirement that the international language should be merely auxiliary, not interfering in any way with the vernacular.

Emphatically, however, it does not meet the requirement of being a tongue easy to learn, even when taught under favorable circumstances. This difficulty has induced several attempts to simplify Latin, of which I cite two, *Linguum Islianum*, so named from its inventor, Isly, and *Reform Latein*.¹ The result is a purely artificial language in each case, and this brings us back to our main consideration, Latin.

Some echoes of the revival of this discussion have reached our shores, as evinced by an article in the *Review of Reviews* of October, 1917, and another in the *Scientific American* of November, 1917.

The revival of the discussion may be attributed in part to the war. In many scientific branches Italy has in the last ten years been making marvelous progress. As Italian is the least known of the four tongues in which the science of the Western world is reported, Italian scholars, in order to gain a larger audience, have in some instances published in German, because the scientific literature of that language is the most extensive in the world.

It is but natural that the Italians should, in the present crisis, look for some international medium of expression, and what more natural than that they should turn to Latin, the mother of their own tongue, and a language that some Italian scholars use not only with ease but with elegance? It may be of interest to note that in Italy Latin poetry has been cultivated even to the present generation. I mean real poetry as distinguished from experiments in Latin verse. It was only last year that an elaborate edition of the Latin poems of Giovanni Pascoli, the successor of Carducci, appeared.

To the Englishman also, I presume, the thought of perusing the ponderous and clumsy idiom of German science is more repellent than ever, and it is natural that in a country where the classical tradition is still strong he should turn to the Latin.

The consideration of the question in England has been restricted to an interchange of ideas between scientific men and to occasional testimony presented by the classical teacher, as when Dr. Rouse, of the Perse School, Cambridge, calls attention to the fact that the way has already been paved in some of the schools of England for

¹ See Couturat et Leau, *Histoire de la Langue Universelle*, pp. 542 ff.

the revival of Latin as an international language, by the introduction of direct methods of teaching the language, which permit the school to impart the ability to write and speak Latin as well as to read it, and with a saving of about one-fifth the time. Anyone who knows Rouse or is personally acquainted with his work knows that the facts are not exaggerated.

In Italy much more has been done. A Latin league has been formed at Rome, one of whose avowed purposes is the furtherance of the plan to make Latin the international tongue. Following an address by Professor Carlo Pascal in the summer of 1917, entitled "The Revival of Latin as an International Scientific Language," the Royal Lombardy Institute of Science and Letters passed a resolution to the effect that the matter should be brought to the notice of the minister of public instruction, the minister of foreign affairs, and the learned societies of the world. A date was also set at which the society was to consider the most feasible and effective means of bringing the idea to fruition.

The most elaborate discussion of the subject is that of Professor Ignazio Galli in the records of the Pontifical Academy of the Nuovi Lincēi of Rome, January, 1917.

In this monograph Galli does not restrict the discussion to Latin as an international *scientific* language, but considers Latin also in relation to commerce and travel.

I shall not discuss Latin in these two latter relations, not because it would be impossible to express with adequate precision and variety the ideas to be expressed in these two fields, provided that there should be an international agreement as to the use and meaning of certain terms, but because I believe that the possibility of its ever being revived for these purposes is too remote to render the discussion profitable.

Granting that Latin might be revived as an international scientific language, the experience of the nineties has, I think, indicated very clearly two facts: Latin for such a purpose should be a Latin modeled upon the Latin of the Middle Ages rather than upon that of classical times, and it should freely permit the adoption of the changed meaning of many Latin words now in use.

I am led to this conviction by the testimony presented by several Latin periodicals which appeared during the first agitation of the project: the *Phoenix*, of which four numbers appeared from 1890 to 1892; the *Praeco Latinus*, published from 1895 to 1902 in Philadelphia; the *Vox Urbis*, published at Rome, and the *Alaudae*, published at Aquila in Italy. In these publications modern ideas were often expressed with great ingenuity in classical diction, at which in general these journals aimed, the *Praeco* in particular. In many instances one's admiration was aroused by the ingenuity of the phrases. Often a smile might be provoked by their preciousness, but still oftener a feeling of irritation at the cryptic character of the word or phrase. The conviction grows as one reads that such a style and treatment are absolutely unsuited for the serious business of conveying modern thought, and that science would not for a moment contemplate submitting itself to such shackles. I can illustrate the point by a simple example. The French minister of public instruction was designated in a Latin discourse by one aiming at classical usage by the phrase *Summus rei Gallorum literariae moderator*, a phrase hard to understand unless one had the key. A mediaeval writer having to express this idea would probably write *minister instructionis publicae in Gallia*, and his idea would be easily grasped.

The writer of the article in the *Scientific American*, to which reference has been made, remarks that if we should adopt Latin as an international language "by furnishing a highly practical *raison d'être* for the general teaching of Latin in our schools and colleges we should perhaps heal the long-standing breach between the classicists and modernist factions among educators." Whether there is anything in this suggestion or not, it is interesting to speculate as to what would be the effect upon Latin teaching, of the adoption of the language as an international medium. In the first place, I imagine, there would be no additional incentive to the study of classical antiquity, and in the second place radical changes would have to be made in methods of instruction, at least by teachers who were not securing something like the results attained by Dr. Rouse in the Perse School. I am not at all sure that this would be an undesirable result, but I foresee, at least in this country,

great difficulties to overcome from the fact that few teachers are trained for such work, and there would be great disappointment at the results produced for some years to come. We may say, however, for this country what Rouse has said³ for England, that the way has to a certain extent been paved, particularly in localities which lie within the sphere of influence of Columbia University.

Judging too from criticism made upon courses in French, German, and even English, offered to classes in the technical colleges of our universities, to the effect that time is wasted in the study of the literature of these languages, I foresee like and even greater criticism of the teaching of Latin. No such considerations as these should, however, stand in the way of the project to revive Latin as an international language provided the project is feasible, and I myself should like to see the trial made. I hasten to remark, however, that I am perfectly conscious that I am allowing my imagination to run away with my discretion in discussing the educational side of the problem, for, notwithstanding the many circumstances which would seem to point to Latin as the promised tongue, there are certain other facts strong enough to prevent its general use in the way proposed.

The reason that Latin was given up as the universal language of science was the fact that more and more it was felt to be a restraint upon untrammelled expression of thought. The classicists did all they could to assist its disuse by insisting upon the employment of a Ciceronian diction which science had outgrown.

Nothing is so restive under restraint as the expression of creative thought, which, according to an irresistible law of nature, seeks the line of least resistance. This one fact is enough to prevent the general use of Latin for the purpose indicated. Modern thought expresses itself naturally in languages of an analytic, not in those of a synthetic, character. It takes long and severe training to accustom the modern man to express himself readily through the synthetic medium of Latin.

There is, however, one way in which Latin does facilitate the interchange of international scientific thought, and it could be made even more effective than it is along these lines. Latin serves as the basis of the nomenclatures of many sciences. The "BNA"

is a striking example of what can be accomplished. "BNA" is a shorthand expression designating the Basle anatomical nomenclature. The nomenclature consists of about 4,500 anatomical terms designating the various parts of the body that are visible to the naked eye. The terms are all in correct Latin and have been selected by a group of the distinguished anatomists of the world. The history of the formation and selection of this nomenclature is both interesting and instructive. It has eliminated a great number of synonymous or ambiguous terms, and its almost universal international use is proof of its feasibility and utility.

If the world-authorities in the various sciences would follow the example of the anatomists, the botanists, and the pharmacologists, and would systematize their nomenclatures, much would be gained, for as yet psychology, biology, sociology, history, and ancient philology possess no system of internationally intelligible terms.

Then at least an elementary knowledge of Latin should be required of students in these sciences to give life to their scientific vocabulary. This, it seems to me, is about as far as Latin can be used as a medium for international communication of scientific thought, and thus far the scientists should go, even if some international language should be ultimately adopted.

I can imagine but two possibilities for the adoption of such a language. It is conceivable that as the result of political or commercial supremacy some one language working under natural laws would gain such a position that it would virtually serve the purpose of an international language, as Latin did in the past. Such a destiny may be conceivable for English or—Heaven forbid!—for German, but the possibility is remote. The other possibility is that by mutual agreement the learned societies, the governments, and the educational institutions of the world should select one of the modern tongues for the purpose.

This would, of course, be a great thing for international science, but it would perhaps be a greater thing for the world at large in helping to make nations better acquainted with each other and to break down national prejudices.

The difficulties are perhaps too great to overcome. But if we allow our imaginations to play a moment with the idea we may say that in many ways French is well suited for the purpose. It is understood in learned circles all over the world, being, as well, the European tongue which is perhaps best known in the Orient. It is furthermore unsurpassed for the clarity of its expression. One of its disadvantages is the difficulty of its pronunciation. An insuperable obstacle, however, is that of national jealousy.

Of the modern tongues Spanish would seem to be the most available because on examination it will be found to approximate most closely the requirements suggested by the Paris commission. Spain does not hold such a position among modern nations intellectually, politically, or commercially that the plan to adopt her language would meet with insuperable objections. The language is already used in widely separated parts of the world. Though no natural language can be said to be easy, it is incontestable that the pronunciation of Spanish is one of the easiest for a foreigner to acquire with approximate correctness. The structure is more simple and natural than that of German, Italian, or French.

Finally the adoption of Spanish as an auxiliary international tongue would furnish a *raison d'être* for the present tremendous vogue of the study of elementary Spanish in our schools and colleges, a vogue which, at the present, I cannot in my own mind justify on grounds either intellectual, pedagogical, or practical.

Whether or not, however, such an international medium is selected, as I have already stated, the matter of systematized Latin nomenclatures is of prime importance in facilitating the exchange of international scientific thought. It is too a matter of some importance to those interested in the maintenance of Latin in the curriculum; for should the scientists in general, following the example of some of the medical schools, impose a moderate Latin requirement for the purposes outlined above, it would be of distinct advantage, not only to the cause of Latin, but to the cause of linguistic historical and literary studies.

SOCIALIZING LATIN

BY FLORA MACKENZIE
High School, Battle Creek, Michigan

How to make Latin pleasing and attractive to high-school pupils was a problem that had long been vexing my mind. Could the work be readjusted or extended in a way that would appeal to them, make them desire to take it up, and having taken it up continue it for the four years of the course? Our school was suffering as every school is, I imagine, from the enticements of the so-called practical studies—manual training and sewing, for example—that bring forth definite, tangible fruits and overshadow the less obvious results, the cultural values, gained from our humanistic discipline.

At a state teachers' convention I slipped into an English conference where a speaker was just declaring, "Our English must be made to suit modern demands. To get best results we must treat our subject from the standpoint of the class as a social group. English must be thoroughly socialized." And I thought to myself, "That is the very thing we must do for our Latin—we must make it meet modern demands and thoroughly socialize it."

But how could it be done? The leaven hidden in the meal began to ferment. It was the era of exhibits, and after my return to Battle Creek one of our domestic art instructors remarked to me, "Well, you can be thankful there is nothing in your department to *exhibit*." Her remark pricked deeper than she thought, and we resolved to have an exhibit and to make it an exhibit worthy the name. Using Miss Sabin's book, *The Relation of Latin to Practical Life*, as a basis we set to work, and it became more and more a marvel to me every day to see the way the pupils took up the work and how eager they were to help. We mounted our exhibits on dark gray charts, which were made more durable by black cloth binding an inch wide around the edges, the lettering being done by such students as showed some ability along that line. As a final result we had about forty very attractive charts. These included:

The seals of the various states with the mottoes translated into English.

A chart of birds with translation of their names.

Lists of English words in common use with derivation from Latin.

Advertisements, such as for Atlas cement, Corona typewriter, vulcanizing supplies for automobiles, the Goodyear tire with its Mercury wing, and others too numerous to mention.

A physiology chart with lacrimal glands, pericardium, and various muscles and glands with Latin or Greek derivation explained.

Law phrases in Latin with their translation.

Various coins with Latin mottoes.

Modern inventions, flowers, stars, constellations, etc., having names of Greek or Latin origin. Inventions, such as interurban cars, bicycles, hydroaëroplanes, etc., were shown in pictures with name derivation attached. Names of stars and constellations were accompanied by explanations. One of the most beautiful was a chart containing the mounted pictures of some of our common flowers—e.g., sunflower, hyacinth—and a short account of the origin of the name of each.

These charts were suspended by heavy cord from the molding of the library where our exhibit was given and hung at the level of the eye, so there was no straining of the neck or eyes to read them. Collections of postcards of scenes in and about Rome and Pompeii were mounted and proved very interesting, also postcards of gods and goddesses in marble and bronze and famous pictures bearing on Roman life.

The long library tables were used to display such things as a peasant's hut made of plaster of Paris, covered with a realistic thatched roof; a Roman trireme; a Roman scroll; a writing-tablet with wax and a stylus for writing; various models of standards and weapons. In one corner on a sand table several boys studying Caesar had modeled an actual battle and the storming of a walled town. The town, showing formation of the wall, occupied one side, and evergreens indicated the wooded slopes wherein mounted officers lurked. The figures of the officers were made from light cardboard and modeled after the warriors shown in the colored

plates of the textbooks, with realistic coloring, and were provided with standards to make them stand upright. There was a *testudo* also, and various legionary soldiers, made as the mounted officers above. There were mounted troops and machines for hurling stones, great towers and scaling-ladders, while gallant defenders of the town manned the walls and fought off the assailants. Caesar's famous bridge was also there.

Through the kindness of Professor Kelsey we were able to exhibit various vases and other antiquities taken from the university collection. An account of each was furnished, so that one lad was able to explain this exhibit intelligently to the visiting public. There was also a model of a Roman house, so realistic one could almost hear the echo of the *Cave canem* at the threshold. Various small pieces of statuary were on exhibition, being loaned by interested people about town, and pictures, and Roman lamps, and candlesticks as well.

Boys and girls dressed in togas took charge of the various sections and explained them to the visitors. The exhibit was held three afternoons and evenings. The general public had been invited, and it availed itself of the opportunity to see what we could find in our department of interest to it. It was a matter of great surprise to see the mixed assembly which gathered. The patron whom I most liked to see there was the man or woman who came to me and said, "Now, Miss MacKenzie, I have never had a word of Latin and know nothing whatever about your subject. Will you please take me round and show me just what you mean by this exhibit?" In every case, before the rounds had been made, that person was not only interested but keenly alive to the bearing of this so-called dead language on modern times. The exhibit served to waken just the kind of interest we had hoped for, and the boys in particular began to catch the vision of its wonderful possibilities.

The following year an exhibit seemed hardly capable of meeting the general demand for something by the Latin department. After considerable thought, a play was decided on and the *Saccus malorum* by Professor Schlicher was the one chosen. Our principal seemed skeptical about getting the pupils to learn the parts in Latin, but

not one person refused when asked to take a certain part. Each participant was drilled separately, and each speech was translated by him, as well as the speeches preceding and following, so that he would get the general meaning. Then each speech was learned in Latin with the proper expression of tone and voice. At first this was hard to attain, but when it was pointed out that each actor must make his speech and action so accord that the audience could follow the play, just as "movie" actors do, they caught the idea, and from then on it was *facillimum factu*.

The costumes were regulation togas made by the pupils themselves, and the sandals and ornaments were made according to Roman pictures studied for that purpose.

Some very good amateur talent was displayed, and when the play was given one afternoon in the high-school auditorium we had a packed house. So general was the demand by parents who could not attend the afternoon performance that it was repeated a couple of weeks later in the evening for the modest price of ten cents, and again we had a big crowd.

This year the problem again arose as to what to give, and the much more pretentious play, *Dido, the Phoenician Queen*, by Professor Miller, of the University of Chicago, was decided upon.

The main characters were taken by the Virgil class, the attendants of the queen and the band of Aeneas by the underclassmen. The story was read from a regular Roman scroll by Virgil himself dressed in a toga. Dr. Miller's play is in English and is a splendid translation and dramatization of Book IV of the *Aeneid*; but it proved too long for the pupils to learn in the limited time at their disposal, so we changed it by having Virgil read the story, the pupils acting it out in pantomime. The play was given before a crowded house, and the pupils acted their parts unusually well despite the fact that the costumes ordered did not arrive, and the preceding afternoon all the players had fallen to and made the costumes for the company. When this was explained to the audience it was very lenient, and even the sailors in too modern togs did not destroy the enthusiasm; and the way the actors rose to meet the difficulty and overcame it was very praiseworthy. The amount

left after our expenses, which will be very light, will go to the Y.M.C.A. War Service Fund.

Truly this warlike year has brought the boy student of Caesar into his own. With wars and fresh rumors of wars and modern tactics common subjects of conversation, Caesar is no longer a bugbear. Recently in my Caesar class we were reading of Galba, the young lieutenant sent by Caesar to open the pass through the Alps, to whom it was left to his own judgment whether he should spend the winter there or not. The town of Octodurus, with its geography and physical characteristics, was studied. The disposition of the two halves of the town, then the demand for grain, and the information the next morning that the enemy had evacuated their half of the town, the startling news that the heights were held by the enemy and Galba's forces were in a trap, all were noted. The class was divided into two opposing factions, the *pro*-Galbaites and the *cons*, and if ever a general and his actions were examined, Galba was certainly "buffeted about."

The stupidity of *any* general picking out a town down in a valley that could so easily be surrounded, said the *cons*, showed his unfitness for his task; his carelessness in allowing the enemy to make their getaway under the cover of night showed he did not know how to guard his army; and the further fact that the enemy had possession of the advantageous heights about the town showed criminal negligence and utter unfitness for generalship. They further contended that in the last sally it was not through any great skill on Galba's part that he fought his way through and won the doubtful victory, but a mere chance stumbled on in his blundering way.

The *pros* had some hard problems to meet, but they met them royally. They contended that Galba had chosen Octodurus because it was well supplied with grain and hence advantageous. Although nothing was said about guards being left on the heights, they knew he must have had them and, when pressed for proof, declared that the adverb *subito* proved it. The sentence read, "Galba was *suddenly* informed," which proved that his guards had been surprised and overcome by superior forces; but some one or more had escaped and come breathlessly in to inform him of his plight. The fact that Galba finally formed a successful plan to get

his men out of the almost-trap showed his marvelous sagacity, and proved that Caesar had not misplaced his confidence when he chose Galba as his agent. Furthermore, the most ardent *pro* asserted that Caesar must have thought this a wonderful feat for any general to accomplish, or he would not have related the matter with so much detail.

So the Italian battle front has attained a new significance, as well as the campaigns in Gaul, and from my two large Caesar classes not a boy has dropped out. This does not mean that the drill on forms has relaxed, but there is the added zest of knowing there is a problem to face and seeing how each leader acts under the circumstances.

Military weapons have also come in for their share as objects of interest, and when a new weapon is mentioned as used by Caesar the boys search out its descendant and use in modern warfare. Caesar, from being one of hardest years to teach, has become much easier if not the easiest, and personally there is nothing I like better than to develop the various campaigns and see the pupils get not only constructions but the definite military objectives accomplished by each.

The war has driven many refugees to our shores, and fortunately for us this year we have a Bulgarian boy in the Caesar class who lived not more than twenty miles from Saloniki and has a number of postcards of his country showing Roman remains. Recently he consented to tell the class of his country, of the Roman architecture and coins and vases found near his home, and of the ruins among which he played and hunted for buried treasure. He also is an adept in the use of the four-foot sling and demonstrated his ability for the class.

Apropos of the war times, there has been recently formed by the boys of our high school a Junior Council of National Defense which has proved a very active factor in such campaigns as the Thrift Stamp sale and the junior Red Cross drive, and boys from the Latin department have been the moving spirits in the council and its activities.

Recently the little boy in the house where I reside, who is eleven years of age, entered the junior high school and started Latin. His parents were in despair and the lad himself thoroughly discouraged

because it proved so hard for him. Being called into council, I tested him out to find where the trouble lay and immediately discovered that the lad had not had any technical English grammar. He did not know a noun from a verb, and an object was an unknown thing, while the copula and its following construction were as Greek to him. He has always been ranked as a splendid student, so I am not taking an exceptional case; and this is the same difficulty all school teachers have to meet in beginning Latin classes.

A new first-year Latin book came recently to my desk for perusal—*Beginning Latin Book*, by Albert S. Perkins, of Boston, Massachusetts. It suggested a very extensive system of derivative notebooks. I have not looked it over very carefully yet, but it contains an idea we have been working out in our Latin department in Battle Creek. After such words as *trans*, *sub*, *inter*, *per*, etc., have been developed and the meaning brought out, the pupil begins a hunt for words in magazines, books, or newspapers having these prefixes. The study has proved not only interesting but very instructive. At a recent examination one exercise was to break up certain given words into their various parts, give the Latin meaning of the parts, and then, putting them together, give the English meaning—subjugate, subterranean, intramural, extramural, submarine, etc. The pupils also keep a list of words found interesting in their reading from the standpoint of Latin, and we have come across some very interesting words and have increased our vocabularies accordingly. A few minutes, ten at the outside, devoted to this on Friday or some day when we have finished our assigned work, serves to keep the pupils interested, actively and profitably.

These are a few of the more potent factors which the Latin department of the Battle Creek High School has emphasized in socializing Latin. Our aim is to enable the active, discerning mind, while grasping and assimilating Latin forms, to see that definite results are really being attained from this study. In the meantime the class unconsciously becomes a social center, and the desired result is secured.

In Memoriam

FREDERICK CARLOS EASTMAN

The cause of the classics in the Middle West suffered a stunning blow when a speeding automobile near Iowa City on August 4 crushed out the life of Professor Eastman.

Professor Eastman had been intimately connected with the Classical Association of the Middle West and South since its beginning. He was the first vice-president for Iowa in this association and was president of the association in 1910. As vice-president for Iowa he spent a great deal of time and effort in organizing the classical interests of the state; and the fact that Iowa always stood high in the number of members of the association is largely due to his efforts. He was an energetic and enthusiastic booster for the cause of the classics at all times and all places. But this energy and enthusiasm were tempered with a high degree of good taste and sense of propriety.

He conceived the idea of marshaling and correlating the views of the leading thinkers in the scholastic and business world relative to the value of the classics in education. He believed that if the consensus of opinion revealed outstanding values these should be kept in view in the practice of teaching the classics. He spent two strenuous years on this task and discovered many interesting facts. He made a partial report of his findings at the first Nashville meeting. But the task was endless and was never finished.

To refute the insidious propaganda of those who were constantly asserting that "Latin is going out," he organized through the Extension Department an annual census of the pupils studying Latin in the high schools of the state. The results from year to year have shown gratifying gains.

I think that the course which he liked best to give was his course on Roman Private Life. He consistently refused to open this except to our most advanced Latin students. In this course the

students worked from the sources in the original. His interest in private life was projected downward. In response to numerous appeals for lantern slides to enrich the teaching of Latin in the high schools he prepared several series of slides illustrating Roman life and provided each with appropriate readings in English on the subject. These slides are circulated through the state by the Extension Department, and several duplicate sets have been in constant demand.

It was in these practical ways that his life-work was constantly and widely felt. But his most permanent work was his text for second-year Latin, *Caesar in Gaul*, which he recently published with Professor D'Ooge as collaborator.

During the past year he had formulated a project to organize the Latin teachers in the state for better co-operation and efficiency. The first step was taken last spring in a notable conference of the teachers of the state held at Iowa City.

For the past ten years he has been associate editor of the *Classical Journal*, representing the territory west of the Mississippi in the department of Current Events. Many who knew him in no other way remember him as a most fluent orator. Every year he had a long list of appointments as a commencement speaker, and through this means his influence was extended widely in the educational world. He had a poet's heart, and many of his closer friends cherish charming verses, which he seemed to write as naturally as his favorite, Ovid.

He had an indomitable faith in the value of the classics, and fortunate were those students to whom under his inspiring leadership in the classroom the strength and beauty of the ancient literatures were revealed.

His whole heart was in the work and mission of the Classical Association. Aside from this he was a member of the American Philological Association, the American Association of University Professors, and was one of the organizers and most active members of the Walt Whitman Club of Iowa.

Frederick Carlos Eastman was born at Medalia, Ohio, July 20, 1860. He was graduated from Baldwin-Wallace College in 1884. The M.A. degree was conferred in 1887 by the same institution.

Upper Iowa University at Fayette honored him with the degree of Ph.D. in 1893. His whole active life was devoted to the teaching of Latin and Greek. Immediately after his graduation from college in 1884 he taught one year at Claflin University, Orangeburg, South Carolina. It was in this year that he married Charlotte Whitney, who with their three daughters survives him. Then he was at the Dakota Wesleyan University at Mitchell, South Dakota, for three years. In 1888 he came to the state of Iowa as professor of Latin and Greek in Upper Iowa University, where he remained for ten years. From 1898 to 1907 he was at the State Teachers College at Cedar Falls. He became head of the Latin department in the State University of Iowa in 1907. He was in the full prime of life with the most favorable prospects for the future when his sudden death saddened the whole community.

FRANKLIN H. POTTER

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., for the territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for the Middle States, west to the Mississippi River; Walter Miller, the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for the Southern States; and by ———¹ for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific coast may be sent to Miss Julianne A. Roller, Franklin High School, Portland, Ore., and to Miss Bertha Green, Hollywood High School, Los Angeles, Cal. This department will present everything that is properly news—occurrences from month to month, meetings, changes in faculties, performances of various kinds, etc. All news items should be sent to the associate editors named above.]

California

Berkeley.—The Central Section of the Classical Association of the Pacific States met in joint session with the Classics Section of the California High School Teachers' Association at Berkeley on July 18 and 19. The following program was presented: "Prologue," Professor Leon Josiah Richardson, University of California; "On the Latinization of Modern Place Names," Professor Jefferson Elmore, Leland Stanford Junior University; "Two-in-One in Education," Dr. William Jerome Wilson, University of the Pacific; "Commercial Latin," Miss Elsie Henrietta Martens, Oakland Technical High School; "Xenophon—An Athenian," Professor George Miller Calhoun, University of California; "Virgil in the American Poets," Dr. Anna Shipley Cox, Mills College; "The Second Battle of Princeton," Dr. Shirley Howard Weber, Washington University; "What Is Demanded of the Teacher of High-School Latin at the Present Day?" Professor Alexis Frederick Lange, University of California.

On each day the attendance was well above a hundred; and the second meeting was featured as a general session of the High School Teachers' Association. Specially forceful was the advocacy of the study of Latin by Professor Lange, director of the School of Education, University of California.

Officers of the Central Section for the coming year were elected as follows: President, Dr. W. J. Wilson, College of the Pacific; Vice-president, Dr. C. C. Conrad, University High School, Oakland; Secretary-treasurer, Miss C. E. Bailey, Technical High School, Oakland; Executive Committee (in addition to the above), Mr. C. M. Daniels, Alameda High School; and Miss E. M. Sandholdt, Centerville High School.

Indiana

The State Committee of the Classical Section of the Indiana State Teachers' Association has addressed the following plan to the teachers of Latin in Indiana:

1. *Annual reading.*—A book or part of an author is to be selected each year, which all teachers of Latin are urged to read. This year it is Game, *The Teaching of High School Latin* (University of Chicago Press, \$1.00).

¹ To be appointed.

2. *Books and slides.*—The Extension Department of Indiana University will send out to teachers, for limited periods, books, periodicals, and slides. They may be used free of expense, except for transportation charges.

3. *Latin clubs.*—A bureau has been established in charge of Miss Josephine Abel, Technical High School, Indianapolis, to collect and furnish all kinds of information about Latin clubs.

4. *Latin exhibits and plays.*—The teachers of Shortridge High School have agreed to undertake this line of activity and to get and give information on exhibits and performances by high-school pupils. Address any information you have or requests about plays to Miss Virginia E. Claybaugh, Shortridge High School, Indianapolis.

5. *Experiments.*—Such modifications of the work in Latin as the use of the direct method, Latin in the seventh and eighth grades, co-operation of the Latin department with other departments, and the so-called laboratory method of studying Latin will be in charge of Professor S. E. Stout, Bloomington, who will be glad to know of these and similar experiments and to give advice and information about them.

6. *Teachers' league.*—A series of circular letters on various topics of interest connected with the teaching of Latin is being sent out to those who wish to read them and contribute to the discussion in this informal way. The circuits correspond to the Congressional districts. If you wish to join, send your name and address to the representative of your district on the committee, or to Professor J. J. Schlicher, 1811 North Eighth Street, Terre Haute, who is in general charge.

The Committee consists of the following:

Appointed by the Classical Section: J. J. Schlicher, 1811 North Eighth Street, Terre Haute; S. E. Stout, Bloomington; H. M. Gelston, 5319 Julian Avenue, Indianapolis.

District representatives: Mary Harsha, 504 West State Street, Princeton; Ida A. Chenoweth, Washington; Madeline Mattox, Salem; Katherine A. Quinn, 517 North Walnut Street, Seymour; Mabel Bishop, 417 North Walnut Street, Brazil; Elizabeth Smelser, R.R.D., Richmond; H. S. Schell, 56 Downey Avenue, Indianapolis; Emma B. Peters, 121 Kilgore Avenue, Muncie; Anna M. Claybaugh, 803 East Clinton Street, Frankfort; Caroline L. Weems, 3711 Fir Street, Indiana Harbor; Isabelle Cadden, 1115 Broadway, Logansport; Lena M. Foote, Box 374, Lagrange; Stella Peede, Goshen.

New Jersey

Hackensack.—The third-year Latin pupils of the Hackensack High School, under the direction of their instructor, Miss Charlotte E. Gillette, have worked out a dramatization of the denunciation of Catiline in the Roman senate. The play is called *Catilina Accusatus*, and is composed entirely in Latin. Such an exercise, participated in by the whole class, must have added greatly to the zest of the study of the Catilinian's orations.

Missouri

The University of Missouri.—Professor Walter Miller, after a year's absence, during which he was engaged in Y.M.C.A. war service in Italy, has resumed his home work at Columbia.

Pennsylvania

Pittsburgh.—A National Education Association Conference on the Place of Classical Studies in War-Modified Education was held at the University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa., on July 2 and 3. Andrew F. West, Princeton, N.J., acted as chairman. The program was as follows: Opening remarks, S. B. McCormick, Chancellor of the University of Pittsburgh; "Readjustment of Our Education Ideas after the War," H. C. Tolman, Vanderbilt University; "Justified Latin, Some Constructive Suggestions," Frances E. Sabin, University of Wisconsin; "Latin in the New World," Oliver W. Stewart, Associate Editor of the *National Enquirer*, Indianapolis; "The Ancient Guardians of Good Modern English," Edward P. Mitchell, Editor-in-Chief of the *Sun*, New York City; "Junior High-School Latin," Mrs. George B. Scott, Sigsbee School, Grand Rapids, Mich.; "Latin in Place of German," Mary L. Breene, Peabody High School, Pittsburgh, B. L. Ullman, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh; "The Practical Value of Latin in War-Modified Education," Albert S. Perkins, Dorchester High School, Boston; "Basis of Education in a Democracy," Wilbert L. Carr, University of Chicago High School, Chicago; discussion on the formation of a National Classical League for the improvement and extension of classical education in the United States.

This Classical Conference was organized in great haste, at a time when the program of the National Education Association was practically complete; hence, if material relating to the conference was to appear at all in the bulletins and programs of the meeting of the National Education Association, that material must be sent in at once. There was thus no time whatever for discussion or joint action with respect to the conference, not even among the members of the General Advisory Committee of the conference, which Professor West constituted as follows: officers of the conference: A. F. West, chairman; Chancellor S. B. McCormick (Pittsburgh), honorary chairman of the local committee; B. L. Ullman, University of Pittsburgh, chairman of the local committee; N. E. Henry, Peabody High School, Pittsburgh, secretary of the local committee and of the conference; other members, F. F. Abbott (Princeton), Jessie E. Allen (Girls' High School, Philadelphia), Dean Gertrude H. Beggs (Minnesota), Campbell Bonner (Michigan), Mary C. C. Bradford (president, 1917-18, National Education Association), Bessie R. Burchett (South Philadelphia High School), Edward Capps (Princeton), W. L. Carr (University of Chicago High School), J. W. Crabtree (secretary, National Education Association), B. L. D'Ooge (Michigan State Normal College), J. C. Egbert (Columbia), R. B. English (Washington and Jefferson College, president, C.A.A.S.), H. R. Fairclough (Leland Stanford Junior), George E. Howes

(Williams, president Classical Association of New England), F. W. Kelsey (Michigan), Charles Knapp (Columbia, secretary-treasurer, C.A.A.S.), L. E. Lord (Oberlin, secretary-treasurer, Classical Association of the Middle West and South), J. H. McKenzie (Howe School, Howe, Ind.), Anna P. MacVay (Wadleigh High School, New York City), C. W. E. Miller (Johns Hopkins), F. J. Miller (Chicago), C. H. Moore (Harvard), H. C. Nutting (California), Susan Paxson (Central High School, Omaha), President Ellen F. Pendleton (Wellesley College), A. S. Perkins (Dorchester High School, Boston), Frances E. Sabin (Wisconsin), Paul Shorey (Chicago), A. E. Stearns (Phillips Academy, Andover), President M. Carey Thomas (Bryn Mawr), H. C. Tolman (Vanderbilt), M. N. Wetmore (Williams, secretary-treasurer, Classical Association of New England).

This General Advisory Committee had no meeting before the Classical Conference began on July 2, but certain members of the committee met and agreed that, since there was no time to secure opinions, even from members of the General Advisory Committee, it was inadvisable to take positive steps at the current conference toward the formation of a National Classical League, and that there must be time, a year at least, for general and wide consideration. On formal motion, adopted by unanimous vote, the chairman was authorized to present to the Classical Conference next day the following resolutions, as having the approval of as much of the General Advisory Committee as was present:

1. *Resolved*, That the conference favors the establishment of an American Classical League to supplement and reinforce existing classical agencies and for the extension and improvement of classical education.

2. *Resolved*, That the chairman of this conference be requested to appoint two other members to act with him in selecting a committee of not less than five, nor more than nine, members to act as a Temporary Executive Committee until the permanent organization of the league be effected and to draft a constitution to be submitted at a meeting to be held next year in connection with the National Education Association.

3. *Resolved*, That this Temporary Executive Committee be empowered to prepare the program for a Classical Conference to be held next year in connection with the National Education Association and to do whatever else shall seem best to them for the promotion of the cause of classical education.

4. *Resolved*, That the General Advisory Committee for 1918 be continued for the coming year and that the Temporary Executive Committee be authorized to augment its membership.

At the Classical Conference these resolutions were unanimously adopted.

In the discussion which preceded the adoption of the resolutions by the members of the General Advisory Committee unanimous agreement was reached on certain points, by way of interpretation of the resolutions:

1. That the proposed National Classical League, if formed, was in, no way to interfere with the existing great regional classical associations (the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, the Classical Association of New England, the Classical Association of the Atlantic States, the Classical Association of the Pacific States), but rather to supplement their work.

2. That the four great regional classical associations should be carefully and fully consulted in connection with the plan for the proposed National Classical League.

3. That opinion as to the advisability of the formation of the proposed league and suggestions with respect to the *modus operandi* of such a league, should opinion favor the formation of the league, should be sought from all quarters and carefully considered.

4. That no positive steps to the actual formation of the proposed league, and no proselyting for members of such a league, should be taken until the Temporary Executive Committee, after considering all opinions and all suggestions, should reach conclusions and should lay those conclusions before the General Advisory Committee, and these conclusions should in turn be laid before the Classical Conference, to be held next July in connection with the next annual meeting of the National Education Association.

In a circular dated at Princeton, July 25, Professor West announced that he had requested Professors F. F. Abbott (Princeton) and D. R. Stuart (Princeton) to act with him to select the Temporary Executive Committee, and that the three had selected the following Temporary Executive Committee: A. E. Stearns (Phillips Academy, Andover), C. H. Moore (Harvard), Anna P. MacVay (Wadleigh High School, New York City), A. F. West, chairman (Princeton), W. L. Carr (University of Chicago High School), Frances E. Sabin (Wisconsin), Susan Paxson (Central High School, Omaha), H. C. Nutting (California), H. C. Tolman (Vanderbilt).

German Educator's Casualty List (from the National Education Association *Bulletin* for June, 1918).—The National Education Association has canceled all honorary memberships of German educators. In response to a persistent demand from active members of the Association, from members of the Council of National Defense, and from others, the Executive Committee issued an order that all names of honorary members residing in Germany be dropped from the membership roll. The following are among the names of prominent German educators on the honorary list of corresponding members whose memberships have been canceled: Dr. Christian Felix Klein, Wilhelm-Weber Strasse 3, Göttingen; Dr. Wilhelm Paszkowski, University of Berlin, Berlin; Dr. Karl Reinhardt, Schillerstrasse 8, Steglitz, Berlin; Dr. Friedrich Gustav Adolph E. L. Schmidt, Cultus Ministerium, Berlin; Dr. Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Berlin University, Berlin; Dr. Anton H. Appellmann, Herzlake Hannover; Dr. John Mez, Munich.

Mr. Wilbert W. Martin, 4406 Maine Avenue, West Forest Park, Baltimore, desires to obtain a copy of Vol. I, No. 1, of the *Classical Journal*, in order to complete his file. Any reader who can supply this number is requested to communicate with Mr. Martin.

General Comment

[Edited by Gilbert Campbell Scoggin, The University of Missouri.]

From England has come the report of the death, on March 5, of Rev. William Walter Merry, of Oxford. Born in 1835, he had long been associated with the University as public orator and as rector of Lincoln College, having been appointed to the former position in 1880 and to the latter in 1884. His editions of various plays of Aristophanes are familiar to American students. He completed the *Odyssey* which had been begun by Riddell, and edited also *Selected Fragments of Roman Poetry*. He well maintained the standing of his college after the death of Pattison, of whom he was no unworthy successor.

Some time ago I called attention to the fact that a committee appointed by the Bibliographical Society of America was arranging for publication the material collected toward a *Census of Fifteenth-Century Books Owned in America*. Instalments of this *Census*, prepared for publication by Mr. George Parker Winship, chairman of the committee, have been appearing regularly in the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library, beginning with the April issue. All of the available material will probably have appeared in print by the close of the present year. It is hoped that a collected issue may appear in January, 1919. Then it will be possible to add a supplement embracing titles reported too late for inclusion in the *Bulletin*. Classical scholars who possess any fifteenth-century books or who know of any copies that may not have been reported should send a description of these immediately to Mr. Winship at the Harry Elkins Widener Memorial Library, Harvard University. By so doing they will not only perform an act of piety to the memory of the early patrons of the humanities, but will also make personal contribution toward the advancement of classical scholarship in America at the present time.

After a prolonged discussion it has been decided to retain the requirement of Greek for the A.B. degree at Vanderbilt University. Two courses of action were suggested by the enemies of Greek: one was offered by those who favored the awarding of only one degree, the A.B.; the other by those who wished to retain the B.S., at the same time eliminating Greek as a requirement for the A.B. But the first group was divided on the question of keeping Latin as a requirement, the supporters of Latin standing firm in their demand. According to an uncensored report that has reached me, "the statements presented [against Greek] were enough to hide the sun, and might have done so, if they had not been so thin. 'Lincoln did not study Greek,' 'A Rhodes scholar has forgotten his Greek,' 'Greece today is one of the least admirable of nations,' 'We want more democracy' [this from a teacher who has not voted

for years], and so on." In short, "the statements for the most part seem a conglomerative aggregation of heterogeneous inconsequentialities." A beginning class in Greek has been organized this fall to provide for those students who have not had opportunity for its study in school. Vanderbilt maintains its place among those colleges that require both Greek and Latin for the degree in arts.

Many lovers of literature whose standards have been formed from models which have endured the critical tests of many generations no doubt have often felt of late, as they have tried to keep in touch with the new poetry, that they were adrift at sea without chart or compass. The seeming lack of unanimity among the representatives of the new school has only added discomfiture. Most students of poetry, therefore, will welcome from the pen of one of the most distinguished of the moderns an outline of their aims, and will now be enabled to gauge their accomplishments. Such a touchstone they have in Miss Amy Lowell's *Tendencies in Modern American Poetry*. By many the terms free verse, polyphonic prose, imagism, have been variously confused. This need cause no surprise when Miss Lowell complains that a well-known critic has classed as imagists certain writers whom the guild of imagists do not admit to their ranks. We are at once put on firm ground when we learn that imagism is a school within a more comprehensive movement, and we are doubly thankful to have outlined for us the characteristics of this school within a school. The new movement would be of considerable interest for classical students even if it professed to be merely a rebellion against tradition. As a matter of fact several of the new poets might not unreasonably claim inspiration from the classical muse. But of this more anon.

The rapidity of growth of the new school is attested by the fact that Miss Lowell already distinguishes three stages, each of which is represented by active contemporary writers. Thus Edward Arlington Robinson and Robert Frost are the pioneers in breaking down tradition, but in them "traditional racial characteristics remained"; Edgar Lee Masters and Carl Sandburg plunged forward in quest of change and freedom, "shouting their beliefs, sometimes raucously, but always honestly and with courage"; the third stage, "not of necessity the best," is represented by the imagists. Of these last, six have been admitted into the canon, three English and three American, including Miss Lowell herself. The two Americans treated are "H. D." and John Gould Fletcher. For the imagists Miss Lowell speaks with authority and she announces their credo as follows: "Simplicity and directness of speech; subtlety and beauty of rhythms; individualistic freedom of ideas; clearness and vividness of presentation; and concentration." "What! Homer an imagist?" I hear Professor Scott exclaiming. After our ideas of modernity have received this setback we scarcely perceive the shock when we learn that here we have votaries of the Greek muse. Some of the bottles set before us undoubtedly bear the label "Pierian Springs," but their unmistakable modern shape casts doubt upon their contents.

In most cases these writers have attended college, but for the most part they left without a degree, presumably being unable to conform to the collegiate strait-jacket. Robert Frost spent a few months at Dartmouth in 1893, and he entered Harvard in 1897 "to study Latin." Mr. Masters at the age of nineteen "took up the study of Latin." At the age of twenty-one he attended Knox College for a year, studying Greek and continuing Latin. Carl Sandburg is linked with Mr. Masters in directing the course of the steam roller of poesy. He was a student at Lombard College. I nowhere find it stated how kindly he took to ancient song, and from his poetry it is difficult to find any indication of debt. The scene of one of his poems is laid in a cheap eating-house. We are introduced into the inmost recesses of the kind heart of a professional bomb-throwing anarchist, a man who loves little children and is overflowing with love and tenderness for all his fellow-men. The gentleness of this philanthropic murderer is unfolded as he sits talking "over a dish of steak and onions." Atmosphere is here created no doubt, and that too more pleasant than what prevailed amid the hides and bones that filled the courts thronged by the feasting suitors in the palace of the absent Odysseus.

It must be admitted that the *Spoon River Anthology* can claim kinship with the *Greek Anthology*. Not common family name alone supports this view. It may be "a piece of impertinent correspondence," "a preposterous shadow," "a perpetually recurring mortification," "a blot on your scutcheon," "a Lazarus at your door," "a rent in your garment," "the one thing not needful," "the fly in the jam," "the mud on the parlor floor"—anything and everything that a "poor relation" is. The keynote of this extraordinary collection may certainly be found in Leonidas of Tarentum (not Meleager, as Miss Lowell has it): *ψεύστης δ' οὗτος ἐπεστι λίθος*. In both collections we fail to meet with Aristotle's ideal tragic hero, a personage *τῶν ἐν μεγάλῃ δόξῃ ὄντων καὶ εὐτυχία, οἷον Οἰδίπους καὶ Θυέστης καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων γενῶν ἐπιφανείς ἄνδρες*; yet few will deny that pathos and tragedy abound in both. In the case of the Greek collection we have a more rounded picture of life due to the greater diversity of human experience portrayed. Even Miss Lowell finds in *Spoon River* "too much crime and disease." One might add that this is characteristic of much of the modern literature. Psychopathic conditions abound in real life, but they are not life; they are life's diseases, and they should not be allowed to usurp the chief place in life. Hospitals and operating rooms should not be converted into public museums for public entertainment. Direct inspiration from the Greek is apparent in such poems of Mr. Masters as "Marsyas," "The Furies," and "Apollo at Pherae," which are included in his volume *The Great Valley*, but Miss Lowell exclaims, "What have such classical subjects . . . to do with the shouting Americanism of the rest of the book?"

Mrs. Aldington (née Hilda Doolittle, whence "H. D.") entered Bryn Mawr in 1904, but was forced to leave college before completing her course. We are told that she reads Greek and Latin as easily as most people read French.

Her husband also was fascinated by Greek culture; "the flawless purity of Greek models was a perpetual delight to him." "In this age of pedantic learning, or no learning at all, it is strange to find two young people reading Greek 'for fun.'" "The imagists seem to have a natural *flair* for languages. The so-called dead languages are very living to most of them, and modern languages they know well, some one, some two, most of them three." "H. D." and her husband have published a great many translations from Greek and Latin; the rendering of the "Choruses from Iphigeneia in Aulis" has elicited public praise from Mr. Mackail, no bad critic in such matters. In all her poetry there is something that recalls the Greek. Everywhere Greek names abound; yet, as Miss Lowell notes, there is a complete detachment from life as such, which surely is not Greek. If this is the result of "pathetic endeavor to believe in the beauty and use of a modernity in which she feels she has no part," we suspect that this may be due to her conviction of the superiority of the ancient models. The modern muse's motor bus is more roomy than the old-time vehicle of song; but with its overcrowding and the wild scrambling for places is it so conducive to healthful thought as an open-air jaunt on Pegasus, even if we must pass through the slums?

John Gould Fletcher, when eight years old, began the study of Latin and German. After finishing at Andover he entered Harvard in 1903 and began the study of French. "In Mr. Fletcher, as in the other imagists, we see the value of lingual studies." In the verse of this poet we are confronted with stern realism and a marked skill in the use of words. Take such a description as the following, where he is describing the Mexican quarter:

The smell of a dead horse
Mingles with the smell of tamales frying.

The only criticism that I have ever seen offered against these verses is that "tamales are not fried," which will recall to some that little Cortez incident in Keat's *Chapman's Homer*. Homely diction can be effectively used by a poet, as is shown in the case of Wordsworth, but, as is shown in the case of the same poet, it easily becomes ridiculous. "The language of the age," says the poet Gray, "is never the language of poetry." And again: "They who would combat general authority with particular understanding must first establish themselves a reputation of understanding better than other men." Both these quotations I have taken from an essay written by Miss Lowell's famous kinsman, who was both poet and critic in no mean degree. A photograph may bring out all the unlovely details of a face (the professionals now have a habit of filling in "premature" wrinkles), yet more true to reality will be the work of the artist, who by his deeper insight will interpret the higher spiritual qualities of character. I have read a considerable amount of "modern" verse and I trust that I shall read much more. Yet in spite of all that I can do, the devil is persistently whispering in my ear, "But is it art?"

Book Reviews

Theophrastus and the Greek Physiological Psychology before Aristotle.

By GEORGE MALCOLM STRATTON. New York: Macmillan, 1917. Pp. 227.

The book under review consists of three parts. The first part offers an appraisal of the work of Theophrastus besides a rather full account of his doctrine upon the main topics of physiological psychology discussed in ancient times, as well as his method of criticism and exposition. The second part presents the text and translation of the fragment *On the Senses*. The third part adds copious notes on the text and translation. Indexes, English and Greek, complete the volume.

Hellenists will gladly welcome the work of one of our most eminent psychologists in a field where few men of his *métier* would have ventured. So few scientists display an intelligent interest in the history of their science, especially when its beginnings lie in antiquity, that he who does is by that very fact distinguished among his fellows. When that interest bears fruit in literary exposition deserving commendation for sound scholarship, the achievement is all the more noteworthy. One naturally surmises, though there is no direct evidence of the fact, that Professor Stratton's present venture was, however indirectly, in some measure due to the interest and inspiration of his teacher, the late Professor Howison; but it is to others that he acknowledges an indebtedness certainly more immediate—to his colleagues, Professors Clapp and Linforth, of the University of California, and especially to Professor A. E. Taylor, of St. Andrews, from whose manuscript notes he quotes freely and at considerable length. All concerned in the production of the volume deserve our thanks for the general excellence of the fruit of their joint labors.

The first part of the volume, appraising and setting forth the views of Theophrastus, is perhaps for the scholar the most satisfactory. Here there is little to which one may reasonably take exception, though Professor Stratton is certainly too generous in the praise he bestows on his author. The pre-eminent value of Theophrastus for us lies not in an inerrancy, to which human nature cannot attain, but in the fact that, excepting the scanty fragments of the early Greek thinkers and the more or less casual references to them in Plato and Aristotle, he is practically our only source for the earlier period, since the later doxographic tradition consists almost exclusively of excerpts from his writings. Again, while Theophrastus visibly studied accuracy and impartiality, he was neither quite accurate nor impartial. He was the heir of Aristotle, the influence of whose interpretation of his predecessors he could not escape. Though this is not to his discredit, it requires to be emphasized,

especially because Zeller, the willing slave of Aristotle, still dominates the history of Greek philosophy. The imperative duty of the student of pre-Socratic thought, as Professor Burnet and I have repeatedly pointed out, is to discover ways and means to outflank the deeply intrenched position of Aristotle and Theophrastus in order that a critical advance may be possible; for critical method requires that the dicta of these ancient worthies shall be regarded as data to be interpreted, not as facts to be accepted. Professor Stratton is aware that occasionally Theophrastus misrepresents the thinkers whom he expounds and criticizes; but he is not aware how often and how fundamentally he does so, chiefly under the influence of certain Aristotelian conceptions which he unwittingly imports into the systems of thinkers quite innocent of them. Of this I have given some evidence in my essay on "Qualitative Change in Pre-Socratic Philosophy" (*Archiv für Gesch. der Philos.*, XIX, 333-79), with special reference to the *αἰσθήσεις* which Aristotle and Theophrastus impute to the pre-Socratics.

As for the translation, which Professor Stratton gives in the second part of his volume, one is pleased to note that in general it is accurate. There are some passages, however, in which he goes astray. These would have been less numerous, I venture to think, if the translator had had his attention directed to the generally excellent version of *De Sensibus* given by Tannery, *Pour l'histoire de la science hellène*, pp. 341-68. I cannot here review the whole translation but will discuss a few passages.

Page 71, c. 5, we read "assuming then that there is this effluence and that (effluence and organ) must unite." Here "unite" represents *συναμύρτεται*; the meaning is that the effluence must fit the pores of the organ. Page 81, c. 17, "cognition is due to likeness," is apt to mislead the reader: the meaning is that cognition results from the perception of a substance by the like substance in the percipient. Of course, Professor Stratton knows this; the criticism is directed at the phraseology into which he falls. Page 149, c. 89, we read, "For he says that the astringent or 'puckering' taste contracts the passages, and that the saline taste cleanses them." Here I should not use the word "taste," for Theophrastus is clearly thinking of astringent and saline juices. What he says reflects an ancient medical doctrine regarding the cathartic properties of salts, a subject on which I touched in my "Hippocratea I" (*Harvard Studies*, XXV, 150).

On page 149, c. 90, occurs a passage requiring correction at several points: "For they [the objects of smell] differ in their affections (*πάθει*), as well as in the pleasures (*ἡδοναῖς*) they give us, quite as do the savours. Indeed (the two groups) would seem to be governed alike in all respects. As for smell itself, it is generally agreed that there is some emanation and that there is an inhalation of air . . . for when mist arises water disappears." Here *πάθει* clearly means secondary qualities, as frequently in Aristotle; *ἡδοναῖς* denotes not "pleasures," but "savours," the word being used indifferently for savours and odors by early Greek writers. The sentence καὶ ἅμα δόξουν ἂν

ὁμοίως ἔχειν ἐπὶ πάντων means "It would seem to be the same in the case of all." The next sentence should read, "As for smell, it is generally agreed that it is an effluence and an inhalation of the air," the two descriptions of it referring to the emitting object and the percipient. The last clause, as Wimmer and Tannery saw, means that when a fog comes rain ceases.

Among the notes on the text and translation, which form the third part of the volume, there are some of real importance due both to Professor Stratton and to Professor Taylor. Some invite criticism, but space fails me to justify such objections as occur to me, for the emendation of a difficult text requires detailed consideration. Instead of a criticism of this part of the book I will offer two minor suggestions. On page 186, note 125, Professor Taylor refers to Aris. *Nubes* 225 ff. where Socrates says he suspends himself in a basket to prevent the *ικμός* from spoiling his thought. Incidentally he thus approaches his divinities, the clouds. So far as I am aware no one has thought to compare with this passage Lucian *De Syne Dea*, c. 29, which may have considerable significance if Lucian in that essay is reproducing an early Ionian writer. That is a thesis for which much can be said, and some day I may undertake to maintain it. The second suggestion relates to the text of Parmenides, fr. 16 Diels, quoted by Theophrastes *De Sensibus*, c. 3. Diels now gives the first line thus:

ὥς γὰρ ἐκάστω' ἔχει κῶσιν μεδέων πολοπλάγκτων.

The MSS of Theophrastus and Aristotle show variously *ἐκαστος*, *ἐκάστω*, *ἐκάστωτε*. All give *κῶσιν*. It seems clear that Aristotle from memory wrote *ἐκαστος* *κῶσιν*. The MSS tradition, however, suggests that Parmenides wrote either *ἐκάστω* or *ἐκάστω*. With either lection *κῶσις* [rather *κῆσις*] would be far more probable than *κῶσιν*. I think it most probable that the text of Theophrastus has been corrupted by a "corrector" revising after the text of Aristotle. Stephanus proposed *κῶσις*, and Diels in the *Doxographi* thought it probable. His second thoughts were not his best.

W. A. HEIDEL

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Our Renaissance: Essays on the Reform and Revival of Classical Studies. By HENRY BROWNE, S.J. London: Longmans, 1917. 8vo, pp. xvi+281. \$2.60 net.

This volume of essays and addresses by Professor Browne, of University College, Dublin, is becomingly prefaced by the address given by him at the Chicago meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, in April, 1916, on "Our Renaissance: Its Meaning, Aim, and Method." The articles that follow fall naturally into two divisions. The first three essays deal with the qualities of the Greek genius as exhibited in the realms of aesthetics, of political democracy, and of religion. The four that succeed these are

concerned with what the author considers needed reforms in methods of present-day classical instruction, chiefly with the quickening of interest in the life of antiquity by the use of archaeological material. Appendixes contain Professor Browne's report to the British Association on "Museums in Relation to Education," to which is added a summary of his personal investigation of American museums, and a "Suggested Catalogue of Exhibits for a Circulating Museum, with Estimated Cost."

The essays of the first group are good for all the world, though not all the world would agree with nearly every point in them; those of the second group contemplate past and present methods of teaching which differ somewhat from those in vogue in our own country; and yet the discussion embodies much that is of interest and value for Americans as well as for our colleagues over the water.

We in America probably do not especially need the exhortation to use archaeological helps to instruction, though we need more of the archaeological helps to use, and we need to learn how to use them judiciously. The text offered by Professor Browne's essay on "The Gospel of Work" may be utilized as the basis for a brief comment on our especially perplexing situation in this country. Not so very long ago the high schools clamored that the colleges were tyrants, irresponsibly lording it over the holy cause of education by means of subjects and amounts of study arbitrarily and inflexibly prescribed for all candidates for admission to their sacred portals, and irrationally tested by examinations set by the colleges only. Within this short time the colleges have utterly surrendered (the few exceptions are negligible) and are now themselves chained slaves of the schools. The schools frame their own curricula, conduct their own tests, and the colleges humbly and gratefully accept without question whatever pupils the schools send them. At a recent meeting of classical teachers in secondary schools it was the apparently unchallenged opinion that the six books of the *Aeneid* read in the four-year preparatory course must be cut down to four, and the six speeches of Cicero also to four. The amusing thing was that no one suggested the possibility that the colleges might demur at receiving without question pupils of such reduced equipment. Their assent was serenely taken for granted. So complete has been the subjugation of the erstwhile "tyrants"!

But that might pass. The more serious question follows. We of old time were assured that the quality of real efficiency in the pupil would be improved and not impaired by the relaxation in prescription and the abandonment of entrance examinations. The reformed system has been in operation for a generation. It has had a fair trial. What is the actual result? Greek in the schools has been throttled, and young people sent up by the schools with preparation in Latin are on the average not better equipped than a generation ago, but decidedly worse, both in quantity and in quality of work. This is confessedly the case all over the country. Is not the condition a serious one which demands remedy? The colleges think so and with the best of reasons.

The problem is much more difficult than that in Professor Browne's bailiwick, where the colleges have not yet put themselves absolutely at the mercy of the schools.

At the meeting just referred to an able and enthusiastic teacher of Latin remarked, apparently with the unanimous assent of the audience, that to read six speeches of Cicero in the time allotted to that subject the pupil must be able to cover (on the average, it is to be presumed) thirty lines at a single lesson, a task which all would agree to be manifestly impossible. A generation ago a boy to be admitted to college must have read ordinarily four books of Caesar, eight orations of Cicero, six books of the *Aeneid* with the *Bucolics* and *Georgics*, and sometimes also Sallust's *Catiline*, with considerable of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, besides having had drill in grammar and composition that meant something. He had no more time to accomplish this than at present. Is his successor nowadays of inferior mental ability? (The earlier boy had of course the now discarded stimulus of a real desire for a college education and of the knowledge that in order to be admitted he must be prepared to pass the entrance examinations.) No wonder that "practical" people question whether the study of Latin is worth while if a class in the fourth year of the study cannot average a page of reading per lesson. The present writer also, himself a teacher of Latin, considers the game under such postulated circumstances not worth the candle. But a number of teachers present at the meeting agreed that if the work now required of pupils in Latin is not substantially reduced, the study being wholly elective in the schools, their classes will be entirely deserted for those in less exacting subjects, and the teachers themselves held responsible for the deficit in students and presumably asked to vacate their places in favor of less strenuous persons. Thus the colleges have abdicated their proper function, the secondary-school teachers profess themselves powerless to put any screws on, and the child is made the supreme and unchallenged arbiter not only of his own destiny but of that of his instructors all along the line. To such an absurdity has the elective system and the pseudo-science of the schools of education reduced us! We bespeak Professor Browne's sympathy. Our "gospel of work" in the schools must be to inculcate a precise and ready knowledge of elementary forms, constructions, and vocabulary—if the pupil will kindly consent. We have apparently lost that not very lofty ideal. Yet nothing will take its place. Bread and not honey cakes is needed.

E. T. M.

Recent Books

- Foreign books in this list may be obtained from Lemcke & Buechner, 30-32 West 27th St., New York City; G. E. Stechert & Co., 151-55 West 25th St., New York City; F. C. Stechert & Co., 29-35 West 32d St., New York City.

- BOWMAN, H. N. *The Crimes of the Oedipodean Cycle*. (Badger's Classical Studies.) Boston: Badger. Pp. 62. \$1.00 net.
- FLICKINGER, R. C. *The Greek Theater and Its Drama*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Pp. xxviii+358. \$3.00 net.
- HOPKINSON, L. W. *Greek Leaders*. Biographies of eleven makers of Greek history, edited by W. S. Ferguson. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. Pp. viii+259. \$1.00.
- KELSEY, F. W. *Caesar's Commentaries, The Gallic War, Books I-IV*, with selections from Books V-VII, and from the *Civil War*; with an introduction, notes, a companion to Caesar, and a vocabulary. Boston: Allyn & Bacon. Pp. xl+674+137. \$1.50 net.
- LAURENCE, C. E. *Cicero's Pro Milone*. Edited by C. E. Laurence. London: George Bell & Sons. 18mo. 1s. 3d.
- MATTHAEI, LOUISE E. *Studies in Greek Tragedy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 8vo. 9s. net.
- MESSER, W. S. *The Dream in Homer and Greek Tragedy*. (Columbia University Studies in Classical Philology.) New York: Lemcke & Buechner. Pp. viii+105. \$1.25 net.
- MOREY, C., and DENNISON, W. *Studies in East Christian and Roman Art*. (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series.) New York: Macmillan. Pp. xiv+175. \$4.75.
- PRICKARD, A. O. *Select Essays of Plutarch*. Vol. II. Translated, with an introduction. (Oxford Library of Translations.) New York: Oxford University Press. Crown 8vo, pp. xx+336. \$1.50 net.
- WINBOLT, S. E. *Livy's Veii and the Etruscan Confederacy*. (Bell's One-Term Latin Classics.) London: George Bell & Sons. 18mo. 1s. 3d.

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Editorial

THE HUMANITIES IN WAR TIME AND AFTER

The spirit of sacrifice in order that the great world-war may be pushed through to absolute victory for allied democracy is widespread in our land. We give up our ordinary comforts, our money, our time, our accustomed ways of living, all that we have, even our nearest and dearest possessions, if the exigencies of the war demand it. And we do it gladly, knowing that if the war were lost there would be nothing left that would have value in our eyes.

Among these sacrifices which many of us have freely consented to for the war's sake and with the understanding that it is for the term of the war only, are our educational ideals. The immediate war needs call for certain practical and technical knowledge on the part of all officers, for the training of whom the country has very properly turned to its colleges. This means that, so far as the education of college men is concerned, all studies except "war-essential studies" must give way. They have given way; and in four hundred of our colleges the men of the humanistic departments have cheerfully seen their favorite studies set aside and have girded themselves to help in the nation's great task; they have offered themselves for service in the "essential departments," turning to long unaccustomed tasks with no thought but to serve.

Oblitus que mei
Insolita cepi temporis arma manu.

So, life has been reduced to the basis of the practical, the material, because the successful waging of the war demands it. Let it be so. *But when the war is over* and we have settled down once more to the works of peace, what then? It is true there will still remain the great task of material reconstruction and industrial reorganization both in this country and abroad. But if after the war we are to remain on the material level of the war's necessity, if we are to continue to breathe only the atmosphere of industrialism and vocationalism, then indeed will the war have done us damage irreparable. Ruined land must indeed be reclaimed, ruined buildings reconstructed, ruined industries built up again, broken bodies mended and taught to function once more in human service. But what of mental, aesthetic, spiritual reconstruction? How shall we repair the waste to mental faculties and perceptions which four long years of concentration on material tasks have wrought? the waste to aesthetic sensibilities which the constant knowledge and even sight of the hitherto unimaginable horrors of this war have caused? the spiritual damage which this carnage of blood and struggle and unspeakable suffering has done? Can these most grievous damages be repaired by material means? Shall we regain our high mental attitudes, our spiritual grasp, our philosophic calm, through the sole agency of the vocational and the practical?

In such a time as this it surely is only a little man with his eyes upon the ground who can say of the present situation in our colleges: "Moreover, if the war does not last the students will not have lost anything except a little Latin and Greek. It is quite possible that they may be able to worry through life, even a life of peace, without such adornments. It has been known to happen." Yes, it is quite possible; it has been known to happen. But when it does happen that humanistic studies are banished from the reach of youth, the result is and ever must be the multiplication of just such little men with eyes upon the ground as the one just quoted.

In contrast with such an utterance it is encouraging to turn to the following sane and forward-looking editorial of the *New York Evening Sun*, which holds that even in war time we should still hold fast to and keep the humanistic tradition alive:

It will not do to let the wheels stop entirely. At least a skeleton of the old structure must be saved, and even in war times the "humanities" must not be neglected. The work of the scientific schools is apt to survive easily, as it fits in with the obvious technical demands. But the maintenance of the ancient cultural forces is equally important. Surely a way can be found to save and continue in limited but vital functioning all the finer elements of the old curriculum. We are inclined to think that study of Greek literature, art, philosophy, and "humane letters" was never so importantly an "essential industry" as at present. We shall need them when peace comes. The light must be kept burning.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON QUESTIONNAIRE¹

BY ALBERT S. PERKINS
Dorchester High School, Boston

After communicating with Miss Sabin and Miss Hanson with reference to the questions sent out by the Western Association, the Committee² decided to ascertain the opinion of teachers of Latin and Greek, of school superintendents, instructors of pedagogy and educational psychology in normal schools and colleges, and in general of men and women prominent in education. Copies of the two sets of questions, with the tabulation of replies, are given below.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS AND INSTRUCTORS IN PEDAGOGY AND EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

I. Would you advise that any study or studies be taken in secondary schools chiefly for the sake of *mental discipline*? If so, what studies?

Number	Ratio	Percentage
Yes..... 39	Yes to No = 1 : 2.91	Yes..... 25.49
No..... 114		No..... 74.51
Total..... 153		100.00

II. In the teaching of Latin would you recommend that emphasis be laid upon English vocabulary building and the literary features of the authors read, with the study of forms and syntax made, not an end, but a means to an end?

Number	Ratio	Percentage
Yes..... 146	Yes to No = 20.86 : 1	Yes..... 95.42
No..... 7		No..... 4.58
Total..... 153		100.00

¹ Read at the thirteenth annual meeting of the Classical Association of New England, March 23, 1918.

² Albert S. Perkins, Dorchester High School; Adèle Allen, Holyoke High School; Josiah Bridge, Westminster School.

III. Would you favor a country-wide series of measurements of Latin and non-Latin pupils of equal ability for the purpose (1) of testing comparative facility in English vocabulary building, and (2) of determining whether the study of Latin has resulted in added mental power, that is, has served as a means of *mental discipline*?

Number	Ratio	Percentage
Yes..... 98	Yes to No = 1.88 : 1	Yes..... 65.33
No..... 52		No..... 34.67
Total..... 150		100.00

IV. Would you recommend that questions be placed on the Latin papers of the College Entrance Board to test ability to correlate English derivatives with Latin originals, without, however, increasing the amount of time to be devoted to Latin in the secondary school? If your answer is in the affirmative, would you recommend that the time for the proposed requirement in English vocabulary through the Latin be taken from advanced Latin composition? Please offer detailed constructive suggestions on this point.

Number	Ratio	Percentage
Yes..... 108	Yes to No = 4.69 : 1	Yes..... 82.44
No..... 23		No..... 17.56
Total..... 131		100.00

V. In view of the fact that so large a proportion of the English words used in business and other vocational pursuits are of Latin origin, would you favor for high schools or junior high schools the establishment of a course of at least two years in "vocational Latin," that is, Latin taught largely for English vocabulary to commercial and other vocational pupils, to the end that their earning capacity may be increased?

Number	Ratio	Percentage
Yes..... 71	Yes to No = 1 : 1.07	Yes..... 48.30
No..... 76		No..... 51.70
Total..... 147		100.00

VI. Do you favor the teaching of Greek in secondary schools, especially (1) if teachers are willing to give additional hours in case the classes are small; (2) if, as in Latin, English derivatives are correlated with Greek originals; and (3) if emphasis is placed on essentials, with nonessentials put in the background, as in the new comprehensive examination of the College Entrance Board?

Number	Ratio	Percentage
Yes..... 73	Yes to No = 1.04 : 1	Yes..... 51.05
No..... 70		No..... 48.95
Total..... 143		100.00

VII. Please offer constructive suggestions for improvement in the teaching of Latin and Greek, or for widening the scope of their influence and helpfulness, not brought out by the above questions.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR LATIN TEACHERS

I. 1. Would you be interested in a supply house, or bureau, for sending out to teachers of Latin who wish it certain material useful in their work?

2. Have you anything to suggest as an addition to the following list? Slides, photographs, costumes for Latin plays, a list of books for a model high-school library, a monthly bulletin giving notices of new books and articles in current magazines of special interest to the Latin teacher, new ideas in the Latin professional world, an account of a country-wide series of measurements of Latin and non-Latin pupils of equal ability, Latin publicity material, statistics regarding Latin in other states, etc.

3. Would you advise an occasional lecture in your city or town to the general public upon the value of the study of Latin and Greek?

Number	Ratio	Percentage
Yes..... 47	Yes to No=11.75 : 1	Yes..... 92.16
No..... 4		No..... 7.84
Total..... 51		100.00

II. Would you favor the establishment of some system of professional correspondence whereby the needs of teachers along various lines might be furthered?

Number	Ratio	Percentage
Yes..... 35	Yes to No=7 : 1	Yes..... 87.50
No..... 5		No..... 12.50
Total..... 40		100.00

III. If some plan could be worked out for a closer co-operation among the schools for the purpose of achieving better results than teachers are now getting, would you be interested in lending your assistance? Would you be willing, for example, to help in working out such a problem as practical ways of correlating Latin with other subjects in the high school or junior high school curriculum; a suitable Latin vocabulary list for four years of the course based directly upon the text as it is read in various schools; or English derivatives for 400 or 500 Latin words included in the course; or a minimum amount of form and syntax work for each year, etc.?

Number	Ratio	Percentage
Yes..... 43	Yes to No=14.33 : 1	Yes..... 93.48
No..... 3		No..... 6.52
Total..... 46		100.00

IV. 1. Would you like to see some scheme worked out whereby skilled teachers of high-school Latin could visit younger teachers and assist them directly in solving the problems of their work?

2. Can you offer constructive suggestions on the above point?

3. Would you think it a good plan for the director of the course for the training of Latin teachers in university, college, or normal school to work out some "follow up" system whereby he could make occasional visits, at least, to young teachers who have been in his classes in the preceding year?

Number	Ratio	Percentage
Yes..... 42	Yes to No=8.4 : 1	Yes..... 89.36
No..... 5		No..... 10.64
Total..... 47		100.00

V. 1. Has Greek ever been taught in your school? If so, in what years?

2. Is there a demand for the study of Greek in the school today?

3. Will you co-operate in meeting this demand, if it exists, or in creating the demand, if it does not exist, by using the following methods?

a) Representing to successful first-year Latin pupils the desirability of the study of Greek.

b) By teaching extra hours, in case the classes are small, that the number of "pupil hours" of the Greek teacher shall not fall below the average of the school.

c) By correlating English derivatives with Greek originals.

d) By putting nonessentials in the background and emphasizing essentials, so as to enable pupils to read Greek masterpieces as soon and as appreciatively as possible, in general, following the lines of the new comprehensive examination of the College Entrance Board.

Number	Ratio	Percentage
Yes..... 14	Yes to No=1 : 2.21	Yes..... 31.12
No..... 31		No..... 68.88
Total..... 45		100.00

VI. Would you favor a country-wide series of measurements of Latin and non-Latin pupils of equal ability for the purpose (1) of testing comparative power in English vocabulary building, and (2) of determining whether the study of Latin has resulted in added mental power, that is, has served as a means of *mental discipline*?

Number	Ratio	Percentage
Yes..... 35	Yes to No=4.38 : 1	Yes..... 81.37
No..... 8		No..... 18.63
Total..... 43		100.00

VII. Would you recommend that questions be placed on the Latin papers of the College Entrance Board to test the candidate's ability to correlate English derivatives with Latin originals, without, however, increasing the amount of time to be devoted to Latin in the college preparatory course? Would you recommend that the time for the proposed requirement in English vocabulary through the Latin be taken from advanced Latin composition? Please offer detailed constructive suggestions on this point, after conferring with your headmaster and school superintendent.

Number	Ratio	Percentage
Yes..... 35	Yes to No=11.66 : 1	Yes..... 92.10
No..... 3		No..... 7.90
Total..... 38		100.00

VIII. Is there a demand in your school (or the junior high school connected with it) for a course of at least two years in "vocational Latin," that is, Latin taught largely for English vocabulary to commercial or other vocational pupils? If such a demand does not exist at present, would you be willing to co-operate in creating it by setting before school superintendents, headmasters, commercial (or other vocational) teachers, and students the importance of Latin as a *vocational study*, from the fact that a large proportion of the English words used in business and other vocational pursuits at the present time are of Latin origin, and that a thorough knowledge of the meaning and use of these words would serve to increase the earning capacity of pupils in later life?

Number	Ratio	Percentage
Yes..... 31	Yes to No=3.1 : 1	Yes..... 75.61
No..... 10		No..... 24.39
Total..... 41		100.00

IX. Please offer constructive suggestions for improvement in the teaching of Latin and Greek, or for widening the scope of their influence and helpfulness, not brought out by the above questions.

On the teachers' questionnaire the results ranged from 14.33 to 1 ("Yes" to "No") in No. III, to 3.1 to 1 in No. VIII, except, strangely enough, in No. V, the Greek question. Here "Yes" to "No" was in the ratio of 1 to 2.21. Some teachers said that their work was so heavy that they had no strength to teach extra hours. Others had not studied Greek and had no time to get it up. A few claimed exemption on the ground that their superintendents were opposed to Greek. It is encouraging, however, to find on the superintendents' paper the replies to this question in the ratio of 1.04 to 1, or 51.05 per cent in favor of Greek.

With reference to No. I in the superintendents' questionnaire you will note that on the question in the abstract "No" is to "Yes" nearly 3 to 1; but there were notable exceptions. For example, Dr. G. Stanley Hall replied: "Yes, Latin." Mr. A. L. Rafter, of the Boston Board of Superintendents: "I would advise that Latin be taken in secondary schools for the sake of mental discipline." President Wooley, of Mount Holyoke: "I certainly still believe in the much-criticized mental discipline." President Benjamin Ide Wheeler, of the University of California, said: "Yes, mathematics and Latin." Samuel B. Allison, assistant superintendent in charge of standards and statistics, Chicago Board of Education, writes as follows:

I think it good practice that pupils be advised to take studies that they do not particularly care for. I know of one case where such advice was given to a high-school pupil who thought he had a great aversion for arithmetic. Upon being advised to try it anyway, he has found that his main forte lies in mathematics, and now he is choosing his college course with reference to taking as much mathematics as he can get.

But many who replied "No" to the question in the abstract in reality took middle ground. Thus President Eliot: "No, if discipline means compelled attention to subjects or operations in which the pupil has no interest; all the studies should be taken, if made interesting." Dr. E. L. Thorndike, of Columbia, writes: "Not solely. Probably not chiefly, if that means over 90 per cent of the reason." Dr. Otis W. Caldwell, of the Lincoln School, New York City, answered, "No," but added, "There are so many studies which give mental discipline and at the same time give other values that I would not teach anything *solely* for discipline." Professor McConaughy, of Dartmouth: "Classicists are on very shaky ground when they justify the teaching of Latin *wholly* from the standpoint of mental discipline"—with the implication that it might be justified, partly at least, from that point of view. Walter E. Ranger, commissioner of public schools, Rhode Island, thinks that "all study has disciplinary value"; while Joseph E. Russell, dean of Teachers College, Columbia, is of the opinion that "every study should give mental discipline." Professor Hanus, of Harvard, summarizes this middle ground as follows: "Every

subject should be so studied as to result in the mental discipline primarily peculiar to that subject."

From a consideration of these comments and numerous others it seems fair to assume, with reference to the vexed question of mental discipline, that the pendulum has already swung noticeably toward the affirmative. In fact, if Question I had been worded in a slightly different way the replies would have been emphatically "Yes."

The result of No. II is overwhelmingly "Yes." David Starr Jordan writes, "When the Latin is useful, that is, 'digestible,' the word-forming feature is most important, the syntax least." Dr. M. B. Hillegas, Vermont commissioner of education, replies, "Yes," as did also Dr. Edward F. Buchner, of Johns Hopkins, and Professor Anna G. McKeag, of Wellesley. Dr. Charles F. Thwing, of Western Reserve College, writes, "Yes, by all means." Professor A. F. McDonald, of Bates, "Decidedly yes." Frank C. Moore, principal of State Normal School, Los Angeles, "If I taught Latin, I should attempt to make it specifically useful." Dr. Andrew F. West, of Princeton, "Yes, provided the essential principles of the language are not neglected." The reply of Dr. Payson Smith, Massachusetts commissioner of education, in a few words summarizes the opinions of those who voted "Yes" on this question. "The study of forms and syntax," writes Dr. Smith, "should be used solely as a means to the enjoyment and use of the language."

With regard to No. III, while the majority favored making the measurements, yet a few thought that nothing would be proved. Thus Professor Hanus wrote, "Yes, to the first part of No. III; but taken by themselves the results of such a test would not be conclusive. It would not be possible to secure the answer to (2). Accordingly I have crossed out (2)." In this connection it is interesting to note that the idea of measurements of Latin and non-Latin pupils of equal ability, to decide whether Latin had given power or not, was suggested a few years ago by Professor Holmes, Professor Hanus' colleague at Harvard. In the opinion of many the results would be conclusive. Thus Dr. E. L. Thorndike, of Columbia, favors an *adequate* series of measurements to determine *how far* the study of Latin has served as a means of mental discipline.

Dr. Otis W. Caldwell, of the Lincoln School, writes, "Yes, if you can devise sure means of knowing that you are dealing with comparable groups of pupils and comparable teaching." In any case would not the publicity involved in doing things on so big a scale serve to arouse interest in the cause of the classics by showing that ability to "hustle" is by no means confined to teachers of the so-called *practical* subjects? Therefore I most strongly urge that the country-wide measurements be made—and made by men of such fairness and eminence that the results will be accepted the world over without question.¹

The replies to No. IV were decisive, though a few thought that the time should not be taken from Latin composition. Thus Professor West writes, "Both composition and derivation of English words from Latin sources should be studied in school and tested on College Entrance Board examinations." Dr. F. F. Murdock, principal of the State Normal School, North Adams, thinks both ends could be accomplished. He writes:

No greater improvement could be made than to introduce questions on the written papers of the College Entrance Board to test the ability of correlating English derivatives with Latin originals. It is my notion that if half as much Latin were translated and the time thus saved were given to etymology, in a few years it would be possible to do the work both in etymology and in translation to a much greater degree of efficiency than now prevails in either.

Dr. Frank T. Graves, dean of the School of Education of the University of Pennsylvania, is of the same opinion: "There is no need of extra time to accomplish this, as the study of English derivatives will save time through stimulation of interest and facilitating memory." Dr. Alexis F. Lange, professor of education in the University of California, believes that the whole question

¹ At the Windsor meeting just before adjournment, upon motion of Professor Nixon, of Bowdoin, the following vote was passed: "That a committee of three shall be appointed by the chair to secure an adequate series of measurements of Latin and non-Latin students of equal academic standing in public high schools, private secondary schools, and colleges, for the purpose (1) of testing comparative facility in the use of English, and (2) of determining how far the study of Latin has resulted in added mental power." Dr. Barss later appointed the committee as follows: Albert S. Perkins, chairman; George H. Browne, principal of Browne and Nichols School, and Clifford H. Moore, of Harvard.

should be re-examined from another standpoint: "English should always be the starting-point for Latin, and the comparative method in constant use. The potential values of Latin must be re-examined from this point of view."

Nearly all, however, approve of taking the time from advanced composition, but of using this time, not in the last year alone, but throughout the four years of the Latin course. Thus Dr. Julius Sachs, of Columbia: "Yes, and the time should be taken from advanced Latin composition, in which the work, as a rule, is worthless." And Dr. T. M. Balliet, of the school of pedagogy of New York University: "Yes, to both questions. Latin composition is of chief value as a means of fixing forms and syntax. An elementary course ought to be sufficient for secondary schools." Dr. Caldwell, of the Lincoln School: "Yes. Take the time from Latin composition. This change is important, since English *should be improved* as suggested." Dr. A. R. Brubacher, president of New York State College for Teachers, Albany: "The test in English derivatives will have proper place on college-entrance examination papers. I am in favor of decreasing the amount of time given to Latin composition, and that such time be devoted to the study of derivatives." Benjamin Ide Wheeler, University of California: "Yes, I do not see why, from the very first, and in each year of the course, attention should not be given to this matter." David Starr Jordan: "The vocabulary part of Latin is the essential part after general scholarship. Latin literature is negligible in a crowded world, and the antiquated syntax a matter for philologists." Dr. C. E. Chadsey, superintendent of public schools, Detroit, Michigan: "Yes, to both parts of IV. I certainly believe that in the teaching of both Latin and Greek it is advisable to correlate English derivatives with the originals, and I heartily concur in the idea that emphasis should always be placed upon essentials and that nonessentials be put in the background." Dr. William H. Burnham, department of pedagogy, Clark University: "I should recommend such questions on the entrance Latin papers, and the time could be taken, I think, with advantage from the advanced Latin composition."

With reference to No. V, not a few of those who sent replies had evidently not heard of vocational Latin. A few others were suspicious of it. For example, Dr. F. F. Murdock, principal, State Normal School, North Adams, says, "There is no 'vocational Latin.' The words are a subterfuge for the purpose of retaining Latin in high schools, and perhaps of compelling more students to take the subject." Many superintendents apparently were fearful that courses of studies might have to be revised, or a place found for Latin in the already crowded vocational curriculum. A few prominent educators objected to teaching *general* English vocabulary to vocational pupils. Thus Professor Hanus advises that vocational pupils be taught the vocabulary that goes with their particular vocation. But if we do this, are we not limiting the possibilities of advancement of our young people? At the Boston meeting of the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools, last March, Dr. Payson Smith, Massachusetts commissioner of education, made an earnest plea for *equality of educational opportunity*. All of our boys cannot, of course, be presidents. But is not an educational system to be deplored which from the start dooms the boy to a life of mediocrity? Is it not our duty to give our young people the opportunity to make the most of every faculty they possess, and to make them believe, if we can, that nothing in life is too lofty for them to aspire to? Therefore, why not give pupils in vocational courses the chance to build up a general English vocabulary by a thorough study of Latin, and thus enable them to be ready, in one important respect at least, for any opportunity that presents itself?

With reference to the results in No. V there is reason for encouragement in the fact that nearly half of the superintendents and educators voted in the affirmative, and that in the corresponding question on the other questionnaire practically all the teachers said "Yes," the "Noes" consisting largely of those in schools where no vocational courses are given.

Since the tabulation of the answers was made several replies have been received from superintendents and educators, practically all of whom voted "Yes" to this question. Thus

Mr. George C. Minard, superintendent of the Arlington public schools, comments as follows:

We are carrying on a little experiment in the junior high school. What the outcome will be I cannot say now. We have taken the two lowest grade divisions we could get together, that is, low so far as English work is concerned, and are giving one of the divisions Latin. Like tests will be given to both divisions during the year. Does this sound practical to you, and in your opinion might we learn something?

Another late reply was received from Mr. Herbert W. Lull, superintendent of public schools, Newport, Rhode Island, who writes with reference to No. V as follows: "I am interested in the results of experiments in 'vocational Latin,' and favor their continuance and extension." And Dr. Caldwell of the Lincoln School: "Try one year in vocational Latin first, and see what results may be secured." The final tabulation should therefore be at least 1 to 1, or fully 50 per cent "Yes."

With reference to No. VII, Mr. J. Mace Andrews, instructor in psychology in the Boston Normal School, answers as follows: "There should be a more detailed study of the origin of English words. Most pupils of Latin that I have come in contact with fail to appreciate the classics studied in relation to civilization." Dr. Glen L. Swiggett, specialist in commercial education at Washington, in his comment approves of No. V, and quotes from *Bulletin No. 25*, 1916, on commercial education, page 5, as follows: "The study of Latin should precede, if possible, that of the modern languages."

Dr. Payson Smith makes this comment: "The largest possible attention of teachers of Latin should be paid to the contacts of this language with other subjects, with other languages, and with related interests of the students. There should be a changed point of view, so that Latin will be regarded, not as a preparatory subject, but as a subject with inherent educational possibilities." Professor Holmes, of the Division of Education at Harvard, made the following comment:

Distinguish sharply between Latin as language and Latin as literature. For those who take more than two years of Latin, aim actually to achieve the literary ends of the teaching of the subject. Let no one go into third-year

Latin who is not capable of genuine literary study. In the third and fourth years get something of Horace, Catullus, Terence, Pliny, and others, in addition to Cicero and Vergil. Adjust college-entrance requirements accordingly.

Dr. Frank Bunker, specialist in foreign educational systems, to whom the questionnaire was referred by the Commissioner of Education, Dr. P. P. Claxton, would teach the classics as the modern languages are taught. "Begin conversationally and with stories of modern interest put into Latin or Greek, after the methods of the best modern-language teaching. Keep the grammar in the background and for more advanced work." David Starr Jordan, after No. VI, writes as follows: "My use of Latin and of Greek has been considerable, but almost wholly in connection with word origins and original meanings, and in scientific nomenclature." Dr. Edwin R. Snyder, California commissioner of vocational education: "I believe that the study of Latin can be justified on the ground of utility." Dr. G. Stanley Hall: "One great trouble with Greek and Latin is first, bad teaching due to (a) insufficient training of teachers; (b) not enough diagrams, charts, illustrative apparatus, e.g., the St. Louis collection; (c) too much stress on formal grammar at first; (d) far too slow a pace and too little intensive work. The teacher should be the dictionary, and should be far more alive, and not dead like his language." Mr. J. F. Gannon, assistant superintendent, Worcester: "To my mind it is a part of good teaching continually to correlate English derivatives with Latin originals. The time element should be a variant. A sensible propaganda should be waged for the teaching of Latin and Greek. We should emphasize the value of these studies at every favorable opportunity."

Dr. W. N. Bagley, director of school education, University of Illinois, in his comment thus writes with reference to No. III: "Yes, if these could be planned and conducted by a competent educational psychologist—a man like E. L. Thorndike or G. M. Whipple." And later:

Some of the best teaching done now is in these subjects. It is, I believe, useless to reply in kind to abusive and prejudicial attacks upon the classics, but sincere criticism should be met sincerely. To say that the classicist should join hands with the psychologist may be to make a proposal abhorrent to the

party of the first part. But I sincerely believe that the sooner these two specialists get together, the better it will be, both for American education and for the finer culture of our democracy.

Replies were received from school superintendents, who are in close touch with the taxpayer; from instructors in pedagogy and educational psychology, who look upon the subject as a science; from commissioners of education, both national and state, who consider the question from the viewpoint of the public interest; from prominent educators the country over, whose reputation rests upon actual achievement in the educational field. Is there not substantial ground for encouragement in the fact that from all these there are but three who advise that the classics shall not be taught in the secondary school? Nearly one hundred and sixty others recommend, not that the study of Latin be given up, but that methods be modified, largely in the direction of utility, as might be expected in this practical age.

Allow me to close this report by quoting President Eliot's comment in answer to No. VII: "I recommend that Latin and Greek continue to be taught as elective subjects in all secondary schools supported by taxation, endowment, or fees, which can afford to pay the required salaries, the methods in teaching to be those suggested in questions II, IV, and VI above."

MARITIME ASPECTS OF HOMERIC GREECE

BY C. A. MAURY
Seattle, Washington

Homer is in a sense a child of the sea. The language of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* abounds in allusions to the sea and sea life. One of the six nouns most common to the Homeric vocabulary is *ἡὺς*. But a knowledge of, and love for, the sea on the part of a poetic genius is no proof that the Homeric Greeks, as a people, were bold mariners. What a contrast between the glorious sea poetry of Homer and (excepting the expedition to Troy) the maritime characteristics of the Achaeans, which he depicts! Much error still obtains concerning the character and extent of Homeric Greek nautical enterprise. That enterprise, typically regarded, was of narrow range. It is admitted at once that by far the largest number of ships referred to by Homer are Grecian.

Of course, in a sense, and a most important one, Homer is History. Our expanded knowledge of the Homeric age remarkably justifies Thucydides in regarding the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as essentially historical. We do not overlook the Homeric expedition to Troy. The return from Troy was not commercially typical, where reflecting fact at all, as a careful examination of the text will demonstrate. The reference (γ 301) to the ships of Menelaus laden with goods is non-typical. What a perilous adventure that was! The Taphian mariners were probably not Greeks, but, contrary to general assumption, descendants of a westerly colony of Phoenicians and imbued with some maritime traits of their fathers.

The Homeric Greeks built a fleet in preparation for the Trojan War, animated by a similar impulse to that of the Romans in creating a sufficient navy in order to cope with the Carthaginians. Both efforts were then hitherto unprecedented in the annals of Greece and Rome. What a tremendous incentive is war! What unparalleled efforts in American history are put forth in our own land in this very hour, impelled by war! So in principle regarding

those 1,186 Greek ships that sailed to Troy. But the journey to Troy offered no such obstacles to the Homeric Greeks as did navigation to some other ἀπὸ τῆς γαίης. Troy was comparatively near, and with intervening isles. The Greek victory at Troy was barren; see γ 130, 175, ε 108, τ 597, ω 27. That victory was worse than barren. How consistent is the national decline of Homeric Greece which followed the Trojan War, with all the inferences of tradition! After Troy, the Achaeans had not sufficient vitality to expel the constantly pressing Dorians in the Peloponnesus, within a century of the sacking of "that evil Ilios never to be named" (τ 597). The Achaean land never recovered from that adversity intimated by old Nestor: "ὦ πόποι, ἦ μέγα πένθος Ἀχαιῶν γαῖαν ἰκάνει (A 254). It is no surprise then to find in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* no allusion to a notable foreign commerce in Greek bottoms. We cannot infer, as Dr. Leaf does, that because the Homeric Greeks transported an army to Troy they also conducted a notable foreign commerce.¹ In this, "Homer can only be interpreted by Homer."

How small a Greek ship was! Merchant ships had twenty oarsmen (ι 322). The war ships of Achilles and Protesilaus had each fifty oarsmen (π 170, B 719). The war ships of the Boeotian contingent each had one hundred and twenty men (B 510); these were much larger than merchant ships. Compare these war ships with those of the later Greeks, the Carthaginians, and the Romans! And how utterly insignificant in size is the Homeric ship at Troy in comparison with those of the Egyptian Empire in its bloom. In a recent publication, A. Bothwell Gosse states, regarding the Egyptian men-of-war: "Rameses II had a fleet of four hundred on the Arabian Gulf. Some of the vessels were very large. He built one of cedar wood, 488 feet long; another, built much later, was three hundred feet long, forty-five feet wide, and sixty feet high."² Gosse adds: "One ship carried four thousand rowers, four hundred sailors, and three thousand soldiers"³—in other words, seven thousand four hundred men!

¹ *Classical Journal*, XIII, 68.

² *The Civilization of the Ancient Egyptians* (New York: Stokes Press), p. 27.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

A Homeric ship with a hundred benches (*ἑκατόνυγος*) is mentioned as hyperbole (T 247). The almost constant use of oars on a voyage is shown by the expressions in which they are termed *πτηρὰ νηυσί*. Further proof of the small capacity of the Homeric boat and its inability to traverse safely wide stretches of sea is the availability of a mere inlet as a harbor (*λιμήν*), so small was the ship. How small the *ἔκρια* of a Homeric ship; such was only fore and aft. How few provisions were carried aboard a Homeric ship (β 349, ε 265). That Homer never applies the term *ναυσικλυτός* to the Achaeans is not surprising; he reserves it for Phaeacians in fancy and Phoenicians in reality. The latter, of course, were the great carriers in the Mediterranean in the Homeric age. Nor is the epithet *φιλήρεμος* bestowed upon the Achaeans; it is given to the Phaeacians and Taphians. Nor is it remarkable that with such small ships the Homeric Greeks generally moored for the night. The ships of Odysseus are only open boats, with no arrangements of any sort for cooking or sleeping. The only night voyages willingly undertaken are those of Telemachus to Pylos and return (β 434, ο 296). The continuous voyages of Homeric mariners are usually short: that of Telemachus to Pylos required a single night (β 434, ο 296, 495); the voyage from Troy to Chrysa seems to have taken but a few hours (A 472); on his return from Troy, Nestor spends the first night at Tenedos, fifteen miles distant; the second night at Lesbos, fifty miles from Tenedos. After mustering courage to cross the Aegean Sea (it is only about seventy-two English miles from Psyria to Cyme in Euboea), Nestor and his companions offer a sacrifice "for joy that we had measured out so great a stretch of sea" (γ 179)! The longest continuous voyage a Homeric Greek appears to have taken seems to have been from Crete to Egypt (ξ 257), and to have required four days' time. Of the voyage from Greece to Egypt, note especially the remark: "Thence not even the birds can make their way in a year, so great a sea it is and terrible" (*ἐπεί μέγα τε δεινόν τε*); and, "None would hope in his heart to return . . . driven wandering into so wide a sea" (γ 319)! With what wonder or dread the Homeric mariner contemplates the great gulf of the sea (*μέγα λαίτμα θαλάσσης*) (δ 504); the perilous gulfs of the barren sea (*ὄς*

τε κατὰ δεινοὺς κόλπους ἄλως ἀτρυγέτοιο) (ε 52) and see δ 510, 709, ε 175 (in this line how typical to call the sea δεινὸν τ' ἀργαλέον τε!), 223, 409, 563, η 734, ν 264 (among others). Especially note the fact that the Homeric Greeks could not sail against the wind, as is shown in their prolonged stay at the Isle of the Sun in μ 326 and 400. Above all things, the Homeric mariner dreads ἐπείγῃ ἰς ἀνέμου! It is no surprise then that Agamemnon, on his return from Troy, adopts the longer route, sailing past Malea, that he may be comparatively near shore all the way (δ 514)! For some other typical experiences see ε 299 f., ι 62 f., κ 48 f., μ 42 f.

Homer applies the term ἔφαλος to coast towns (B 538, 584), but how insignificant are Homeric Kerinthos and Helos in comparison with then notable Greek cities, such as Mycene, Orchomenos, and Thebes; Corinth, for peculiar geographical reasons, is an exception. And contrast that maritime inconsequence with the fact that most of the great Greek cities of the "historical" period were either ἔφαλος or ἀγχίαλος.

And the testimony of the *Iliad* is consistent with that of the *Odyssey*. We have already referred to the expedition of the 1,186 ships to Troy. How glaring is the rule in the *Iliad* concerning Greek ships in contrast to the single exception! Note that no ship is portrayed upon the shield of Achilles, which is typical of Greek life! No scene on the shield is ἀλλοδαπός to Greek life. Why then should the shield be considered as of foreign design, simply because it omits ships? Greek maritime life had not become of sufficient importance to be typified upon the shield.

Temesa (probably in Bruttium) is the destination of the Taphian ship in quest of copper (α 184). In ω 211 the aged servant of Laertes is a Sicilian woman (γυνή Σικελή) and in ν 383 the Sicilians are mentioned as slave traders; no more is heard of that race; no one even knows whether it had yet come to dwell on that glorious isle of Sicily. But assume that Bruttium and Sicily are intended by Homer; they are the only two references to any now positively identified foreign land of the West. Even on that assumption it may be well disputed that such intercourse was in Greek ships, as hereinbefore intimated. Many theories have been evolved of a notable western commerce in Greek ships in the time of Homer.

Such theories, however, presuppose a much later date for the composition of the *Odyssey* than is warranted. The Homeric poems were composed within a century of the fall of Troy. Homer was contemporary with the age which he depicts.

Concerning the Euxine, the case seems clear that in the time of Homer this sea was unknown to Greek ships; see my article on "The Leaf-Ramsey Theory of the Trojan War" in *Classical Journal* of April, 1917. That sea is not even named by Homer! He refers in λ 13 to Scythia (called *κιμμερίων δῆμος*) as being at "the limits of the world" (*Ἡ δ' ἐς πείραθ' ἔκανε βαθυῤῥόδου Ὠκεανοῖο*).

But what about the earlier invasion of Egypt by the Greeks in a pre-Homeric age? And what about the Egyptian influence upon Greek civilization—an influence which was hoary in the time of Homer? Many writers accept such an invasion as an unquestionable fact. But such is not established. Near the close of the Nineteenth Egyptian Dynasty the Libyans invaded Egypt. Among their allies were the Edwesh.¹ It is but a suggestion that these were Achaiaans—no proof that they were. Early in the Twentieth Dynasty another Libyan invasion of Egypt occurred, and their allies were the "peoples of the sea." Included with the latter were the Peleset (Cretans). And among other allies of the Libyans on that invasion were the Denyen;² were they the Danaans? Grant that the Greeks did invade Egypt on both occasions. They probably did so as mercenaries. Homer reverences the past. Had those expeditions been noteworthy he would have honored such Grecian achievements. Such expeditions were under the auspices of Crete, if they occurred at all. The present generation has thrown a flood of light upon the astonishing civilization of *Κρήτην ἐκατόμμολιν*, a deeply impressive and noble progenitor of Homeric Culture. Cretan civilization was yet in its bloom, though nearing its nadir, at the time of those invasions. The Greeks then went to Egypt in Cretan ships. They had not then learned the business of seafaring. As Bury observes,³ it took the Greeks "many ages" to learn that trade after they had

¹ *Encyc. Brit.* (11th ed.), IX, 85.

² *Ibid.*

³ *History of Greece*, chap. i, sec. 10, p. 76.

reached the coasts of the Aegean Sea. In the time of Homer they had not yet become eminent in seafaring. Both Cretan and Egyptian ships had long visited the northern shores of the Mediterranean. Recall the old sea kings of Crete. Minos, says Thucydides,¹ founded the first maritime empire. It was worthy of that grand entrepôt of three continents, Crete. Those Achaïans who visited Egypt, true to their old hereditary northern spirit, in contrast to the more peaceful, primeval races of the Mediterranean, were then, as later, deserving of that epithet given them in the Homeric poems, *πολιπύρβιος*.

As already intimated, the intercourse between Homeric Greece and Phoenicia, coming down from immemorial times, was not by means of Greek ships.

In conclusion, in foreign commerce and in other foreign venture, apart from Troy, the Homeric marine was generally insignificant. In this "Homer can only be interpreted by Homer." Ingenious theories to the contrary have been widely accepted, a phenomenon which is easily explained in the very words of the inspired old Greek singer:

τὴν γὰρ αἰοιδὴν μᾶλλον ἐπικλείουσ' ἄνθρωποι,
ἢ τις ἀκούοντεςσι νεωτάτῃ ἀμφιπέληται. (α 351)

¹Book I. 4.

CAESAR REDIVIVUS

By A. P. MCKINLAY
Portland, Oregon

In the latter part of July, 1914, there was sitting on the broad veranda of the house boat on the Styx that prince of pragmatists, Machiavelli. He held a book in his hand. It was a symposium on the new education. There was an article by Mr. Flexner on the demise of Caesar, another by Dr. Eliot on "That Bad Education." In classic language Dr. Sisson damned the classics with faint praise, and Superintendent Nightingale contributed his quota to the chorus of censure. As the reader thumbed the pages he would mutter, "Poor Caesar," or, "It will go hard with the old dictator to yield to the new régime."

"What's that you are saying?" interrupted the old Roman himself, looking up from his reading of the *London Times*.

"Oh, I was just feeling sorry for you because of the way they are relegating you to 'innocuous desuetude' in the schools of America."

"I don't worry," replied he of the laurel wreath. "Hardly less than the student of Romance languages can the English-speaking boy get along without me. For when it comes to a mastery of the English language I am no more dead than Chaucer. Most of the learned words of the language come from me and my fellow-Latins. I furnish the key that unlocks the haunts of many spelling demons, such as 'separate,' 'necessity,' and 'absence.' I am the blessed benefactor of the English teacher, for through me, without effort on her part, her pupils get a mastery of grammar, sentence structure, and analysis, and a feeling for shades of word-meanings almost impossible to acquire merely through the vernacular.

"In fact, I have in my pocket a letter from Portland, Oregon, telling about the Latin situation there. It appears that in one of the big high schools of the city the Latin teachers are provided with

the tools of their English coadjutors. These consist of lists of minimum requirements in spelling and grammar; of certain specified work in etymology, embracing prefixes, suffixes, and a technical vocabulary from several of the branches of knowledge, such as biology; also of rules for sentence structure and punctuation with an outline for sentence analysis.

"These tools are for regular use. For many months practically every sentence in my *Commentaries* is analyzed till the students have mastered the situation. Every case of poor English in a translation is identified from the rules and corrected accordingly. The result is that the teachers of English and science are backing up Latin most enthusiastically.

"This correlation of Latin with English seems largely to account for the surprising results in a recent grammar test held by the high schools of that city. The test was given to all third-term pupils. The average for the city was 75 per cent, for the high school in question 89 per cent. In that school 81 per cent of the Latin pupils exceeded the general average, whereas 66 per cent of the English pupils fell below. I fear not for the future of Latin. Even Professor Nightingale himself, one of the contributors to your symposium, pointed the climax of his attack by a parody on my 'veni, vidi, vici.'

"Aside from this linguistic necessity for my immortality," went on the Emperor, "there is a more important one still—namely, political. The man who knows not my *Galic War* may never become an authority on European politics. Tell me, Polybius—for you too are a pragmatist—what is the great political fact in Western Europe from my time on?"

"Evidently the Teutonic question," replied the Greek.

"Who first stated that question?"

"You, of course," answered Polybius.

"What was my great contribution to civilization?" continued Caesar.

"The relief of the Germanic pressure and the consolidation of a strong buffer state that saved Latin culture for four hundred years."

"Well then I would like to know how anyone is going to express an intelligent opinion on this subject without paying tribute to me.

Take even a minor phase of that question, the disposition of Alsace-Lorraine. Both disputants appeal to priority of time to substantiate their claims. On that basis I should have the decision of the award, which would fall to France, for in my day Gaul reached to the Rhine.

"Furthermore I have a presentiment that something is about to happen that will bring about a revival of interest in my history. The assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne is a deed pregnant with possibilities. Say, Tolstoi, don't you remember that blood-curdling prophecy you sent to the Kaiser in 1911?"

"Yes, yes, in the next year a war was to break out in the Balkans," mused the seer.

"It did, didn't it?"

"Yes, and this was to be followed in 1914 by a world-wide conflagration, and there was a great deal more that I have forgotten."

For the last few minutes the wireless station on the near-by shore had been crackling excitedly. Hardly had the Russian prophet ceased speaking when in rushed Mercury with a radiogram in his hand. He cried out, "The lid is off in Europe. The Kaiser held a conference at Potsdam on July 14, at which the dogs of war were unleashed. Russia and France are mobilizing. Lord Grey is frantically trying to arrange a conference."

Straightway upon receipt of the message Caesar telephoned Calpurnia that he wouldn't be home for dinner. He engaged a room at the club for the duration of the war and kept up a running commentary upon the various bulletins from the field of operations. When Great Britain refused to leave Belgium and France in the lurch and began to mobilize her "ridiculous little army" for the Continent, Caesar said, "That's a habit she acquired in my time and one which was the occasion of my first invasion of the island."

With the posting of the bulletin that had called forth this remark, out snapped Bismarck, "That's the end of that political monstrosity, the British Empire. She will drop to pieces like a rope of sand. We have everything ready to spring a Holy War that will result in the massacre of every Englishman in the confines of Mohammedanism. The Boers too, to say nothing of Canada and the Isles of the Sea, will rise and come to us for deliverance."

"Don't be too sure," retorted the Commentator. "You have read my chapter on the Germanic conception of the right of war and you have taken to your heart Ariovistus' theory that the conqueror may do as he pleases with the conquered. The British and the French too have read my treatise, but they have adopted the Latin view as set forth in the forty-fifth chapter of the first book of the *Gallic War* that provincials should be free, should pay no tribute, and should be allowed to use their own laws. The result is that you have the Polish and Bohemian questions ever with you, whereas Alsace, though German in blood and language, is French in loyalty and spirit, and that wherever plum pudding is eaten for Christmas the peoples are volunteering for the succor of the mother-country."

The air was becoming somewhat surcharged with electricity when Mark Antony ran in with an extra of the *Infernal Times-Courier* in his hand. He called out, "Belgium has accepted the Kaiser's defy and will oppose the violation of her neutrality."

"I pity the little fool," muttered the Iron Chancellor.

"What else could you have expected?" broke in Caesar. "You know by heart my 'Battle with the Nervii,' and surely must remember my judgment that the Belgians are the bravest of all the Gauls, and no doubt you have accepted as a compliment the reason assigned, namely, 'That they are neighbors of the Germans with whom they are continually waging war.'"

At this Grotius interjected, "You don't think Germany will break her guaranty for Belgium, do you? If she does, every treaty will be but a scrap of paper and my whole edifice of international law will collapse in total ruin."

"Let me answer for Caesar," spoke up John Hay. "Study the *Commentaries* and you will find out that whenever Caesar dealt with Germans he found them faithless.

"The first instance to be cited occurred at the conference between Caesar and Ariovistus when the latter's famous cavalry attacked Caesar's bodyguard under the illusion that it was composed of Gallic horsemen. Only Caesar's prescience in having substituted his Tenth Legion for the Gallic riders spoiled Ariovistus' scheme to rid himself of his dangerous rival once and for all.

"To omit the treacherous conduct of the Aduatuci and the Usipites, one more example of Teutonic perfidy will suffice. A few days after the previous episode, in the hope, probably, of getting someone to hold as a hostage, the German chief wrote to Caesar, asking him to send an envoy to finish the conversation of the previous conference. The wily Roman parried the scheme by sending two Gauls. When Ariovistus saw them, in a raucous voice he cried out, 'Why have you come? With the idea of spying?' He ended by throwing them into chains. It later turned out that they would have been burned at the stake if the lots on three several occasions had not been unfavorable. Thus did the German leader flout the sacred right of embassy."

With this interchange of speech the British embargo on wireless went on, leaving Caesar disconsolate. When after several days the fortnightly packet arrived and the mail was delivered at the club, good-natured Cicero turned his budget of *London Times* over to his former enemy. For many an hour the old campaigner sat in his morris chair noting the progress of the *Furor Teutonicus* through Belgium. The habitués of the club gradually dropped away, till he was left alone poring over dispatches every one of which called up reminiscences of his campaign of 57 B.C. On every hand familiar names and places appeared: Namur, Amiens, Soissons, Breteuil, Berry-au-Bac, and Rheims; the Meuse, the Sambre, the Aisne, and the Marne. Finally at the mention of Maubeuge, the battle with the Nervii flashed before his mind and he dozed off to sleep, smiling over the joke he had played on the boys of future generations when after the battle he wrote that page-long sentence in the twenty-fifth chapter of his account of the Belgian confederacy.

Some months later Hannibal looked up from an article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, by André Chéradame, on the efficiency of the German machine. "It seems," observed the Punic thunderbolt, "that the moving principle of the system is that, given a government efficient enough to insure prosperity for the state, the people will submit to any degree of exploitation in the way of industrial organization for military purposes. If I had had such backing, the Mediterranean would have been a Punic rather than a Latin lake."

"That's nothing new," answered Caesar. "It's in the blood of the Germans. The same theory obtained among them in my day. It contemplated a complete industrial organization with self-effacement of the individual in the creation of a military machine that could work its will on other nations. There was no private property. Yearly the leaders met and parceled out the lands. Each year the allotment was shifted. Thus was headed off the development of an individualistic spirit that would have thrown sand in the cogs of their theory of the state.

"This annual reallocation co-ordinated their industrial system nicely with the military organization. The state was divided into districts. Among the Suebi, for instance, there were one hundred. Each unit was composed of two thousand fighting men. Of these, one thousand went to war each year and one thousand remained at home to till the lands and furnish supplies for the armies in the field. Thus was intermitted the practice neither of war nor of agriculture."

In the midst of this conversation newsboys on the bank were heard calling "Extra! Extra!" Petronius, the steward, was immediately dispatched for a copy and came running back with the cry that the "Lusitania" had been sunk. A deep silence fell upon the room, so that even Socrates stopped talking. Presently Caesar looked up from his war library. "You gentlemen," he said, "evidently have not availed yourselves of my invitation to read my collection. Here are some illuminating titles: 'Gems from German Thought,' 'Bernhardi,' 'Treitschke,' 'The Armenian Massacres by a German Eyewitness,' 'Lord Bryce's Report on the Belgian Atrocities,' and above all, 'The German War Book' itself. The latter is particularly in point, for it merely carries out in minute detail the theory of international relations laid down by Ariovistus in the thirty-sixth chapter of the first book of my *Gallic War*. Grant his claim that might makes right, and all else follows.

"The 'will to power' among the Germans of my day was a sufficient warrant for any desire. Brigandage was a path to glory, provided that it was practiced on a foreign state. A cardinal principle of statecraft was the necessity of reducing all neighbors to impotency. Thus the Suebi gloried in having made a wilderness

of the lands bordering on their territory, and in so doing got a reputation for being more than a match for the immortal gods. To them 'necessity knew no law' and was a good title to stolen lands. When Ariovistus fell in love with the fields of sunny France he took them by piecemeal, first one third, then another—at which stage I came on the scene.

"Even allies fared no better. He seized their cities, exacted hostages, and laid tribute. If anything was not done at his nod and beck he visited summary punishment upon the hostages—for specific details read Lord Bryce's report.

"The purpose of this policy was to terrorize the enemy into helplessness. I myself was a witness of its effectiveness. So cowed were Ariovistus' vassals, the Sequani, that in a general council of all Gaul they did not even dare speak a word, for they shuddered at the cruelty of the absent Ariovistus just as if he were present. Their fear spread even among my troops till they fell into such a panic that many gave all sorts of excuses for wanting a furlough. Others moped around in their tents and bewailed their fate. Everybody made his will, and finally rumors reached my ears that the soldiers would mutiny if ordered to advance."

One day Sargon I was reviewing the Verdun situation and expressed surprise that the French, outnumbered almost ten to one in material resources at that point, not only had checked the Teutonic drive, but had finally recovered all their losses. "I thought," said he to Caesar, "that you accused the French of being volatile, of blowing hot and cold in their undertakings. You give a most amusing picture of crowds surrounding a traveler in the market place while he regales them with any fiction to their liking. Whereupon the silly Gauls, without further verification, on the spot are led to take action of which they must soon repent."

"What you say was true in my day," replied the Commentator, "but you must remember that I made Gaul into a state more Latin than Latium herself. I made her the depository of Graeco-Roman culture. She has been true to her trust. She cannot fail, or else will the Occident go down before the Orient, individualism before collectivism, culture before *Kultur*. For the third time have the East and the West locked arms in deadly embrace. To Persia,

the personification of collectivism in the state, Athens said, 'Thou shalt not pass'; to the Saracen, the exemplification of the one idea in religion, Charles Martel said, 'Thou shalt not pass'; and now to the Teuton, the great instance of the one idea in industrial organization, says the Poilu, 'Thou shalt not pass.'"

At this the Associated Press correspondent appeared for his daily budget. To him Caesar intrusted this charge for publication: "Let the Western world look well to its girding. It is in a fearsome tempest. It stands two chances of going down before the imperious surge of orientalism. Collectivism, personified in the Kaiser, is putting our Western culture to a test as never before. It has nearly fulfilled its dream of a pan-Germany reaching from Brussels to Bagdad. And now in alliance with socialism—collectivism under another name—it is about to get control of the undeveloped resources of Russia.

"This chance for Germany to win is one of arms. There is another even more to be feared. Even out of the ashes of defeat, like the fabled Phoenix, she may rise to conquer. This victory will be one of the spirit. As in the former chance she must find allies in the Entente camp, so in the latter is she depending on traitors to the cause of humanism—socialism and the advocates of the 'new education.' To the former she has given the task of befogging the issue between culture and *Kultur*; on the latter she is relying to complete the conquest. They are not disappointing her, for on all sides is heard the hue and cry, 'See what Germany's system of education has done for her. We too must be vocationalized or lose in the battle of life. Hence get away from the past; set your eyes on the future; teach everybody a trade; throw Latin to the dogs and the classics on the junk pile.'

"Let me plead," concluded Caesar, "that the trustee nations of Graeco-Roman culture turn a deaf ear to these siren tones and, remembering how essential the classics are to the understanding of the language and history of the Occident, highly resolve to maintain the trust put in their keeping, for what would it profit them to gain the guerdon of a specious victory and yet finally, yielding to the allurements of a seductive imitation, fall down and worship before the golden calf of Teutonic *Kultur*!"

HIGH-SCHOOL LATIN AND THE NEWLY FORMULATED AIMS OF SECONDARY EDUCATION¹

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Far from new these days is the direction of attention to one phase after another of our public life which the present war has directly affected. It is as though a gigantic searchlight had been turned on our country, so that its defects stand out in glaring outlines. Men and women are concerning themselves seriously with conditions to which they gave little more than a passing thought before the war. The man in the street, who a year ago thought of our school system only in terms of the grade in which his child happened to be at that particular time, has now suddenly awakened to the limitless possibilities of that system. He knows now that nations are made and unmade by their educational policies, that whatever a nation wishes to be it must attain through its schools. So we find people urging all manner of innovations, one man demanding compulsory military training in the schools, another compulsory training in agriculture, a third training in mechanics, and so on. There is grave danger that the schools may be asked to shoulder responsibilities which they are in no way ready to assume, and perhaps should not assume. If educators are not agreed on what they wish our schools to accomplish, it may be that laymen will take the schools into their own hands and make of them workshops that will meet only our immediate needs. The time has gone by when it is possible for educators to carry on long discussions of the value of this or that subject. It must be decided what our educational system as a whole aims to do for our pupils, and the subjects in the curricula of our secondary schools must be tested in the light of these aims. Only the sub-

¹ Read at the fourteenth annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South.

jects that to a considerable degree contribute to the fulfilment of these aims can have a place in our already overcrowded curricula.

Within the past few years the aims of secondary education have become more clearly defined, in order to correspond more nearly to the needs of our democracy and to our awakened national feeling. It may not be without interest at this time to state these aims and to test by them the value of the study of Latin in secondary education.

The goal of education in a democracy such as ours has long been considered to be the developing of the best in each individual, so that he may work with his fellows for the good of society as a whole. In order to become this well-rounded individual who is to be a future citizen, he must have good health; he must be able to maintain a suitable home where he can successfully rear those who later are to take his place in society; he must be able to earn a livelihood; he must be able to assume his share of responsibility of the civic life of his community; he must have the right moral attitude; and he must have some appreciation of the finer things of life, so that he may use his leisure wisely. Briefly then all the studies in the curriculum should contribute to a considerable degree to one or more of these aims, namely, the pupils' health education, home-making education, vocational education, and civic, ethical, or aesthetic education. Subjects that in no way, or to a small degree, contribute to these aims will necessarily be barred from curricula.

In accordance with these newly formulated aims of secondary education we find in the most progressive schools today provision for the care of the pupil's health, either through the school physician, through the school nurse, or through physical training which is more or less compulsory throughout the twelve grades of the school. To give the pupils training in home-making a certain amount of work in household arts is required of all girls, and in some schools boys are required to study budget-making, buying, house-planning, and the like. Through work in history, civil government, junior civic leagues, etc., the pupils receive civic training. The pupils who must earn a livelihood immediately on leaving the elementary or high school are given the choice of

several prevocational curricula and may even have actual vocational experience before leaving the school. Through work in music, art, literature, and like subjects the pupil gains some appreciation of the finer things of life. In both the junior and the senior high schools a fixed amount of laboratory science is required—not because the work has any direct bearing on any of the main aims of secondary education, but because in these days when science plays such an important part it seems necessary to give the pupils some training in scientific methods. The lines of work mentioned above are required of all pupils, but in addition pupils may choose such other subjects as suit their tastes, but only such subjects are offered as in some way further the chief aims of secondary education.

If these become generally recognized as the ultimate aims of secondary education, what then will be the status of the study of Latin when tested by them? Heretofore probably most teachers of Latin have followed more or less the aims in the teaching of Latin set forth in Bennett and Bristol's *The Teaching of Latin and Greek in Secondary Education*.¹ These briefly are as follows: Latin is of value because it confers a mastery over the sources of one's mother-tongue, promotes intellectual discipline and brings intellectual power, and affords also historical training and aesthetic training. Similarly in the recently published *Value of the Classics*,² a record of the addresses delivered at the conference on classical studies and liberal education held at Princeton, June 2, 1917, the foregoing arguments in favor of the classics are almost the only arguments presented. Will they remain valid when tested by the main aims of secondary education as newly formulated?

Latin, *if taught so as to bring out the English side*, is mainly valuable because it confers mastery over the sources of the mother-tongue.³ May not Latin, then, be placed among those studies that give vocational or at least "prevocational" training? For the accurate use of English is a prerequisite in all vocations. It certainly affords "prevocational" training for all professions and occupations

¹ Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1901.

² Princeton University Press, 1917.

³ See Stuart P. Sherman, "English and the Latin Question," *School and Home Education*, April, 1912.

in which a knowledge of technical terms is required. It has "pre-vocational" value also for the lawyer, the teacher, the journalist, the stenographer, and for all other workers who must use English accurately and clearly. If we recognize that the study of Latin has historical value, such study may be used to contribute to the pupil's civic training. The study of Roman institutions affords an understanding of many of our own institutions, since they have received so large an inheritance from the Roman. So too the pupil may gain a broader view of the growth of civic institutions if he has first-hand knowledge of the age-long struggle of men to work together for the betterment of society as a whole.

It is possible for the pupil to compare our own political customs with those of Rome and thus judge more wisely the merits and defects of our own institutions; for it is by comparison that one can best learn to evaluate. Again, if it is recognized that the study of Latin affords aesthetic training, one more of the main aims of secondary education is fulfilled. It has always been strongly affirmed for Latin that it is a "cultural" subject, that it develops an appreciation of art and architecture, and to a certain degree a fuller appreciation of music. In addition, a knowledge of classical ideas is almost indispensable for the appreciation of literature, especially of poetry. In fact, it is doubtful whether there are many other studies in the curriculum which can be made to contribute more to the pupil's appreciation of the finer things of life.

The study of Latin may also help to give the pupil the right moral attitude, for it inculcates in him habits of concentration, industry, and perseverance. It also enables him to study at first hand the works of at least three of the world's greatest characters. He may learn self-control and persistence from Caesar, patriotism from Cicero, and sympathy for mankind from Virgil.

It may be noticed that the newly formulated aims of secondary education do not seem to include what has heretofore been considered one of the strongest reasons for the study of the classics, namely, that it promotes intellectual discipline. The study of laboratory sciences has been made a requisite for graduation from most high schools, not only because it affords some appreciation of the phenomena of nature, but because it affords training in

scientific methods. If the latter is recognized as a valid reason for making a certain amount of work in laboratory science a requisite for graduation, the study of Latin should be retained in the curriculum, at least for the "abstract-minded" pupil. Through it he can be trained to observe, to record correctly the facts observed, to reason accurately from these observations, and to express his conclusions in clear, concise, and cogent language.¹

How will the actual teaching of Latin be affected by these newly recognized aims of secondary education? Probably the largest number of pupils take Latin because some work in foreign language is required as preparation for higher training. For them the study of Latin is clearly "prevocational," since Latin is required for entrance to the best law, medical, theological, and technical schools and for entrance to schools of pharmacy, dentistry, and the like. For other pupils also, who do not intend to enter any of these professions, the study of Latin may be made "prevocational," as already pointed out, since success in any calling depends to a large degree on accurate use of English.

If one recognizes that the ultimate aim of the work in beginning Latin is to afford the pupil this "prevocational" training, the subject will in the future be taught with quite different emphasis. The emphasis will be very largely directed toward making the subject contribute as much as possible to the pupil's understanding of the English language. For instance, a spelling-list, such as that of Dr. Leonard Ayres,² may be used by teachers to find the words whose English derivatives cause trouble. Most of these words are not difficult if one knows their derivation. Here are a few examples: *agriculture*, *laboratory*, *temporary*, *reference*, *evidence*, *commission*. So, too, one may take lists of misused or abused words and make the Latin clear up their meanings. Examples of such are: *audience* for *spectators*, *aggravate* for *annoy*, *alternative* ("three alternatives to choose from"), *decimate* for *destroy*, *imminent* and *eminent*, *accept* and *except*, *emigrate* and *immigrate*, *patent* and *potent*. The meaning of common abbreviations can be taught also as

¹ Charles E. Bennett and George P. Bristol, *The Teaching of Latin and Greek in the Secondary School* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1901), pp. 22-27.

² Russell Sage Foundation, 1915.

the class learns the expressions for which our commonest abbreviations are made. Thus *i.e.* should be taught with *is ea id.*, *A.D.* with *dominus*, *e.g.* with *gratia*, *A.M.* and *P.M.* with *dies*. The pupil should certainly be taught the motto of the United States when *unus* or *plus* is learned. A very large number of pupils do not know that we have a Latin motto, or what it means. One should also use the Latin to explain the forms of English words whose peculiarities come directly from the Latin. It is possible to illustrate the Latin declensions by English words that preserve the original nominative singular, and even sometimes the nominative plural.¹ Examples of these are as follows: first-declension nouns in English which preserve the Latin nominative singular and plural are: *vertebra*, -ae, *formula*, -ae, *antenna*, -ae; also the following English words preserve the original nominative singular first declension: *arena*, *aurora*, *inertia*, *cornucopia*, *villa*. Latin second-declension nouns are preserved in the English, as *stimulus*, -i, *radius*, -i, *focus*, -i, *fungus*, -i, *nucleus*, -i, and by the following words preserving the original nominative singular form: *circus*, *campus*, *animus*, *discus*, *chorus*. Pupils should notice also the following English words that have the Latin second-declension neuter nominative singular and plural endings: *memorandum*, -a, *datum*, -a, *stratum*, -a, *moratorium*, -a. There are many words that preserve the nominative singular form only, such as *momentum*, *album*, *aquarium*, *pabulum*, *rostrum*, *auditorium*, *gymnasium*, *premium*, *forum*, *odium*, *serum*, *asylum*, *medium*. The following nouns in English have the Latin third-declension singular and plural forms: *apex*, *apices*; *axis*, *axes*; *basis*, *bases*; *index*, *indices*; *appendix*, *appendices*; *vortex*, *vortices*; also numerous third-declension words remain unchanged in English, such as *victor*, *actor*, *orator*, *honor*, *arbor*. Neuter nouns of the third declension are represented in English by *omen*, *acumen*, *specimen*, *stamen*, *bitumen*, *opus*, *genus*, (plur.-*era*). The fourth declension may be illustrated in English by *impetus*, *status*, *census*, *prospectus*, and the fifth declension by *rabies*, *series*, *species*. There are in English many unchanged comparatives, such as *inferior*, *excelsior*, *junior*, *senior*. Adjectives

¹ See Mason D. Gray, "The Socialization of the Classics," *Classical Weekly*, X, No. 10; Emory B. Lease, "English Words in High School Latin," *ibid.*, No. 19.

in *-lis*, *-le*, may be illustrated by *simile*, *docile*, *fragile*, *facile*. Even a few verb forms are preserved in English, as *fiat*, *habitat*, *recipe*, *ignoramus*, *interest*, *memorandum*, *referendum*, *propaganda*, *memento*, *veto*, *exit*.

Since the largest number of Latin pupils are in the first- and second-year work, the chief aim during those years should be then to make the work of the utmost value for English.¹ Latin may also be used as a sound basis for the study of other languages and for the better understanding of all sorts of technical terms used in the other subjects taught in the school. Pupils especially interested in pharmacy, law, medicine, and the like may procure lists of terms commonly used in these professions. Such lists are obtainable, and the pupils can make therefrom their own special vocabularies as they meet these words in their regular class work. The work in beginning Latin may also furnish some training in aesthetics, if advantage is taken of the opportunity to have reports on topics suggested by many words in the vocabularies.

The work in Caesar should for the most part have the same aim as the work in beginning Latin, but it is possible to have the work make a greater contribution to the pupil's civic training by following carefully Caesar's doggedly persistent struggle in Gaul. Second-year Latin, however, as first-year Latin, should concern itself primarily with increasing the pupil's command of English.

The work in Cicero should make an important contribution to the pupil's civic training. For instance, if the Catilinarian orations are read, the civic conditions in one's own city may be compared with those at Rome. Every community has its civic problems, and the pupils should gain first-hand knowledge of them if he is later to take his share of civic responsibilities. To be sure, a study of community civics is required in most high schools, and in much of the work in history past and present-day conditions are compared, but every new angle of attack is valuable in training pupils for citizenship. It might even be well to have pupils compare conditions in the local jail with those of the Tullianum. They

¹ See *Proceedings of the Twenty-second Annual Meeting of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools* (1917), p. 65.

might also compare the disaffected classes of Rome with the I.W.W., not in a superficial way, but with a genuine desire to understand the complaints of that body of men. If the Manilian Law is read, the pupils might compare our management of the Hawaiian Islands or Porto Rico with Rome's management of her provinces. We know too little of our own possessions, and can learn much by comparison. A study of Cicero's character may be used also to develop some appreciation of the type of leaders needed today in our democracy.

The work in Virgil should aim almost exclusively at developing the pupil's appreciation of the finer things of life. The teacher has before him almost the whole realm of literature from which to draw material, and has also an opportunity to present to the pupils many of the noblest ideals man has conceived.

In conclusion one might say that of the six newly recognized aims of education the study of Latin can make an important contribution to four, namely, to the pupil's vocational, civic, ethical, and aesthetic education. Can any other subjects in the curriculum, with the exception of English and history, make a better showing? If it is generally recognized that the aims of secondary education in our democracy should be to develop the powers and ideals of the individual in order that he may use his best attainments for the benefit of society as a whole, and if the subjects in our high-school curricula are tested in the light of these aims, surely the study of Latin can contribute an important part to their fulfilment.

THE GOVERNMENT OF CHARLEMAGNE AS INFLUENCED BY AUGUSTINE'S *CITY OF GOD*

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In Einhard's *Vita Caroli*, chapter xxiv, there is the following statement in regard to Charlemagne's dinner entertainments: "Inter cenandum aut aliquod acroama aut lectorem audiebat. Legebantur ei historiae et antiquorum res gestae. Delectabatur et libris sancti Augustini, praecipueque his qui *De Civitate Dei* praetitulati sunt." In the latest English edition of the *Vita Caroli* (Oxford: Garrod and Mowat, 1915) there is this note on the passage: "There is no reason to doubt that this book colored Charlemagne's whole conception of the empire, and that it was one of the deepest influences in his politico-religious thinking." James Bryce in his *Holy Roman Empire* in a footnote (p. 94) says, "Augustine's influence, great through all the Middle Ages, was greater on no one than on Charles [*delectabatur*, etc., Einhard, chap. xxiv]. One can imagine the impression which such a chapter as that on the true happiness of a Christian emperor [v. 24] would make upon a pious and susceptible mind. It is hardly too much to say that the Holy Roman Empire was built upon the foundation of the *De Civitate Dei*." In the life of Charlemagne by H. W. C. Davis a reference to this subject is elaborated as follows (p. 218):

He loved no book more than St. Augustine's *City of God*. Therein he read that conquests in themselves are evil and only to be justified if the condition of the conquered is improved; that the Roman Empire was more to be honored in her small beginnings, when her sons were few and virtuous, than later, when only her vast bulk and riches saved her from the fatal consequences of selfishness and luxury. There too he found and pondered on the description of the perfect Emperor who holds his power as something which God has given and will, in His good time, take away; who, not elated by flattery or the pride of pre-eminence, remembers that he is a mortal and looks forward to that other Empire in which he will find many equals; who uses all his power to the advancement of God's glory and worship; who thinks it a greater thing to

rule his own desires than to be master of many peoples. And from Alcuin, a man steeped like himself in Saint Augustine's teaching, he received more detailed exhortations of the same kind; that Empire is a responsibility; that while a king is charged with the care of one nation, an Emperor is the maker and maintainer of that social order wherein kingdoms are but as passing accidents. "Through your prosperity," wrote Alcuin, "Christendom is preserved, the Catholic faith defended, the law of justice made known to all men." Repeatedly the old scholar warned him, bearing this in mind, to turn away from distant wars, and to think rather of regenerating the Christian church and of making justice supreme within the lands already conquered.

Furthermore, Hodgkin in his *Charlemagne* (p. 140), says, "Throughout his kingly and imperial career Charles took the religious part of his duties seriously. It was not for nothing that he bore the title of Christianissimus Rex, not for nothing that Saint Augustine's famous treatise the *Civitas Dei* was the favorite companion of his leisure."

These statements regarding the influence of Augustine on Charlemagne are certainly positive enough and might lead one to infer that the matter was not a debatable one at all. It is to be noted, however, at the outset that they are inferences drawn from only one brief statement of the chief biographer of Charlemagne. If they are justified by all the facts, we should be gratified by the evidence of the influence of a great book on a great man; but if not we can only conclude that history is sometimes written more from inference than from fact.

We may admit without argument that Augustine was one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of the church fathers, that his writings were studied extensively by churchmen throughout the Middle Ages, and that some of his books are read with interest, possibly with profit, today, and, furthermore, that his authority on matters of doctrine and interpretation has been very great in the theological structure of the Roman Catholic church. But are we justified in concluding that one of his works greatly influenced the government of Charlemagne because that monarch was pleased with the readings from the book at his dinner entertainments? Convincing evidence one way or the other can hardly be expected now since the great Charles cannot answer for himself. But the book of Augustine is extant and the career of Charles is a matter of record.

Consequently we should be able to arrive at some fairly justifiable conclusions from a comparison of the two.

First then let us review briefly the *City of God* and the work of Augustine in general. The great bishop of Hippo during the course of his long and eventful life produced an astonishing amount of literary work, more than one hundred books being ascribed to him. He lived from 354 to 430 and died at his episcopal city while it was under siege by the Vandals. The capture of Rome by Alaric in 410 had not only distressed but greatly perplexed the civilized world. Augustine tries to reassure the faithful by the idea that the earthly city which had been the synonym for what was strong and enduring was to be superseded by the eternal city whose reign was in the hearts of men. The work is an early attempt at a philosophy of history, under the aspect of two rival cities or communities—the eternal city of God and the perishing city of the world. In Book i the author censures the pagans who attributed the calamities of the world, and especially the sack of Rome by the Goths, to the Christian religion and its prohibition of the worship of the gods. In Book ii the tumultuous history of Rome is reviewed and the failure of her numerous gods to help her in times of trouble. Augustine even goes out of his way to assail the careers of Romulus and other kings and consuls because of their murderous wars. In spite of Aesculapius there were many plagues, and in spite of protecting deities for every activity of life there were defeats and disasters many times. The subject is continued in a similar vein in Book iii, where he adds that if all these evils had happened after the coming of Christ the people would have blamed Christianity for them. In Book iv he concludes that the long duration of the Roman Empire was due not to any pagan gods, who were often notoriously immoral, but to the will of the true God, by whose power and judgment earthly kingdoms are founded and maintained. In this book occur some noteworthy passages, especially interesting if we are to suppose that Charlemagne ever read them, e.g., chapter vi (*sub fin.*) “*Inferre autem bella finitimis et in cetera inde procedere ac populos sibi non molestos sola regni cupiditate contere et subdere, quid aliud quam grande latrocinium nominandum est?*” In Book v the question of fate is dealt with only to show that the

greatness of Rome was not due to fate. He refers to the virtues of the early Romans as explaining to some degree their success. We may here remark that these "natural virtues," as he calls them, of the early Romans were previously ascribed to the inspiration of demons. He also has an unhappy criticism of some of the finest models of old Rome, inasmuch as it is his aim to make all virtue theistic. He then explains what should be accounted the true happiness of the Christian emperors. It is this passage which Bryce refers to (also Davis) as probably influencing Charlemagne. Accordingly I will quote it here (*De Civitate Dei* v. 24; translation of Professor Dods):

For neither do we say that certain Christian emperors were happy because they ruled a long time, or, dying a peaceful death, left their sons to succeed them in the empire, or subdued the enemies of the republic, or were able both to guard against and to suppress the attempt of hostile citizens rising against them. These and other gifts or comforts of this sorrowful life even certain worshippers of demons have merited to receive, who do not belong to the Kingdom of God to which these belong; and this is to be traced to the mercy of God who would not have those who believe in Him desire such things as the highest good. But we say that they are happy if they rule justly; if they are not lifted up amid the praises of those who pay them sublime honors, and the obsequiousness of those who salute them with excessive humility, but remember that they are men; if they make their power the handmaid of His majesty by using it for the greatest possible extension of His worship; if they fear, love, worship God; if more than their own they love that kingdom in which they are not afraid to have partners; if they are slow to punish, ready to pardon; if they apply that punishment as necessary to government and defence of the republic, and not in order to gratify their own enmity, but with the hope that the transgressor may amend his ways; if they compensate with the lenity of mercy and the liberality of benevolence for whatever severity they may be compelled to decree; if their luxury is as much restrained as it might have been unrestrained; if they prefer to govern depraved desires rather than any nation whatever; and if they do all these things, not through ardent desire of empty glory, but through love of eternal felicity, not neglecting to offer to the true God, who is their God, for their sins, the sacrifices of humility, contrition, and prayer. Such Christian emperors, we say, are happy in the present time by hope, and are destined to be so in the enjoyment of the reality itself, when that which we wait for shall have arrived.

Books vi-x are directed against those who believe that the gods are to be worshiped for the sake of eternal life. He attacks

the monotheistic ideas of Varro and Plato, showing how these teachers were unable to spread truth and virtue among the masses, and so he introduces in a very earnest and beautiful passage the necessity of the Incarnation (vii. 31; x. 29). In some of these books there are some rather racy criticisms of heathen divinities, particularly those connected with marriage—passages which may have interested Charlemagne and his rather loose-mannered court even if they did not edify them. The second half of the work is constructive and theological. Six books (xi–xvi) are devoted to one of his innumerable efforts to get at the light which he was convinced was hidden in the Book of Genesis. With painful ingenuity he labors to elucidate or explain away the difficulties of the old story. In xiv. 13 occurs one of his characterizations of the *City of God*:

And therefore it is that *humility* is specially recommended to the City of God as it sojourns in this world, and is especially exhibited in the City of God and the person of Christ its king; while the contrary vice of pride, according to the testimony of the sacred writings, specially rules his adversary the devil. And certainly this is the great difference which distinguishes the two cities of which we speak, the one being the society of godly men, the other of the ungodly, each associated with the angels that adhere to their party, and the one guided and fashioned by love of self, the other by love of God.

Again in xiv. 28:

Accordingly the two cities have been formed by the two loves; the earthly by the love of self, even to the contempt of God; the heavenly by the love of God, even to the contempt of self. The former, in a word, glories in itself, the latter in the Lord. For the one seeks glory from men, but the greatest glory of the other is God, the witness of the conscience.

Some of the metaphorical explanations of the ark, tower of Babel, etc., are ridiculously far-fetched, while the absolute condemnation of all scientific theories which seem to contradict the Bible are perhaps an earnest of the blind bigotry of the Middle Ages. The history of the City of God is traced in Books xvi–xviii from the time of the kings to that of Christ, the author dealing extensively with prophecies sacred and profane in regard to the coming of the Messiah. Then follow the discussions of heathen philosophers and their ideas of the Supreme Good. In the remaining books such subjects as the last judgment, eternal punishment,

portents, miracles, the eternal happiness of the saints, faith in the resurrection and the activities of the saints in bliss are elaborated with more or less interesting detail, and the work closes with an almost ecstatic vision of the eternal felicity of the city of God and the perpetual Sabbath.

It seems rather generally agreed that the effect produced by this great work in its own time could not have been very great. But undoubtedly it became immensely popular in later times. This is partly due, no doubt, to the great variety of ideas, opinions, and facts that are brought before the reader's mind. But, as Professor Dods says, "the interest attaching to the *City of God* is not merely historical. It is the earnestness and ability with which he develops his own philosophical and theological views which gradually fascinate the reader and make him see why the world has set this among the few greatest books of all time." It became one of the chief sources of study and authority in the church, so that by the time of Charlemagne the theology of the ruling faith of the empire was largely interpreted as Augustine had enunciated it. But the question with us here is what influence could the work have had on the government, foreign policy, or private life of the greatest of mediæval monarchs. Charlemagne ruled from 768 to 814 A.D., a period nearly four hundred years after the publication of the *City of God*. The world had become Catholic and the church and its head had largely replaced in power and name the Roman Empire and the Caesar. Since the fall of the Western Empire no single ruler had united under his own sway all the scattered parts of what was Roman, but yet the permanency of the empire and the rule of an emperor remained as fixed notions in men's minds. It may be that when Charlemagne allowed himself in 800 to be crowned emperor and Augustus he had some rather indefinite notion of a new era inaugurated under himself when a City of God or an empire of the true faith should replace the old and discredited earthly empire. Bryce even suggests (p. 48) that the pope had some such notion when he crowned the emperor. "In Charles, the hero who united under one scepter so many races and whose religious spirit made him appear to rule all as the vicegerent of God, the pontiff might well see, as later ages saw, the new golden head of a second image,

erected on the ruins of that whose mingled iron and clay seemed crumbling to nothingness behind the impregnable bulwarks of Constantinople." But whatever conception Charles or the pope or any other of their time may have had of the new era, no thinking man even then could fail to see how different the order of things was from that of old Rome on the one hand and of the ideal state of Augustine on the other. It is probable that only in the later years of his life did Charlemagne conceive any ideal of a Christian state, if indeed he ever had such an ideal or ever consciously followed the precepts of Augustine. And the great work of his career, his conquests and organization of conquered peoples, belongs to his earlier years. We know that on the death of his father Pippin, Charles and his brother Carloman became joint heirs of the kingdom. There was trouble almost from the first, till the opportune death of Carloman in 771 left Charles sole monarch with no regard for the rights of Carloman's children. In his numerous wars of conquest he was perhaps rather more merciful and broad-minded than most of his predecessors. But there were instances of great cruelty and injustice, for it seemed to be his idea that resistance to his authority and persistence in paganism were things to be thoroughly stamped out. When he swept with his ravaging armies over the greater part of Germany he compelled the conquered kings and their peoples to accept Christian baptism as a sign and symbol of their submission. Sometimes very serious rebellions broke out, for, strange to say, these Saxons seemed to have an inextinguishable hatred of slavery and Christianity. It took eighteen expeditions and thirty-three years to conquer them. On the first campaign in 782 as many as 4,500 captives were put to death in cold blood on one day. In this year Widukind, the Saxon king, was at last conquered and was baptized, Charles acting as his godfather. In 785 a revolt was suppressed in the north, and on this occasion, as Einhard tells us, some of the captives were put to death, some deprived of sight, some exiled. In 804 he had recourse to the last injustice of conquerors, the transportation of the Saxons who dwelt beyond the Elbe to Frankland and the giving of their lands to pagans. In his zeal for the Christian faith he could tolerate no heathen within his realm, and so compelled subject kings and peoples to be baptized.

Such wholesale additions to the body of true believers, greater than at any Pentecost, could hardly add much spiritual strength to the church. Several of his adversaries, such as Desiderius of Lombardy, Tassilo of Bavaria, even several of his own relatives, including his son Pippin, disappeared permanently in monasteries, a convenient place for dangerous rivals and suitable for their own spiritual development. As a statesman Charles ranked high. He had the doubtful credit of introducing or at least of fostering feudalism, but beyond question he was a wise and firm administrator. In many of his enactments, particularly in his capitularies, the religious motive was clearly foremost. Even his great service to learning was fundamentally due to his desire to advance the true understanding of the Scriptures "*ut facilius et rectius divinarum scripturarum mysteria valeatis penetrare.*" He was indeed broad-minded enough to see some merit in secular writings and made an effort to save some of the early literature of his race.

Of his private life we may say that in simplicity and useful activity there was much to admire. But judged by modern or even mediaeval standards there was much also to condemn. His first marriage, in 770, with the daughter of King Desiderius of Lombardy was soon dissolved, an action which probably led to enmity between the two kings. He contracted four other marriages and appeared to have loved all of his wives. But he also contracted several other "marriages of the second rank," as they are euphemistically called by his clerical admirers (Davis, p. 243). His court was not pure and his daughters turned out badly. He was known as a generous almsgiver and bestowed his benefactions on the needy at home and abroad, but chiefly on the church and the clergy.

Now in all the career of this great sovereign what act or policy is there which we can with assurance say was influenced by his study of theological literature? He was beyond doubt a zealous supporter of the church and a man of personal piety even if his actions were often those of a barbarian or libertine. But his religious proclivities were surely as much due to his inherited Catholicism and his naturally emotional nature as to any study of a book. In fact there is nothing in Augustine's work, dealing with counsel to a

ruler, certainly not in the chapter quoted by Bryce and others, which would not be found in the pages of Scripture itself. And furthermore there is nothing in all his administration of government at home or in the provinces which could be even remotely traced to the theocratic ideas of Augustine. We know, moreover, from Einhard's account and from other sources that as emperor and Augustus he had before his mind the career of Augustus Caesar, and if he followed any model it was more than likely the work of the first Roman emperor as described by Suetonius. The probabilities are that only a few portions of Augustine's work were ever read to Charles, and these would be such as might conduce to pious reflection or the entertainment of the hour, but not to the shaping of great policies of government.

Finally we may question the influence of any book, outside the Scriptures, on any great national policies. The personal life and the theological views of some great men have been influenced, according to their own confession, by the reading of great works, notably by those of Augustine himself, and to some extent, we may assume, their views have been carried into legislation. But statesmanship is rather the result of a long series of events and traditions and is seldom if ever founded on any model prescribed by philosopher or theologian. Augustine himself says that he was profoundly influenced by Cicero's work *Hortensius*. And in modern times, to take only one example, Gladstone says he owed much to Augustine. His words are, "I have been feeling my way; owing little to living teachers, but enormously to four dead ones (over and above the four gospels), i.e., Aristotle, Augustine, Dante, Butler—my four doctors are doctors to the speculative man; would they were such to the practical too!" (Morley's *Life*, I, 207). Gladstone probably read Augustine more intelligently than Charlemagne ever could, but no one would credit him with shaping his policies on any such authority.

In conclusion we may say that a more fitting comment on Einhard's statement in the *Vita Caroli* would be, "Charlemagne may have enjoyed the book of Augustine, but there is nothing in his life or government to indicate that he was much edified thereby."

VITALIZING MYTHOLOGY

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While teaching mythology and striving to interest the student in this subject with new methods of approach, the writer became possessed of an idea which it is hoped may be found helpful to other teachers in the way of supplementing textbook material. If mythology is not a study of vital importance to the undergraduate, it certainly is an interesting one, while as a sidelight to history, art, and literature it deserves his attention on account of its cultural value. The plan proposed aims at providing the teacher with a real working medium, so that, apart from gaining a book knowledge of the subject, the student may find in the course something stimulating and of real practical value. The scheme may be elaborated according to the time given to the course and at the judgment of the teacher. For a general survey of Greek and Roman mythology one hour a week is fairly satisfactory. A course in comparative mythology would enrich the field but would demand more time.

Most of us have been brought up on Bulfinch's *Age of Fable*, Hawthorne's *Wonder Book* and *Tanglewood Tales*, and other collections of classic myths. We never outgrow the fairylike appeal of these stories. In childhood they amuse us, but to the mature student this mass of detail loses interest for itself alone. As he transfers his childish interest to the more scientific aspect of the subject, it soon acquires new meaning as the basis of an interesting study, full of the principles of life, clothing social and political relations, veiling scientific, religious, and philosophic thought, all set forth in that fascinating imagery through which the Greeks gave expression to their thoughts. A realization of this fact, namely, that every myth has some idea behind it comes as a surprise to most students, and a still greater one comes with the suggestion that there are still possibilities in adapting these myths, that mythology may be vitalized in such a way as to yield practical results.

The teacher of course duly appreciates the principal reasons for studying mythology. These may or may not be anticipated by the student, but it is likely that he faintly apprehends the relation of Greek mythology to history, art, and literature, as well as to the lives and minds of those who made it what it is. A thorough study of these relations will not be minimized by the teacher, since stress has been laid on these features by up-to-date texts. With the lantern and screen equipment the student will enjoy another advantage, that of becoming familiar with the gods and goddesses as portrayed by ancient and modern sculptors and artists. A lasting impression of pose and attribute is made by interspersing lecture and recitation with such illustrations.

No one denies the fact that the study of mythology quickens the artistic sense and judgment and increases the appreciation of art and literature. Both art and literature take on a deeper meaning when revealed through mythology. But the demands for today's studies are for practicality. Can we show that this study is not a purely negative one and meet the demand for practical results? Surely mythology can do its bit in equipping the student for his life-work. Even the reporter needs to know a little mythology now and then in order to liven up the daily locals and vary his own platitudes.

The vital things in mythology are the thoughts behind it. Until we come to a full realization of this we fail to appreciate mythology as an expression of the Greek mind; and not until we do reach this viewpoint will we be able to vitalize mythology and connect it with the forces of our own lives. One writer says: "Greek and Roman mythology are unfailing in their vitality; their mythology is plastic and capable of varying its quality, is susceptible of employment for various uses."

This suggested the idea which was tried out with fairly interesting and satisfactory results, and it is hoped that this scheme will prove sufficiently practical and valuable to become a permanent feature of classroom work with additions as the time will allow and experience may suggest. It was proposed to *vitalize* mythology in some such way: First, having selected a myth for study, assimilate all the details, look under the surface for its meaning, look at

it from every angle, consider the characters and their inherent qualities and attributes. Then, use the imagination. With all the details in the subconsciousness let the student try to connect what he has read with some phase of life or with some local tradition, and let him strive to recast the myth. This will seem an impossibility at first, but with a little thought and encouragement attempts will be made and carried out with interest. Many times the results will be crude from lack of imagination, inability of expression, or from ignorance of technique. Even so the trial will be worth while. Careful emphasis must continually be laid on the thoughts which are the vital element of the myth and on the necessity of appreciating the part which this vivifying quality must play in original expression and adaptation of material.

What subjects shall be selected for such constructive work? They may be varied as time permits. Something in literature or local traditions may suggest an idea for the student to follow up. Each myth will open up varied possibilities to one who is on the lookout. A few of the titles tried out in class may be mentioned: "A Trip to Hades," "The Thirteenth Labor of Heracles," "The Pioneer in Iowa." The themes were read and criticized in class. Action was supposed to be in harmony with the character represented; epithet and phrase were urged in accordance with classic usage. For instance, if Athena was introduced, she was not to be described as "black-eyed"; if Ares was mentioned, it was pointed out that due consideration must be shown for that quality of war which he represented, war cruel and barbarous in direct contrast to the wisdom and skill of Athena in war. The grasp of such basic ideas seems quite necessary for one who would make use of mythological material in a literary way.

The first subject familiarized the student with the geography of the lower world, the Greek conception of life after death, also with various deities and personages on both sides the Styx. The most popular subject was the second. Almost with one accord Heracles was figured as the benefactor of mankind in ridding Europe of despotism and plunging its rank offender into Tartarus. Athletically inclined students made this son of Zeus patron of football on the local gridiron. "The Pioneer in Iowa" was intended to

suggest a variant of the Demeter myth through local conditions and tradition, the parallel of social life dependent on agriculture. This myth is one of the most fruitful and stimulating, fresh with life, heavy with mystery, full of mother-love and yearning. In its many aspects it lends itself well to adaptation and repays thoughtful study.

One may vary the themes by proposing subjects for drawings and asking those who have talent in this line to bring in pencil or pen-and-ink sketches. A brief description of two sketches furnished by students in the course will serve to show how the material of the Demeter myth was treated to bring out the idea of the rise of agriculture in Iowa. In one medallion the figures are grouped on the right and their names printed on the margin—Persephone, Demeter, and Triptolemus—in order, from background to foreground. Triptolemus has his left hand on the plow; Demeter holds in her extended right hand ears of corn as she points to the west; Persephone shares in the joy of giving with a shower of spring flowers which she flings to the four winds. Opposite this group, on the left, are gently undulating prairies and tepees. On the margin near by is lettered "Iowa." The whole symbolizes the progress of civilization from east to west. Another drawing on the same subject shows Demeter as central figure, knee-deep in the corn fields. Her hands are extended, and the shocks of corn, the heaps of vegetables piled about her, the branches of fruit-laden trees swaying above her, all testify to her bounteous generosity. In the distant background can be seen the ever-present windmill and barn gable.

Examples might be multiplied, but enough has been said to outline the process for vitalizing mythology. No unique contributions to art or literature are expected from young students. If these suggestions pave the way for something original in the future, if the results prove that mythology is by no means a dead subject, and that it can be studied in a way to meet the crying demand for practicality, then the end is attained and the scheme becomes fixed as a "method."

Notes

[Contributions in the form of notes or discussions should be sent to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

ON CAESAR B.G. i. 9

The last three lines of the chapter run as follows: *obsidesque uti inter se dent, perficit: Sequani, ne itinere Helvetios prohibeant; Helvetii, ut sine maleficio et iniuria transeant.* All the school editions of Caesar, so far as I have seen, by supplying with *Sequani* the words *obsides dent* or *obsides dant*, or the English word "agreeing," require a translation somewhat as follows: "The Sequanians agreeing not to hinder the Helvetians, and the Helvetians to cross without doing harm. Now the notion of *agreeing* here is nothing more or less than that of *promising*, a notion which never takes an *ut, ne* clause. The subjunctive clauses here are clearly of that variety of purpose clauses that Bennett calls stipulative; but stipulating is not promising but rather demanding a promise on the part of another. It was the purpose or stipulation of the Helvetians that the Sequanians should not hinder them, and of the Sequanians that the Helvetians should cross without doing harm. This meaning is easily obtained from the text by cutting out the usual commas and making *Sequani* the subject of *prohibeant*, placed first for emphasis, and *Helvetii* the subject of *transeant*. In translating, supply after *perficit* the words "the stipulations being."

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General Comment

[Edited by Gilbert Campbell Scoggin, The University of Missouri.]

Continued evidence of the general interest felt in Greek and Latin is found in the part they play in the public programs of the high schools. The Ball High School, of Galveston, Texas, has a Modern Language Association which gives several public performances during the year. Both Greek and Latin were represented on the program for December 17, 1917, along with French, German, and Spanish. All Freshmen in the high school take Latin and may elect it for the three succeeding years. The course in modern languages extends over three years; and at present the school is planning the publication of a modern language journal. Greek is not taught in the school, but with the fostering of such a general interest in the languages we shall expect to hear soon that Greek has been placed at the disposal of those at least who may desire it.

In his essay on "The New Criticism of Roman Art," contributed to the volume of *Harvard Essays on Classical Subjects*, Professor G. H. Chase has summarized the just claims of the new school of critics who rebel against the treating of Roman art as a merely attenuated or decadent form of Greek art, and who maintain that it represents a distinct artistic epoch with notable contributions of its own. As usually happens in times of rebellion, these claims of the new school may have assumed an extreme form. The deep source of inspiration and the grandeur of the Greek originals back of numerous Roman imitations was pretty well worked out and emphasized by the great classical archaeologist Winckelmann. Most classical scholars are familiar with the main outlines of the career of the poor shoemaker's son, the struggles of his early youth, his devotion to classical learning, his walking of some eighty miles on one occasion to pick up a few classical books at the sale of the library of Fabricius, and his tragic death at the height of his career. Pater calls him the last fruit of the Renaissance, belonging in sympathy with the earlier humanists. Yet Bywater (*Memoir*, p. 79) denies Pater any real knowledge of art. In the January number of the *Monist* Professor W. W. Hyde, of the University of Pennsylvania, writes on "The Two-Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Winckelmann."

Another method of stimulating interest in the classics is by the publication of school papers. Not only do we find a Greek paper such as that published by the Berkeley High School, which prints in beautiful form extracts from

standard Greek authors, but we also find Latin papers dealing in modern fashion with up-to-date school news. Such a publication is *Nuntius Latinus*, issued monthly by the students of the high school of Evansville, Indiana. In a recent issue will be found notes on such topics as the "Red Cross," "Liberty Loan," "Food Conservation," "Football," and "Jokes." In most cases no attempt is made to give these modern names for modern things a Latin form. They stand unchanged amid the Latin context. This has the obvious advantage of arresting the attention and pricking the curiosity of the uninitiated. On the other hand a great deal of ingenuity can be developed by the practice of forcing modern ideas into ancient speech. An electric car would seem to be hopelessly modern, yet when the *Phormio* was performed at Harvard in 1894, on their programs the spectators read: "Statim post spectaculum carri aderunt qui ui seminum fulmineorum spectatores in urbem uicinam abripiant." Was it the late Professor F. D. Allen (the composer, by the way, of the music for the Harvard performance of the Harvard *Phormio*) who used to insist that "rubber boots" alone refused to be expressed in Latin? When the *Agamemnon* was performed at Cambridge, Ἐπὶ Ἑλιστον ἀρχοντος Ὀλυμπιάδι ποώτη καὶ ἑβδομηκοστῇ καὶ ἑξακοσιοστῇ ἔτει πρώτῳ ἐν τῷ Σταδίῳ, the program was in Greek. Yet it was stated Ἡδέως ἰᾶσι τὴν Ἀγγλικὴν γλῶτταν οἱ θυρωροί. At the close of the program, however, it was deemed necessary to relapse into the vulgar tongue and inform the audience that, "In case of a shower the play may be stopped temporarily!"

Classical teachers have long maintained that in their struggle to uphold the ideals of cultural education they have been fighting an enemy that would in time assail also the higher purpose of modern-language teachers. I will not discuss the present widespread illiberal attitude toward the teaching of German, for this is easily explained even if wholly unjustified. It is to Spanish that I desire to call special attention. I presume that most classical students have some reading knowledge of Spanish and that all of them are sympathetic toward any attempt to spread and improve the teaching of it. Certainly all reasonable people will welcome every attempt to bring about a common understanding among the countries of the Western Continent. At the second Pan-American Scientific Congress, held in Washington, December, 1916, delegates were present from North, Central, and South America. There was much discussion as to the best means of bringing about closer relations among the Americas. Among the recommendations passed was the following: "That the teaching of the Spanish Language be made general in the schools of the United States, and of the English Language in Latin-American schools, and that both be taught from the point of view of American customs, history, literature, and social institutions." Later a report of this meeting was presented by Professor J. D. M. Ford, of Harvard University, to both the American Association of University Professors and the Modern Language Association of

America. He has prepared a summary of his report for the January issue of the *Studies in Philology*, published by the University of North Carolina. In quoting the foregoing recommendation Professor Ford points out a lurking danger in the latter part of it, in what "seems to strike a new note." He urges that caution be used in interpreting that part of the recommendation. The vocational note there struck will not be "new" to the classical student, and this wholesome warning from a teacher of modern languages will be approved. Professor Ford maintains that the right teaching of Spanish cannot ignore the literature and art of Spain, and doubtless our leading teachers of English would deny that the right teaching of English can ignore the great masterpieces from beyond the sea. For mere purposes of trade this broad yet historical view may well be ignored, yet to set up a mere utilitarian and provincial aim for Spanish teaching in all our schools is a deplorable policy. The same is true concerning the teaching of English in the schools of Latin America. This recommendation for the teaching of Spanish, in the view of Professor Ford, conceals another danger. It may involve the teaching of some local pronunciation of the language. He therefore puts in a strong plea for the Castilian pronunciation in preference to some one of the widely divergent forms in use on this side.

Of the many recent works dealing with educational problems few can compare in comprehension and grasp of the real issue with *Higher Education and the War*, by Professor John Burnet of St. Andrews University. This book contains a thoroughgoing criticism of the German system of education. As the material was gathered and used before the outbreak of the war, the author cannot be charged with bias due to the present conflict. The first chapter deals with *Kultur*. Here Professor Burnet maintains that there is a real breach between the *Kultur* of modern Germany and the educational system inherited from the opening of the nineteenth century. The sources of recent educational controversies are not pedagogical but political. Wilhelm von Humboldt's idea of *Kultur* was about the same as our idea of civilization, whereas at the present day "to the German, *Kultur* is in the first place something national," while to other peoples "civilization is primarily something human." *Kultur* can be maintained only by the autocratic powers of the state. All grades of education "must be regulated in view of the national *Kultur*, and not with reference to any vague ideal of humanity." This nationalized *Kultur* comes to mean that which differentiates Germany from all other nations and as such is antagonistic to humanism which strives to gather and conserve noble ideals common to all peoples. I think we may see the embodiment of these different attitudes in the recent militant German professors on the one hand and in the humanist Erasmus on the other. The old Germany "stood for philosophy, learning, music, and simplicity of life," whereas a modern German educator can exclaim: "Heute erscheint es uns ein leidiger Ruhm, eine Nation

von Denkern und Dichtern gewesen zu sein." Thus a real breach has come between the old education, from which we have all profited so much, and the new education, from which unawares we have incurred great harm. The great advance in applied science in Germany has followed a long period of disinterested research. Of late the great discoveries have been made elsewhere, but in Germany they have been organized and applied to the needs of industry and commerce, and now, we must add, for war. The old education had as its basis a prolonged and rigorous training in the classics, but the modern spirit, speaking through the mouth of the Kaiser, exclaims: "Wir sollen nationale junge Deutsche erziehen und nicht junge Griechen und Römer." In a chapter on humanism there is brought before us this conflict between the new ideal and the old. The old ideal involved a prolonged general education not directed to any particular profession though preparing the way for all. The modern ideal involves the early assignment of one's place in the political machinery with immediate intensive training for this restricted place. Arguments have not been lacking against the old theory of transference of powers. As a result, in some quarters discredit has been brought upon the belief in such a thing as general training. If this doctrine be true, then we must concede that humanistic education must go. As to what extent improvement of one function alters others, Professor Thorndike says: "A change in one function alters any other only in so far as the two functions have, as factors, identical elements. The change in the second function is in amount that due to the change in the elements common to it and the first." Professor Burnet suggests that it is perhaps the "identical factors" in human knowledge that are the most important things about it, and these it should be the object of education to bring to consciousness. The danger confronting us in America is the tendency to close the door of general education too soon, by unduly forcing vocationalism upon the student. The perennial vulgar belief in the adequacy of translations will continue to thrive among those who are unable to follow Professor Burnet's sound psychological remarks as to the influence of language on thought.

On the other hand humanism is not confined to the classics. All disinterested scientific investigation is embraced by it. "The idea of disinterested scientific inquiry was perhaps the greatest gift of Hellas to mankind, and the Greeks were able to form this ideal just because they held that there is a human excellence which is other than and higher than the excellence of any particular craftsman or specialist." True science cannot thrive apart from humanism. To rest its claims upon merely utilitarian grounds would result in disaster. The great conflict now being fought on the battlefields of Europe is between *Kultur* and *humanitas*, the latter deriving its inspiration from *la civilisation gréco-latine*. Professor Burnet has dedicated his book to the memory of nine of his Greek students who have given their lives "pro patria et humanitate."

Book Reviews

The Greek Theater and Its Drama. By ROY C. FLICKINGER.
Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1918. Pp.
xxviii+358. \$3.00 net.

Every true drama, ancient or modern, has been composed and designed for a performance by actors in a theater before an audience. Any study of the drama as pure poetry, or soul expression, without reference to the theater in which the play was given, the actors, and all other matters connected with what Aristotle calls "spectacle" and the "show business," is bound to be one-sided. Professor Flickinger's excellent book is therefore timely; classical teachers have been too prone to dwell upon the ethical and poetical side of the Greek drama to the exclusion of the theater. Although the book deals primarily with the technical and theatrical side of the drama, it would be unjust to assume that undue importance is attached to these matters as against other aspects of the drama. There is no question of relative importance. "Spectacle" is an integral part of a play; a true drama does not exist without it.

Professor Flickinger states in the Preface his aims as follows: "First, to elaborate the theory that the peculiarities and conventions of the Greek drama are largely explicable by its environment, in the broadest sense of that term. . . . Secondly, to emphasize the technical aspect of ancient drama. . . . Thirdly, to elucidate and freshen ancient practice by modern and mediaeval parallels." The book, exclusive of the Introduction (pp. 1-117), is divided into nine chapters: i, "The Influence of Religious Origin"; ii, "The Influence of Choral Origin"; iii, "The Influence of Actors"; iv, "The Influence of Festival Arrangements"; v, "The Influence of Physical Conditions"; vi, "The Influence of Physical Conditions (*Continued*): The Unities"; vii, "The Influence of National Customs and Ideas"; viii, "The Influence of Theatrical Machinery and Dramatic Conventions"; ix, "Theatrical Records."

The Introduction deals with the vexed problems of the origins of tragedy and comedy and with the "stage question." Tragedy and the satyric drama are offshoots of the same parent, the dithyramb. "The songs and dances from which tragedy and the satyr play developed were associated *at the period when they became truly dramatic*, with the worship of Dionysus, and *at the same period* Dionysus was as truly a 'God' (as distinguished from a 'hero') as any that the Greeks ever knew." Ultimate religious origins are not of vital importance for the understanding of the origin of tragedy.

Comedy originated with the leaders of phallic ceremonies, a prototype of which is found in Aristoph. *Achar.*, verses 237 ff. where Dicaeopolis on concluding a private peace with Sparta celebrates a festival of Dionysus on his country

estate. But Cornford's elaborated theory that the prototypes of all the parts of old comedy are to be found in the old fertility ritual, consisting of Agon, Sacrifice, Feast, Marriage Comus, does not, apparently, meet with favor.

The elevated stage for the Athenian drama is rejected; the evidence for concluding that actors and chorus performed together in the orchestra is overwhelming. But Professor Flickinger has given us in this part of his Introduction more than a mere discussion of the stage question; it constitutes the best treatise we have on the theater, though not so comprehensive in details as Dörpfeld's book. And yet it is complete enough for the ordinary reader and is up to date. The drawings are extremely well done, the illustrations from vases, etc., have been chosen with care and discrimination, and the photographs are extremely clear. The excellence of the illustrative material is but one indication of the untiring painstaking and energy that characterize the book.

The limitation of dramatic performances to certain periods is due to religious origin; performances at Athens were given in honor of Dionysus only at his festivals, the City Dionysia and Lenaia. The satyr play too is regarded as a concession to the religious origin, and the absence of murder on the Athenian stage is attributed to the fact that the actors were regarded as ministers of the god, and as a consequence their lives were sacred and inviolable.

In his chapter on "The Influence of Actors," Professor Flickinger explains the three-actor rule as being due to the paucity of actors and to the difficulty of mastering the dramatic technique of the dialogue. But that this has any connection with the lack of actors at any period of Athenian drama is mere assumption. We have every reason for thinking that there was an abundance of material for minor rôles. In the first place the mimetic instinct is very strong in most human beings, and it was especially strong in the Greeks. Then the drama was lyric in origin, and every choristes was an actor. Finally it should be remembered that in the early stages of an art standards are not very high. If the acting was crude, so was the taste of the audience.

Obviously this review is not the place to argue the question. But I should like to make a categorical statement which I shall endeavor to make good in a future paper: All the passages in which Professor Flickinger finds evidence for the limitation of the actors can be explained on other equally plausible grounds. There was some justification for Hermann, Paley, and others who had been brought up on an old tradition supported by *external* evidence (now discarded) in seeking to detect indications of the tradition in the plays. The tradition, once accepted, gives us a perfectly mechanical device, and one easy of application, for motivating the entrance and exits of characters and for dating the plays. If a play can by hook or crook be produced by two actors, it is pushed forward to the earlier or two-actor period. The *Prometheus* offers a good example of the extremes to which an assumed law can lead scholars. By assuming a lay figure for Prometheus and a quick shift of costume in the first scene two actors could produce the play. The details of the nailing are used as proof for the lay figure. As a matter of fact the detailed description of the

nailling may indicate just the opposite and has served as a blind. And, further, in the subsequent play of the trilogy, the part of Prometheus could not have been represented by a lay figure. Finally, in other respects the *Prometheus* has the earmarks of one of the later plays, as, for example, in the proportion of dialogue to lyrical parts. But the possibility of two actors doing the job outweighs all other considerations!

Before passing on, it is proper to mention at least one example that involves some of Professor Flickinger's principles of technique. In the *Phoenissae* Euripides is thought to have had an actor of great lyrical attainments and so construed his play that this actor could play the rôles of both Jocasta and Antigone (the parts are well adapted to such a performer, principle 8). Immediately after the exit of Jocasta at verse 87, the old servant mounts the roof but tells Antigone to remain upon the stairs:

That I may scan the highway first,
Lest on the path some citizen appear,
And scandal light—for me, the thrall, 'twere naught—
On thee, the Princess.

The old servant is thought to be merely talking for time. Thus the appearance of Antigone is delayed for fifteen verses so that the actor who took Jocasta's part might have time to change dress and reappear in the rôle of Antigone. In other words, the old servant had to find some excuse for Antigone's delay in appearing because the poet had only one actor capable of rendering lyrical parts. But let us examine this case more closely.

In the first place, the pedagogue's reason for the delay in Antigone's appearance is a perfectly natural one and in line with Greek custom two instances of which from Euripides are cited by Professor Flickinger in his chapter on "The Influence of National Customs and Ideas" (p. 281). Hermione (*Andromache*, vss. 877 ff.) is bidden to leave the scene with these words:

Nay, pass within; make not thyself a show
Before this house, lest thou shouldst get thee shame
Before this palace seen of men, my child.

Compare also *Electra* (vss. 341 ff.). In neither of these instances can a technical motive be found such as Professor Flickinger imagines he discovers in the *Phoenissae*. Secondly, the statement that "Euripides must have had a leading actor of great musical attainments" is based on an unwarranted assumption that the poet knew his actor before he wrote the play; it is very likely that the actors were allotted after the plays had been accepted by the Archon. Thirdly, the technical motive in this case implies further that there was a dearth of actors for lyrical parts. In other plays Euripides does not seem to feel cramped in this respect. For example, in the *Hippolytus* most of the rôles are lyrical. The Nurse and Phaedra, who are simultaneously on the scene and must be played by different actors, indulge in lengthy lyrics.

Fourthly, this strongly felt motive compels us to divide the part of Antigone between two actors: Jocasta and Antigone appear together later in the play. It should be remembered that the three-actor rule is not concerned here; three actors would allow us a separate actor for these parts. Incidentally Professor Flickinger thinks that the fifteen verses which Euripides allows for the actor to change from the part of Jocasta to that of Antigone gives us a hint as to the length of time normally required for such a change. It is interesting that this is the only normal case in tragedy!

The statement (p. 183), "And since the tragedies of this period were presented by three actors, this number became crystallized, and so was never thereafter, *so far as the state was concerned*,² exceeded in tragedy," seems to imply that the state assigned the secondary actors. The state was concerned only with the protagonists, as is correctly stated on page 184.

Professor Flickinger's theory that the aesthetic law of the three-actor scene became fixed in the *technitae* period seems curious. Aristotle had observed in the *Poetics* that three actors make the perfect or well-rounded scene (cf. *πληθος*). Of course Aristotle was not a codifier; he simply observed the facts. It may be that Roman and Alexandrian scholars came to look on the unbroken custom of Greek tragedians as being based upon a rigid law. But the *technitae* had nothing to do with the facts of Greek tragedy which these scholars studied.

Much is made of the fact that the Greek poets experienced great difficulty in keeping three actors upon a scene busy. This point was fully developed in my thesis, the main point of which was not to set up an aesthetic law but to show that the three-actor scene was not the same as the three-actor play. But it is a fact that the fourth character in Greek tragedy never speaks, and the silence is sometimes unnatural. But it is ridiculous to say that the aesthetic law breaks down because sometimes even the third person does not speak. The point is not that the third must speak, but that the fourth must not!

This strange silence of the fourth person can best be accounted for on aesthetic grounds. It is not enough to say that the silence of Ismene in certain scenes in *Oedipus Coloneus* is due to the fact that the part is being taken by a mute. A mute is not a dummy and can speak if the poet chooses. Pylades in *Coeophori* is classed as a mute, but he spoke very effectively four lines.

Professor Flickinger's book is a veritable storehouse of information. "Influence" has been applied to the poets from every conceivable angle. In the chapter on "The Influence of Festival Arrangements" we are told everything that is known about the character of the two festivals, the City Dionysia and Lenaea, their programs with order of events; how the use of masks, previous knowledge of plots, the proagon, and the prologue rendered billboards unnecessary; how the juxtaposition of comedy and tragedy at some festivals strengthened the tendency which comic poets would naturally have to parody

² *Italics are mine.*

the lines of tragic poets and to burlesque their stage devices; how, though given on the same day at the same festival, there was no intermingling; a tragic poet never wrote a comedy, nor a comic poet a tragedy, neither did the same actor play both comic and tragic parts; the appointment of the judges; the open appeal of the comic poets for victory; the attempt of Euripides in the *Medea* to win favor of the judges by dragging in the Aegeus episode.

The huge size of the theater, together with the absence of opera glasses, made the employment of masks less objectionable (cf. chap. v), because only a limited number near the orchestra could have seen the facial expression of the actor anyway. To the magnitude of the ancient theater is to be attributed also the lack of a roof; in the absence of modern architectural devices "it was impossible to roof over such a structure without a multitude of supports to obstruct the view and hearing." In his early plays, before the stereotyped palace or temple front became established, Aeschylus had difficulty in motivating the exits and entrances of his characters. Because of lack of a convenient place of retreat he frequently leaves his characters silent upon the scene. The location of the theater at Athens gave rise to a tradition in the new comedy that persons coming from the city or harbor should enter from the spectator's right, those from the country from the left.

The Greeks had no way of representing interior scenes. Certain scenes, according to our author, which in ordinary life would appropriately take place indoors may be enacted in the porticoes of palaces or temples. But we should not be surprised to find Strepsiades, Pheidippides, and the servants sleeping on the porch in the open, "though we have no reason to believe that they are actual or prospective victims of tuberculosis." The reviewer does not pretend to be an authority on the use of the sleeping-porch in Greek life, but would like to hazard the opinion that in the *Clouds* Aristophanes employs the portico to represent an interior bedroom. But having discarded the notion that the Greeks had any way of representing an interior scene, Professor Flickinger finds as substitutes, besides the portico, the speeches of the messengers, the eccyclema, and the cries of the victims behind the scenes. There is no conclusive evidence for constant and regular use of a drop curtain.

In chapter vii we learn that the competitive spirit of the Greeks found its way into the drama also. The poets, the actors, and the choregi each had their own contests. The state paid for the dramatic performances under the system of liturgies. Also the lot was used in selecting the judges and in assigning the actors.

The eccyclema is thought to be of two different models. First, there was the revolving platform which displays an inner scene by reversing the sides of the proscenium. This type was used in the *Eumenides*. The other model was a platform on wheels which could be rolled out through the middle door. The mere throwing open of the palace door to reveal the murdered person would not be sufficient because the spectators in the wings could not see. Professor Flickinger doubtless gets from the Chicago theaters the idea that

every seat in the ancient theater should command a view of all the stage business! The rest of the chapter is taken up with a discussion of the prologue, tragic irony, and soliloquies.

The reviewer feels that he has given a very inadequate account of this monumental book. Many of the excellent qualities cannot, obviously, receive the mention that they deserve. The many excellent illustrations and photographs have been referred to. Among other praiseworthy features is the appropriate quotation at the beginning of each chapter. Then too the inclusion of the complete bibliography in one footnote at the beginning of each chapter instead of scattering references in footnotes at the bottom of each page not only improves the appearance of the page but does away with constant distraction that one suffers from the presence of the ever-present reference.

Professor Flickinger has a thorough grasp of his material. Sound scholarship and keen judgment permeate the whole book. The style is clear and direct. The book is a large and unique contribution to the study of the Greek drama and theater and will add distinction to American scholarship.

KELLEY REES

REED COLLEGE

Course of Study in Latin and Latin-English, Junior-Senior High School. By FLORENCE E. HALE and HARRY P. STUDY.
Neodesha, Kan.: Privately printed, 1918.

The coming of the junior high school within the last few years has given new impetus to the movement started some twenty years ago to begin instruction in Latin in the grades below the high school. The desirability of such an extension downward has long been recognized as far as pedagogical arguments are concerned, but administrative difficulties were in many school systems too great to be overcome. A committee appointed by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South four years ago found that some opportunities for the study of Latin in the grades had been provided up to that time in the public schools of about twenty-five of the larger cities of the United States, as well as in a considerably larger number of private schools. The experiment was found to have been most successful in those schools in which Latin had been offered as a substitute for formal English grammar, or where instruction in Latin and English had been closely correlated.

The problem of securing suitable textbooks or of working out a properly balanced course of study still remains a serious one for most teachers, though some fairly successful attempts have been made. The ordinary high-school Latin books for beginners have not proved satisfactory, and the few Latin books which have been prepared especially for seventh and eighth grades have stressed the Latin to the neglect of the English. The closest co-operation of the English and Latin departments is required for working out and putting

into successful operation a course combining the essential elements of English and Latin. Such co-operation evidently exists in the Neodesha schools. The publication of a very suggestive and helpful course of study in Latin-English is one result. The subject-matter of the three years of the junior high school includes the four topics: literature, grammar, linguistics (including spelling), and composition. The Latin grammar covered in the three years includes the topics usually given in the first year's work in high school. However, considerably more reading of easy Latin is provided for than is possible in the usual one-year course, and the pupil thus comes to the reading of Caesar much better prepared than one who begins his Latin in the high school. Meantime the pupil's ability to interpret English and to express himself in oral and written English has been greatly increased by his study of Latin, even if he never goes into the senior high school.

A detailed statement of the work covered in each of the four topics is given for the first two years, together with suggestions concerning methods of instruction, devices, reference books, reading-lists, etc. These will be found very helpful to the many teachers of Latin whose acquaintance with the teaching of seventh- and eighth-grade English is very slight.

A three-page introduction gives a very concise and convincing statement of the values claimed for the study of Latin.

W. L. CARR

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The New Testament Manuscripts. (In the Freer Collection.)
Part II, *The Washington Manuscript of the Epistles of Paul.*
By HENRY A. SANDERS. New York: Macmillan, 1918.
Pp. 251-315.

The text of the sixth-century manuscript of the Epistles of Paul, purchased by Mr. Charles L. Freer in Cairo in 1906, is now published in full with an introduction and a few excellent plates. While the manuscript is extremely fragmentary it presents an important ancient witness to the text. It is interesting to observe that the text is mainly of Westcott and Hort's-Neutral type. The work is handsomely printed and the text of the manuscript is made convenient for study.

Recent Books

Foreign books in this list may be obtained from Lemcke & Buechner, 30-32 West 27th St., New York City; G. E. Stechert & Co., 151-55 West 25th St., New York City; F. C. Stechert & Co., 29-35 West 32d St., New York City.

- ALLEN, J. T. *The Key to the Reconstruction of the Fifth-Century Theater at Athens.* (University of California Publications in Classical Philology, Vol. V, No. 2, pp. 55-58.) Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press. Paper, \$0.05.
- BENNETT, C. E. *New Latin Grammar.* Third edition. Boston: Allyn & Bacon. Pp. xvi+287. \$1.00.
- BYRNE, LEE, editor. *The Syntax of High-School Latin.* A co-operative study by fifty collaborators. Revised edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Pp. x+60. \$0.75 net.
- DEMPEY, REV. T. *The Delphic Oracle.* Its early history, influence, and fall; with a prefatory note by R. S. Conway. New York: Longmans. Pp. xxiii+199. \$2.00 net.
- HERFORD, C. H. *The Poetry of Lucretius.* A lecture. New York: Longmans. Pp. 26. \$0.40 net.
- JEBB, R. C., and HEADLAM, W. G. *The Fragments of Sophocles.* Edited with additional notes from the papers of R. C. Jebb and W. G. Headlam. 3 vols. New York: Putnam. \$13.50 net.
- KAEGI, A. *Advanced Lessons in Greek.* Fifth edition. St. Louis: Herder. 8vo, pp. iv+114. \$0.70 net.

Corrigenda in W. A. Heidel's review of Stratton's *Theophrastus and the Greek Physiological Psychology before Aristotle*, published in the October *Classical Journal*:

By an unfortunate accident Professor Heidel's review was published without the corrections which he had indicated in his revised proof. The *Journal*, with sincere apologies to Professor Heidel, indicates the following corrections:

Page 76, line 14, read ἀλλοίωσις

line 44, read δόξεν

Page 77, line 1, read ἔχει ἐπὶ πάντων

line 5, read rain ceases; for a fog "burns off."

line 13, read ἰκμάς

line 15, read *De Syria*

line 19, read *Theophrastus*

line 21, read

ὥς γὰρ ἐκάστοι' ἔχει κρᾶσιν μελέων πολυπλάγκτωρ

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Editorial

THE PROPOSED AMERICAN CLASSICAL LEAGUE

In connection with the proceedings of the Classical Conference of the National Education Association at Pittsburgh, July 3, plans were adopted for the formation of an American Classical League. The purpose of this league, as stated in the first of four resolutions adopted at that time, is "to supplement and reinforce existing classical agencies and for the extension and improvement of classical education." The "existing classical agencies" naturally refer to the four well-known classical associations whose scope now covers the entire territory of the United States.

The second resolution concerns itself with the provision for a nominating committee of two to act with Professor West in selecting a temporary executive committee of nine. The purpose of the league is reiterated in the third resolution, which empowers this temporary executive "to prepare the program for a classical conference to be held next year in connection with the National Education Association, and to do whatever else shall seem best to them for the promotion of the cause of classical education."

The activities of the proposed league thus resolve themselves roughly into three classes: (1) the supplementing and reinforcing of existing classical agencies; (2) the preparation of an annual classical program in connection with the National Education Association; (3) the doing of whatever else shall seem best to them for the promotion of the cause of classical education.

There can be no possible question as to the desirability of an American Classical League, with its executive committee providing for an annual program in connection with a great national and not distinctly classical association; and taking cognizance of whatever else will promote the cause of classical education. In these reconstruction days, when war programs are being given up, we can hardly expect to resume the pre-war activities unchanged in educational any more than in the commercial and industrial fields. We have, therefore, need to organize all the wisdom we possess in order both to clarify our own purposes and marshal our forces to bring these to pass; and in general to see well to it that in aims and methods classical education does not lag behind in the general advance movement.

The only questions that need give us pause are: Is the proposed league necessary, in view of the four great classical associations, three of which are already of long standing? Can it, and will it, as one organization, do what the present organizations have not done and cannot be expected to do? Is there any danger that the league will rival or in any way clash with the work of the associations?

It will be for the associations themselves to consider these questions at their coming annual meetings and to decide upon their several relations to the league. In the meantime the pages of the *Journal* are open to all who may wish to express an opinion on either side of the discussion. We all need information and education in order to pass intelligently upon these questions when later they come up to us both for our individual and collective decisions.

THE CLASSICISM OF WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR

BY ELIZABETH NITCHE
Columbia University, New York

A life of nearly four-score years and ten would naturally reflect many different phases of thought, and in the writings of one whose literary activity extended from his boyhood days to the year before his death we might expect to find a history of the development and progress in the literary ideals of his age. But in the case of Walter Savage Landor this is only partially true. There is little change to be traced in his work. What he was in childhood he remained until the day of his death, a classicist. Although like a Colossus he bestrides the Romantic period, publishing his first book of poems three years before the *Lyrical Ballads* appeared, and living to clasp the hands of Tennyson, Browning, Emerson, and even Swinburne, yet he is not primarily a Romanticist, but stands singularly aloof from many of the tendencies of the early part of the nineteenth century. Of the elements which make up the complex "spirit of the age" of Romanticism he reflects only a few. The cry of a "return to Nature" finds little response in him; the "renascence of wonder" is a phrase that he might not have thoroughly understood. Though a passionate man himself and interested in the portrayal of emotions in others, he was the least subjective of a subjective age.

It was mainly in two respects that he was a Romanticist: in his love of personal and political liberty and in his interest in the past. And these two sentiments are closely connected, for it was Greece's struggle for independence and Italy's fight for liberty which were drawing the eyes of the world to themselves and their history, and joining to their cause the ardent revolutionary spirits of England. With the names of Byron, Shelley, and Keats the thought of the land of Pericles is so intimately united that we cannot think of these great representatives of Romanticism without recalling at the same time their interest in the classics.

This love of Greece and Rome—of their history, of their art, and their literature—was part of the larger aspect of Romanticism to which is sometimes given the name “mediaevalism.” As men began breaking away from tradition they looked for something new and unfamiliar to furnish interest for their work. Southey turned to far-distant lands and wrote his *Thalaba* and his *Roderick*; Scott delved into the early history of his own country and produced the *Lay of the Last Minstrel* and *Waverley*. The interest in the classics was an outgrowth and development of this general and widespread interest in reanimating the past. It belonged to the later writers of the Romantic period rather than the earlier. We find none of it in Wordsworth till he wrote his *Laodamia* and *Dion*; Coleridge’s interest in the past is thoroughly romantic. But Byron’s love for “the isles of Greece, where burning Sappho loved and sung,” caused him to sacrifice his life for his adopted country. Shelley was imbued with the spirit of Greek mythology, and Keats, though in no real sense of the word a Greek scholar, gained through translations, classical dictionaries, and a close study of the Elgin Marbles that understanding of the Hellenic spirit which breathes in his “Ode to a Grecian Urn.” There was a steady growth in this love for the classics until it culminated in Tennyson, who found in the stories of Greece and Rome the most natural and appropriate subjects for poetry.

A mere glance at a list of the important Greek and Latin scholars of the early nineteenth century will reveal how widespread was the knowledge of and the interest in the classics. But it was a time not only of specialized classical scholarship, but of a genuine love for the literature of Athens and Rome, and familiarity with it, on the part of the general educated public. Cheap editions and translations of the classics were published and found a wide sale. The writers of the day were sure of speaking to understanding ears if they used a Latin quotation or a Greek allusion to enforce or illustrate a point. The classical side of a boy’s education received the greatest emphasis, and the ability to compose Latin verse was as much a requirement of the schools as the ability to construe Homer or Vergil. And Landor, as Sidney Colvin says, “is the one known instance in which the traditional classical education of our schools

took full effect and was carried out to its farthest practical consequences."

Yet in order to understand fully the classicism of the nineteenth century, including that of Landor, we must consider how sharp was the contrast between it and that of the age of Pope. To Dryden and Pope and Johnson it was the form, the technique, and the style of the Latin authors which appealed. A dead, imitative sort of classicism was the result. Pope wrote his "Imitations of Horace," and Dr. Johnson modeled his "London" and "The Vanity of Human Wishes" on the satires of Juvenal. But Landor and Shelley and Keats were inspired with the true Hellenic spirit, and ancient Greece was reincarnated in their work. Shelley created a new Prometheus, Keats gave new meaning to the myth of Endymion, and Landor has made Aspasia live again before our eyes.

Yet Landor, strong as is his affinity with the spirit of the age in his love for the classics, seems not to be in any sense a product of the age. It is almost as if he had been born in a period to which he did not belong. For his Hellenism is of a very different stamp from that of poets like Shelley or Byron, or of antiquarian scholars like Parr or Porson, or even of an artist like Keats. To Byron, Greece typified liberty, and his interest in her was his enthusiasm for a free people. To Shelley the literature and myth of Hellas furnished material for allegory whereby he could impress the truths of Godwinism upon others. But whereas we must look in *Prometheus Unbound* for the moral purpose, the significance underlying the Hellenic machinery of the drama, we need not trouble ourselves with such a search in reading *Pericles and Aspasia* or the dialogues between Epicurus and his pupils or between Marcellus and Hannibal. It is true that occasionally Landor spoils a dialogue by introducing allusions to contemporary politics, but in the main the words of the Greeks and Romans whom he reanimates are free from modern moral or political propaganda. An intimate sympathy with the life and spirit of the characters imbues them with a reality which no other modern has succeeded in producing. The impression conveyed is that Landor is for the time being Cicero, Tiberius, Aesop, or Lucian. True, he often voices his own opinions through

the mouths of his speakers. What earnest poet, novelist, or dramatist does not? But he is speaking in the terms of the theories and ideals of the golden age of classical antiquity, not the Romantic period of England. He does not make these old Greeks and Romans argue the cause of the perfectibility of man, or fulminate against the policies of the British crown. When Landor wishes to express his sympathies with Greece in her struggle for liberty he does so in his own person in an "Ode to Corinth" or an open letter on the "Revolution at Athens" contributed to the *Examiner*.

Landor was more truly an artist in his classicism than any of his contemporaries, except possibly Keats. While he felt, as did Shelley or Wordsworth, the call to be a poet, he felt none to be a prophet. He is singularly free from dogma. Although in this respect he most closely resembles Keats, yet he differs from him in that the younger poet felt more keenly the sense appeal of the external beauty of Greek myth and Greek art, and used them to spread his gospel of beauty and truth, whereas Landor, while fully appreciating this, was influenced more by the life and ideals of the actual men and women of past ages, their significance as a part of the universal scheme of existence. Keats, like a bee, gathered from the flowers of antiquity a sweetness wherewith to make his own honey; Landor, like a spring rain, sank into the classic soil and helped to make the flowers grow and blossom for the eyes of men, even becoming a part of them, the sap which flowed through their veins. No one could imagine *Endymion* to be the work of a Greek or Roman, but Elton has well said that the three dialogues from the Agamemnon story might be thought of as fragments translated from some lost old drama, dug up in a papyrus.

This may be due partly to the fact that Landor's scholarship was far greater than that of Keats, who had to get all his knowledge of Greek at second hand. Not that Landor is always consistently classic in thought and spirit, or always archaeologically correct. He was not a scholar like Dr. Parr, nor an antiquarian. There are some anachronisms and improbabilities in his work. His knowledge of Latin was wide and accurate, but his Greek scholarship was less unexceptionable. It was secured mainly

through the Latin, and his judgment, which was never influenced by the opinions of others, was sometimes prejudiced and one-sided. An instance of this is to be found in his attitude toward Plato. His was first-hand knowledge, for he spent many days in reading through the entire body of the writings of the great philosopher. But it was the faults and absurdities of his thought and expression which impressed him, not the virtues and sublimities, and the only results of his perusal of Plato are the severe attacks upon his style and his thought in the dialogue between Lord Chatham and Lord Chesterfield, and the picture of him as an absurd and pompous coxcomb in the conversation with Diogenes.

Not only was he sometimes at fault in his judgments, but often inaccurate in details. This was due to his method of work. As was said before, he was not an antiquarian. He did not pretend to write a book like Becker's *Gallus* and fill three-quarters of it with notes and appendixes to substantiate every detail of his picture of antiquity. Nor did he go to work in the manner of General Lew Wallace, who studied every inch of the topography of Palestine and every detail of the life and history of the Jews at the time of Christ before writing *Ben Hur*. Landor did not write in a library stocked with books of reference to which he could turn at need. He did not even study extensively about a person or period before writing. In fact his library was remarkably small for a man of letters. He gave away a book almost as soon as he had read it. But he did have an astonishingly retentive memory, and an unusually sympathetic intimacy with the past, which enabled him to reproduce the society of Greece and Rome with a vividness and reality which make any criticisms of inaccuracies in detail seem captious. After all it is not possible for the majority of writers to be infallible about the details even of modern life. It is the spirit which is the important part of any reanimation of past times, that which enlivens and vivifies the mass, rather than the dead letter of form and technique.

Landor said himself that he was particularly careful not to put into the mouths of his characters anything that history had assigned to them. The result is a new and individual interpretation of Greek or Roman thought, yet always one that is in harmony with

the time which is represented. So harmonious are speaker and language that one constantly finds himself wondering how a certain phrase was expressed in the original. Nor in the main is this effect produced by Latinisms or Grecisms in the English. Though he is fonder of long Latin derivatives than of short Anglo-Saxon words, these usually impart a dignity and sonorousness to his style suited to the subject which is being treated or to the character who is speaking. In *Gebir*, it is true, where he is imitating Vergil in style and manner, he introduces many awkward Latinistic expressions and clauses which are almost unintelligible to one who does not know the language, and in any case are a blemish in his lines. He errs chiefly in participial constructions such as, for example,

Lamented they their toil each night o'erthrown,
or
He spake, and indignation sank in woe,
Which she perceiving, pride refreshed her heart,
or
Him overcome, her serious voice bespake.

At times there occurs a use of a verb or phrase with a significance which is characteristically Latin and which therefore causes a feeling of difficulty, as, "I should rather have *conceived from you* that the wand ought to designate those who merit the hatred of their species," or "if you had not dropped something out of which I *collect* that you think me too indifferent." The use of "collect" in the sense of "understand" is marked archaic in the dictionary, but it is a very common meaning of the Latin verb *colligo*, especially in Quintilian. Again, we have such an expression as "the crown of laurel *badly cool'd* his brow," which is a clear echo of the idiomatic Latin use of *male*; or an instance of the Roman love of litotes, as in "no few," which recalls the common *non pauci*, or "Some, *nor the wealthier* of her suitors." He is somewhat too fond of Latin derivatives which are now considered rare, archaic, or obsolete, such as "propense," "discinct," "incondite," "intempestive," or "libant"; and when such a collocation of them meets the eye as "thy versicolored and cloudlike vestiary, puffed and effuse," it seems imperative to pause for breath. But with a list like this and the mention of a certain obscurity in language due to his effort

after classic brevity and compression, we come to the end of the faults due to Landor's command of the ancient languages. For often the phrases, especially such as are essentially Greek, add to the classic spirit of the dialogue. For instance, Helena's words to Achilles, "Childish! for one with such a spear against his shoulder; terrific even its shadow: it seems to make a chasm across the plain," add a Homeric touch in their reminiscence of the *ἔγχεα δολιχόσκηια* of the Achaeans. A similar effect is produced in the dialogue between Tibullus and Messala, where the older man cries to the poet, "Albius! that little girl is the delight of thy youthful years, and will be, I augur, the solace of thy decline," a prophecy which recalls Tibullus' own prayer,

Te spectem, suprema mihi cum venerit hora,
Te teneam moriens deficiente manu.

Landor's Latin propensities showed themselves very early, and he began writing Latin poetry almost as soon as English. This was part of his training in school, but he easily outstripped his mates at Rugby and composed verses for pleasure besides. Of these early days he wrote,

What golden hours, hours numberless, were squandered
Among thy sedges, while sometimes
I meditated native rhymes,
And sometimes stumbled upon Latian feet.

Unfortunately he sometimes turned his ability to use the language of Catullus and Martial in the wrong direction. When angry he betook himself to the Latin epigram and wrote bitter and scathing verses on his tutors, which in the end caused his rustication. His early friendship for Dr. Parr, Latin scholar and radical, was influential in forming his opinions both on the classics and on politics, for he spent many hours in his study, where, "with lisping utterance that suited so quaintly with his sesquipedalian vocabulary, he fulminated against Pitt and laid down the law on Latin from amid piles of books and clouds of tobacco-smoke." After leaving Rugby he passed two years under the instruction of Dr. Langley of Ashbourne, when he read Sophocles and Pindar and laid the foundation of his overwhelming admiration of the "proud complacency and

scornful strength" of the Theban, whose weighty brevity and exclusiveness he was eager to imitate. He went to Trinity College, Oxford, but was expelled from there too on account of a thoughtless prank.

All this time he had been writing steadily, both in Latin and in English, and in 1795 he published his first volume of poems, which contained a number in both languages and also a prose "Defensio," defending and advocating the use of Latin by modern writers. Except for its indication of his preference for Latin this was not a notable volume, for in diction and form he still showed the influence of eighteenth-century classicism. The next three years were spent in the study of the literatures of Europe, ancient and modern, with the exception of German. Of his stay during this time in Wales he wrote,

One servant and one chest of books
Followed me into mountain nooks,
Where, sheltered from the sun and breeze,
Lay Pindar and Thucydides.

Milton too must have accompanied him, for he was early a lover of his great classical predecessor, though far from an imitator of him.

The immediate fruit of these three years was *Gebir*, published in 1798, the same year in which the *Lyrical Ballads* appeared. It has little in common with them, however, being, like Southey's narrative poems, an epic on a "romantic theme with classical or at least unromantic handling." He hesitated at first whether to write it in Latin or English, but finally decided upon the latter, though a few years later he published a Latin translation of it. In 1802 appeared *Poems*, by the author of *Gebir*, which contained more Latin lyrics as well as "Chrysaor," an epic on the theme of the struggle between the gods and the Titans. The *Simonidea* followed in 1805-6, and two Latin odes in 1810. About this time he began work on his *Idyllia Heroica*, which was really the occupation he most enjoyed. He found relief from his troubles with his wife, his Welsh neighbors, and his publishers, not only in these but in writing epigrams and polemic poems as he had in Rugby days. The *Idyllia Heroica* was finally published at Pisa in 1820, and

"contained the carefully matured fruit of all his Latin studies and exercises during many years past." In this volume was an essay in Latin prose, "De cultu atque usu Latini sermonis."

From this time on Landor was engaged in the greatest of his prose works, the *Imaginary Conversations*, the first volume of which was completed in 1822 but not published until 1824. This contained only two classical dialogues, both of them Greek, but in the series which followed at varying intervals more were added, until, of the entire number of "imaginary conversations," about one-fifth are put into the mouths of Greeks or Romans.

In 1836 appeared *Pericles and Aspasia*, a series of letters written by them and other famous persons of the golden age of Greece, and by Cleone, a friend of Aspasia, who lived in her old home, Miletus. Some Latin poems contributed to the *Philological Museum* and prose criticisms on Theocritus and Catullus published in Mr. Foster's review represent a part of his classical work at this time. But he was chiefly occupied in preparing a collected edition of his works, which was published in 1846. This contained, as new material, beside some additional conversations, the *Hellenics*. These were partly verse translations of some of his Latin *Idylls* and partly other idylls written originally in English. The next year he published a collection of his Latin poems entitled *Poemata et Inscriptiones*, by *Savagius Landor*, as well as a second edition of the *Hellenics*.

His last days at Florence were saddened by neglect and social ostracism. But he found pleasure in teaching Latin to his young American friend, Miss Kate Field, and in writing more verse and prose, Latin and English. Garibaldi was his special hero at this time, as Washington had been in his early life, and he wrote several political odes in Latin. In 1853 was published a volume entitled *Last Fruit off an Old Tree*, but the end was not yet. The real "last fruit" was gathered in 1863, when the *Heroic Idylls* appeared, just one year before his death. It was a volume of verse, partly Latin but mostly English, some of it old material. But there were half a dozen new verse dialogues on classical subjects, some of them the very best of his work of this kind, a remarkable achievement for a man of eighty-eight.

This is a long list of poetry and prose, representing in various forms Landor's love for Greek and Latin. Nor is it exhaustive, for we find indications of this interest in other works than those which purport to be on classical themes. Two of the dialogues in the *Pentalogia* are from the story of Orestes; Lord Chatham and Lord Chesterfield talk of Plato; Southey and Porson, Abbe Delille and Landor, and many others discuss in their imaginary conversations the ancient authors.

Among all the things that he wrote Landor's own favorites were his Latin poems. These are of course the least read today, but they are worthy of notice and admiration. They are as varied in subject as in meter and show skill in the handling of both. It is remarkable that the work of a modern should be so independent and individual, yet so essentially Latin. There are reminiscences at times of Horace, as in the phrase, "Felix sorte tua," or of Vergil, as in "satque superque dedit." But he is more free from such echoes than are the Latins themselves, a considerable portion of the commentaries on whom are occupied with references to parallel passages in other authors. Though not entirely free from slips in grammar and prosody he is in general careful and accurate in the handling of his meter. He is, for instance, quite Ovidian in the management of the elegiac distich, observing almost invariably the rules for the dissyllabic ending of the pentameter and the penthimeral caesura. Quite in the style of Ovid too are his little tricks of balance of the two halves of the lines, as for example,

Arripite arma, duces! arripite arma, viri!

or

Quod pueri discent, discere vellet avus.

But aside from this correctness of form, his Latin verse has the merits of vigor, spontaneity, and sincerity. It is more subjective than his English verse, for he preferred the Latin for the expression of his most intimate thoughts and emotions. Latin was in reality a second mother-tongue to him, and he was as much at home with it as with English. Late in life he said, "I am sometimes at a loss for an English word, never for a Latin." In his prose essays he pleaded strongly for the use of Latin in modern times and showed

by his own style how noble a vehicle of expression it could be made. His Latin prose is dignified, forceful, and varied. A good example of it is to be found in a sentence from the "*Quaestio quamobrem poetae Latini recentiores minus legantur*," which at the same time expresses his attitude toward the modern use of the language: "*Leves homines ille sermo Romanus noster arcebit severitate sua, comprimet vi feroces, garrulos compescet maiestate: caveamus ne langueat, obtorpescat, contiscat.*"

The English poems are quite different from those of his contemporaries. It has already been said that he was the least subjective of the Romantic poets. This is probably due to his manner of looking at life, which was essentially Greek and therefore objective, for the Greeks regarded the problems of existence in a singularly impersonal fashion. This is undoubtedly the reason for the contradiction between his passionate nature and his poetry, which expresses the charm of a placid life. It is not insincerity or affectation, but merely a result of his ideals, which are aesthetic rather than moral. Some of the lyrics remind us of Catullus, others of Horace, with their lesson of "*aurea mediocritas*," and the ode addressed to Joseph Ablett is in tone and manner very similar to the Horatian epistles. One little poem is so strikingly like a lyric by Sappho that the first four lines of it will bear quoting for the sake of comparison. Landor's lines are as follows:

Mother, I can not mind my wheel;
My fingers ache, my lips are dry.
Oh! if you felt the pain I feel!
But oh, who ever felt as I!

This lovesick maiden recalls at once the girl whom Sappho makes to say,

Oh, my sweet mother, 'tis in vain,
I cannot weave as once I wove,
So 'wildered is my heart and brain
With thinking of that youth I love.

Landor was a master, especially in his poems to Ianthe, of these "*exquisite eidyllia*, those carvings, as it were, in ivory or gems, which are modestly called Epigrams by the Greeks."

Although an ardent admirer of Milton, Landor's classicism is not at all like that of the author of *L'Allegro*. In the first place Landor never mingled Christian and pagan elements so inextricably as Milton did in *Comus*. Classic myth to Landor was not a part of a man's everyday vocabulary, clamoring to be used whether it sorted with the subject that was being discussed or not. He reserved it for the themes to which it belonged, for the *Hellenics* and *Heroic Idylls*, and kept his English poems remarkably free from the classic jargon which had been so popular in England in the eighteenth century. Even in the short lyrics scattered through *Pericles and Aspasia* he shows his understanding of how unsuitable classical allusions would be. For the pages of the melic poets of Greece are almost as lacking in references to mythology as those of a modern poet, save for the simplest and most natural mention of Zeus or Aphrodite. It was the Alexandrians and their Roman imitators who packed their lines with the most obscure kind of references. Landor fittingly makes no attempt to copy them, but takes for his examples Sappho or Anacreon.

Although *Gebir* is neither Greek nor Roman in theme, it clearly shows in its form and phraseology the effect of Landor's Latin affinities. It begins in true epic fashion, "I sing the fates of Gebir," and the hero seems a reflection of Aeneas, and his visit to the underworld is undoubtedly a reminiscence of the sixth book of the *Aeneid*. The Latin constructions which occur have already been spoken of, and there is also a striving after Latin brevity. Notice, for instance, the compression of the lines,

Whate'er it be
That grieves thee, I will pity, thou but speak,
And I can tell thee, Tamar, pang for pang.

Sometimes the result of this compression is confusion and obscurity, especially in regard to the antecedents of the personal pronouns. One feels that if he had been writing in Latin the explicit *ille* or *hic* would have made all clear. The poem, however, with all its faults has dignity and power and has found favor with critics like Shelley and Southey. Of Gebir's speech to the Gadites, Southey said, "A passage more truly Homeric than the close of this extract we do not remember in the volumes of modern poetry."

In the unpublished lines entitled "An Apology for the Hellenics," Landor wrote,

None had yet tried to make men speak
In English as they would in Greek.

This seems to be exactly what he has tried to do and succeeded in doing in the *Classical Dialogues*. Enough has already been said in general about his power to reanimate the past. "A great creative master of heroic sentiment," Sidney Colvin calls him, and Elton speaks of his "genius for uttering heroic emotion in the ancient way." It remains only to speak of some of the individual conversations—of the dramatic simplicity of the shorter dialogues, such as "Marcellus and Hannibal" or "Tiberius and Vipsania," over which Landor shed tears as he wrote; of the charm of "Aesop and Rhodope" or of "Epicurus, Leontion, and Ternissa," Landor's own favorite; of the dreariness of the discussions in "Demosthenes and Eubulides," which is spoiled by the effort, unusual for Landor, to introduce an attack on Canning; of the Roman dignity and impressiveness of the colloquy of the two Ciceros. His usual fault of a compression too great for clarity is to be found, but nowhere is there better expression of the glory of Greece than in the dialogue between Pericles and Sophocles, or of Roman pride and the spirit of conquest than in "Marcellus and Hannibal" and "Metellus and Marius." In the dialogue with his brother, Marcus Tullius Cicero says, "If wiser men than those who appear at present to have spoken against my dialogues should undertake the same business, I would inform them that the most severe way of judging these works, with any plea or appearance of fairness, is to select the best passages from the best writers I may have introduced, and to place my pages in opposition to theirs in equal quantities. . . . Take a whole conversation, examine the quality, the quantity, the variety, the intensity, of mental power exerted. I myself would arm my adversaries, and teach them how to fight me." It is impossible not to feel that in these words Landor is sounding a challenge to the critics. It is good and safe advice for him to give, for in general his dialogues would not suffer by comparison. It is impossible to make any word for word, line for line, or thought for thought

comparison, but we can set opposite in our minds the picture that Landor draws and that which we gain from ancient sources, critical or autobiographical. We feel sure that we are listening to the Cicero who wrote on "Friendship" and "Old Age," the Cicero of the letters and the dialogues. We recognize in the Tibullus who greets his patron Messala the calm, generous, kindly poet who voiced in his elegies his love for simplicity of life and sincerity of worship. Only in Plato do we find a portrait not in harmony with that which he paints of himself.

Pericles and Aspasia is different in type and quite unique in plan. It has been called "an extended Imaginary Conversation," but it is more than that. In the reconstruction of the society of the Age of Pericles, in the portrayal of the characters of Aspasia and Cleone, in the intimate tone of their correspondence, and in the criticism of Greek authors and the imitation of them in the lyrics, epigrams, and dramatic fragments which are scattered through the letters, Landor found room to express all he had ever known or imagined about the golden age of Greece. Nowhere in modern literature can we find anything to equal it in sympathetic interpretation of antiquity. Upon laying down the book we feel that we have been reading a real correspondence between real persons—humor, personalities, comment on current literature, dull passages, and all. Especially is this true of the earlier letters, which are remarkably spontaneous and natural. At times the wits and sages of Athens do speak rather too much like Landor himself or with the pomposity of Dr. Johnson, and the attempt to reproduce the public speeches of Pericles in the style of Thucydides is the least successful portion of the book. Occasionally we hear the modern speak, as in the passages that purport to be prophecies of achievements of future ages, as for example when Pericles speaks of the future of astronomy: "We none of us know, but Anaxagoras hopes that, in a future age, human knowledge will be more extensive and more correct; and Meton has encouraged us in our speculations. The heavenly bodies may keep their secrets two or three thousand years yet; but one or other will betray them to some wakeful favorite, some Endymion beyond Latmos, perhaps in regions undiscovered, certainly in uncalculated times. Men will know

more of them than they will ever know of Homer." But the very shock that a passage like this causes is a proof that usually Landor has caught the true Hellenic spirit. The impetuous Alcibiades, the noble and generous Anaxagoras, the clever and quixotic Socrates, as well as many other men great in history and literature, appear in these pages against a background of Greek life which in its details—though, as has been said, some inaccuracies may be found by the patient archaeological delver—is remarkably real and vivid.

But the gems of the whole book are the three dramatic fragments which Aspasia writes on the story of Agamemnon for the perusal of her friend Cleone. They show Landor's classicism at its best, in the fulness of their Greek spirit and in their independence and individuality of treatment. They may profitably be put beside the work of the great Greek dramatists and compared with it. The differences in the actual course of events are not important, for Landor simply adopts the custom of the Greek dramatists, who felt at liberty to alter the story to suit their own dramatic purposes. The change in character portrayal is also an aspect of this same thing, for the *Electra* of Aeschylus is entirely different from the *Electra* of Sophocles or of Euripides. In the *Coephoroi* she is represented as urging at first the death of her mother, and thus addressing her father's spirit,

I, father, ask this prayer, that I may work
Aegisthos' death, and then acquittal gain.

But she is comparatively colorless, and after the recognition scene with Orestes she disappears from the action entirely. In the *Electra* of Sophocles, on the other hand, she is a woman of strongly marked character, possessed by no thought save that of revenge. Through the whole action of the drama she remains the foremost character, eager at first when she thinks her brother is dead to carry out the scheme of vengeance upon Clytemnaestra and Aegisthos herself, urging on Orestes to the murder, pitiless and unsoftened by her mother's cries, sending Aegisthos to meet his fate with the exhortation to Orestes, "Slay him outright."

The *Electra* of Landor is no such spirit of vengeance. Although the delineation is thoroughly in accordance with classic ideals, she

is more of a true flesh-and-blood heroine than those of Aeschylus or Sophocles, or even of "Euripides the human." Let Aspasia herself tell of the new conception:

Had I openly protested that the concluding act of *Agamemnon*, the *Electra* of our tragedian, dissatisfies me, he alone of the Athenians would have pardoned my presumption. But *Electra* was of a character to be softened rather than exasperated by grief. An affectionate daughter is affectionate even to an unworthy mother; and female resentment (as all resentment should do) throws itself down inert at the entrance of the tomb. Hate with me, if you can hate anything, my Cleone! the vengeance that rises above piety, above sorrow; the vengeance that gloats upon its prostrate victim. Compunction and pity should outlive it; and the child's tears should blind her to the parent's guilt. I have restored to my *Electra* such a heart as Nature had given her, torn by suffering, but large and alive with tenderness. In her veneration for the father's memory, with his recent blood before her eyes, she was vehement in urging the punishment of the murderess. The gods had commanded it at the hands of their only son. When it was accomplished, he himself was abhorrent of the deed, but defended it as a duty; she in her agony cast the whole on her own head. If character is redeemed and restored; if Nature, who is always consistent, is shown so; if pity and terror are concentrated at the close; I have merited a small portion of what my too generous Cleone bestowed upon me in advance.

And has she not done so? Look at the closing lines of the fragment on the death of Clytemnaestra.

Orestes (returning):

She slew
Our father; she made thee the scorn of slaves;
Me (son of him who ruled this land and more)
She made an outcast—Would I had been so
Forever! ere such vengeance—

Electra:

O that Zeus
Had let thy arms fall sooner at thy side
Without those drops! list! they are audible—
For they are many—from the sword's point falling,
And down from the mid blade! Too rash Orestes!
Couldst thou not then have spared our wretched mother?

Orestes:

The gods could not.

Electra:

She was not theirs, Orestes.

Orestes:

And didst not thou—

Electra:

'Twas I, 'twas I, who did it;
Of our unhappiest house the most unhappy!
Under this roof, by every God accurst,
There is no grief, there is no guilt, but mine.
Orestes: Electra! no! 'Tis now my time to suffer.
Mine be, with all its pangs, the righteous deed.

His classicism finds expression in another form in the *Hellenics* and *Heroic Idylls*. Some of the latter, and the least spontaneous of them, are translations of his Latin *Idyllia Heroica*; the others were written originally in English. They are of various kinds, some in the shape of dialogues in verse, some blank-verse narratives, some in rhymed tetrameters, and there is one which tells no story but is a plea to mankind to aid in bringing about the liberty of Greece. Each is a jewel perfect in itself, some, like "Chrysaor" or the "Hamadryad," marvelously cut and flashing with a thousand lights; some, like the "Death of Artemidora," gleaming with the rich yet simple luster of a pearl. They again follow no models, ancient or modern, yet the spirit of them is that of the idyllic charm which breathes from the poetry of Theocritus, Moschus, and Bion. In their restraint and severity of beauty, as well as in the graceful flow of the language, they are thoroughly Greek. We see recurring again and again Landor's favorite themes—the Trojan cycle, the story of Iphigenia. Though "Chrysaor" is something quite different from the others, a poem on political liberty in the style of Shelley or Keats, the rest have no modern touch. As we compared the Agamemnon fragments with Aeschylus and Sophocles, so we may compare the "Menelaus and Helen" idyll with a similar episode in Euripides' *Trojan Women*. Here the resemblance is very close, especially in thought and feeling. There is a difference in form, for Landor stages the meeting with Menelaus and Helen as the only actors, whereas Euripides can picture Menelaus' struggles with himself in the words of Hecuba or the leader of the chorus. In the *Troades* it is more in what he does not say than in what he says that we find the emotions that are expressed in words in Landor's dialogue. In this case Landor certainly has not equaled the Greek reticence and brevity. But it is the same Helen, "gentle and unafraid," of whom Hecuba warned Menelaus,

Only fear to see
Her visage, lest she snare thee and thou fall!
She snareth strong men's eyes, she snareth tall
Cities; and fire from out her eateth up
Houses. Such magic hath she as a cup
Of death!

and who, in Landor's fragment, by her beauty reminded the son of Atreus of the time when he brought her home a bride,

She looks as when I led her on behind
The torch and fife.

She of whom the leader of the Euripidean chorus said,

The sweet soft speech, the hand
And heart so fell: it maketh me afraid,

speaks in the same accents as the woman whose

voice is musical
As the young maids' who sing to Artemis.

In the modern poem we see the efforts of Menelaus step by step to resist the enchantments of Helen, as we do those of Achilles in Landor's dialogue, "Achilles and Helena." But in Euripides the king seems obdurate to the very last, but there are indications that her pleading, her beauty, and her suppliant position are not without their effect, for the chorus bid him "Be strong, O King," and Hecuba feels it necessary to urge him to "remember them she murdered." Thus in spite of differences in detail this is closer to a classic original than anything else which Landor wrote.

Landor was not known as a literary critic. A few critical articles contributed to Mr. Foster's review made up the sum total of his formal efforts in this direction. But scattered through all his works, especially his *Imaginary Conversations*, the *Pentameron*, and *Pericles and Aspasia*, are bits of criticism of authors ancient and modern. Not always was he just, as has already been seen in connection with his opinion of Plato, but he is often remarkably felicitous, not only in his judgment of an author but in his expression of it. In one short sentence he sums up the two sides of Euripides—the author, "the human with his droppings of warm tears," and the man, the "cold hater of his kind"—when he says, "Euripides writes tenderly, but is not tender." Equally epigrammatic is "The graceful and secure mediocrity of Xenophon," or, in regard to the use of the elegiac meter, "In Ovidius it gambols, in Tibullus it murmurs like the ring-dove." Needless to say his favorite authors were classic ones, Homer, Pindar, and Ovid hold-

ing prominent places in his affections. Of modern writers he admired Milton most of all. Wordsworth's "Laodamia" appealed to him more than any of the rest of his work. He considered the battle scene in *Marmion* worthy to rank with three other pieces of epic narrative, the first book of *Paradise Lost*, the contention between Ulysses and Ajax in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and the colloquy of Achilles and Priam in the *Iliad*. He refused to grant that Keats's style had come within the boundaries of Greece, declared Tennyson's "Morte d'Arthur" was Homeric, rivaling some of the greatest passages in the *Odyssey*, and considered Browning a very great poet, but wished that he would "Atticize" a little.

But Landor's classicism was not confined to things literary. His ideals, philosophy, and attitude toward life were largely those of antiquity, partly Greek and partly Roman. It was his constant effort to harmonize duty and desire that was essentially Hellenic, and his high, stern standards of nobility of character which caused Carlyle to exclaim, "The unsubduable old Roman!" I have already spoken of his purely objective attitude toward the problems of existence that was so typical of the ancient mind. Quite pagan were his ideas of personal righteousness and high-mindedness, which were almost totally unconnected with any thought of Christian service or devotion to others. And these old Roman virtues he not only practiced himself but expected to find in everyone with whom he came in contact; according to his ideal everyone should be a Scipio or a Brutus. It was his expressed aim to walk "with Epicurus on the right hand and Epictetus on the left." And there are touches of Epicureanism in his poems and elsewhere. The poem and greeting sent by Cleone to Aspasia on her birthday contain the essence of this philosophy, especially in the last sentence, "Sweetest Aspasia, live on! live on! but rather live back the past!"

To take this last from its surroundings and use it as the text of this paper is too great a temptation to be resisted. For this is exactly what Landor did; he lived on, but lived back the past and made others live it back as well—not the past of his own life, but the past of the life of the world. Nor is this confined to antiquity. His historic imagination is just as vivid when applied to the Middle Ages or to more recent conditions in England itself as when at

work on the scenes of ancient Greece or Rome. He was not an antiquarian, turning back to the fifth century before Christ from the nineteenth century after, but he belonged to the time of which he wrote; his life began, not in 1775 A.D., but in the Homeric age, growing and developing with the growth and development of the world and taking a vital and active part in the life of every period in every land. He is something more than a scholar, more than a historian, or more than a writer of drama or fiction. In him the living qualities of them all were fused and molded by the spirit of Rome on her seven hills and of Athens, the violet-crowned.

Doubtless he was more of a Roman in knowledge and scholarship but more of a Greek at heart. His Hellenism was a part of his inmost nature, a species of worship, and "in the very heat and fury of romantic predominance, Landor kept a cool chamber apart, where incense was burned to the ancient gods."

And through the trumpet of a child of Rome
Rang the pure music of the flutes of Greece.

JUNIOR HIGH-SCHOOL LATIN; ITS PLACE IN WAR-MODIFIED EDUCATION¹

BY MRS. GEORGE B. SCOTT
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"To be or not to be, that is the question." In this day of "vocational guidance" and the call of the "practical" (which I sometimes think is more like the "Call of the Wild"), when the pendulum is swinging from the extreme classical training of fifty years ago to the other extreme of vocational training and so-called practicality, many parents, business men, and even teachers are announcing in no uncertain terms that they are "from Missouri," and they herald abroad their incredulity with regard to all things in general and Latin in particular. It rests with the Latin teachers of the country to do the required "showing," or to dodge as gracefully as they may the swinging pendulum. And that is right. If they cannot give a reason for the faith that is in them, then is it not faith but tradition and superstition, be the subject Latin or religion. If on the other hand they show their children to be better grounded in "language sense" and equipped with a better working vocabulary and a clearer and more fundamental understanding of their own language, then they have a rightful place under the sun and are not mere cumberers of the earth.

I am a teacher of English. I believe that I am teaching English through the Latin in a better way than I can possibly teach it in any other. I hope to show in this paper that if we are really to make the most of our Latin, if we are to make it worth the time we spend on it, we must begin at the logical beginning and correlate the fundamental Latin with the English from the beginning of technical language work in the seventh grade. How many times have we heard, how many times have we ourselves said, "I really learned my English grammar from my Latin." Why wait then

¹ Read at the Classical Conference of the National Educational Association at Pittsburgh.

till high school for the key which is to open the minds of the children to a real understanding of their own and other languages? My little artist of Grade VII-1 grasped the idea in a clever cartoon: a child stands before the closed door to all languages, with the key—"Latin"—just out of reach; getting on a box which she calls "good work," however, she reaches the key! Verily, unto babes has it been revealed, though hidden from the wise and prudent! With this introduction let me tell you "how I do it."

In Grand Rapids we are teaching Latin in the seventh and eighth grades of three schools; in two of these the children who have good marks in English, and who *choose* the Latin, comprise the Latin class of Grade VII-1, beginning in September. No new class is begun in February, so the February class has no opportunity for Latin before high school. The weaker ones are weeded out at the end of the year, leaving a picked class of the best language pupils for the eighth-grade Latin. I confess that there are times when my soul longeth for one such class, just to see what I could do with it! At Sigsbee, however, we do not feel that so important a subject should be left to the discretion of children; the question is settled for them, and there is no quibbling. Beginning with Grade VII-1 every child in the regular school work, with the exception of those entering the school in Grade VIII-2, takes Latin. Children in Grades VII-2 and VIII-1 coming from other schools are "coached up" in their Latin—hard for them and not particularly easy for me, but this is accepted as one of the necessary difficulties along a new trail and is by no means unsurmountable. I have two half-hour periods each day for this work, and am always ready to give help after school hours. It is not easy work. There are children with no "language sense," just as there are those who cannot grasp mathematics, but without exception I have found that the child who proclaims that his poor language work is due entirely to the difficulty of Latin is equally dense in straight English and often looks back with longing to the kindly "endings" which helped him to locate the elusive objects, subjective complements, adjectives, and the active and passive verbs. But the main difficulty, in my experience, is not in the child, or the subject, or the lack of trained teachers, but the utter lack, up to this time,

of a suitable textbook. Good high-school texts for beginners are few and far between, but for seventh- and eighth-grade Latin, where the English and Latin should be correlated in every lesson, they simply do not exist. (For that matter, how many English grammars and "principal-supervisor-normal-trainer arranged" courses of study are not better fitted for the comprehension of a college postgraduate than that of the children upon whom they are inflicted?)

"You are too big a man, Mr. King," said one of his friends to my Greek teacher at college, "to stay here in this little town teaching Greek."

"Bless your heart, man," came the answer, "I'm not teaching Greek alone; I'm teaching boys and girls!"

In that spirit I have undertaken my "Latin in the grades," and because I could find no text written by a *teacher of children* and therefore adapted to *children*, I chose one which I could use as a background, and with that in their hands I have supplemented and fixed over and contrived, in order to give my children an understandable Latin foundation for the English required in the grades; and I have also made it possible for the child of average intelligence to survive that fatal first year of high-school Latin. (Parenthetically, I want to ask why so much more is crowded into that same first year than the average child can assimilate? Is it fair to the Latin to require so much that only the brightest of the class can get through creditably, while some schools boast of the "high standard" which causes from 30 to 50 per cent of the class to fail? With grade preparation it is quite within reason; without it the mortality in ninth-grade Latin is unavoidable.)

A child's power of concentration on one subject is limited, and I plan, therefore, as much variety as possible. In Grade VII-1 I cover:

1. Pronunciation (taught at first from familiar quotations, counting, Pater-noster, etc.—rules later)
2. The simple sentence
 - a) Parts of speech
 - b) Analysis—subject, predicate, object, subjective complement, indirect object, phrase, adjective, genitive and adverb modifiers, vocative
3. The first-declension noun

4. The verb in *-t* and *-nt*
5. The agreement of adjectives
6. The beginning of the second declension

(The grouping of my outlines is very differently arranged in actual teaching, the reviews doing the logical summing up of the separate topics as I present them in this paper.)

In this grade the analysis is of very simple sentences, both English and Latin, and many sentences are given in illustration, with frequent reviews to "clinch" the various constructions. Remember, it must be over and over with a child—"seventy times seven," and then many times—if the principles of analysis and declension are to be thoroughly grounded. Here I am hindered by the time it takes to copy from the blackboard, or to make mimeograph copies of, all these exercises, but it is the best I can do with the material in hand.

It has been most interesting to see how case and verb endings help the child's reasoning powers; to note the real thinking which decides whether an *-ae* ending is genitive or dative singular, or nominative or vocative plural; to be sure of the subject necessary for a verb in *-t* or *-nt*; to make the choice of words in a translation. A child who can hold his own against fellow-pupil, teacher, or superintendent even, in a fine grammatical distinction has gained something worth while for his whole life, and I encourage individuality and argument in every possible way.

Beginning with Grade VII-2 the English grammar is used for reference and illustration. All through my supplementary work I am careful to introduce no construction that has not been thoroughly presented with rules and explanations, a practice which is not generally followed in English grammars, so that care must be used in the selection of illustrative English sentences. The class in Grade VII-2 follows this outline:

1. The second declension complete
2. Declension of adjectives
3. Sentences
 - a) Simple, compound, complex
 - b) Declarative, interrogative, imperative, exclamatory
4. The verb
 - a) Present tense—*sum* and first- and second-conjugation verbs
 - b) Transitive active, intransitive, copulative

5. Nouns—appositive, dative modifiers
6. Pronouns—personal, possessive adjective, *is*, *ea*, *id*.
7. Adjectives—kinds, comparison (in English), nine irregular adjectives
8. Adverbs
9. Parsing—nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs

Along with all this detail of technical rules, declensions, and parsings are all sorts of memory exercises, sentences, stories, and dialogues to keep up the interest. The work is confined to the simple sentence in Grade VII-1, thus establishing "sentence sense." In VII-2 easy compound and complex sentences are introduced, and a continual drill on vocabulary and derivations, as well as on rules and declensions, is kept up. My children are taught that half of their Latin depends on vocabulary and declensions, a fourth on rules, and the remaining fourth on plain common sense; and that whatever is true of the Latin (except in the matter of idioms) is also true of English.

In Grade VIII-1 the outline is as follows:

1. The verb
 - a) *Sum*, and the active voice of all the conjugations in the simple tenses
 - b) Parsing
2. Noun constructions
 - a) Ablative—cause, manner, means
 - b) Dative—with special verbs
 - c) Accusative—adverbial, exclamation
3. Connected stories, supplementary reading, dramatization, etc.

The reviews are thorough and frequent. Translations become more complicated, though not enough so as to be beyond children of this grade. Such supplementary books as *Decem fabulae*, *Primus annus*, and some others are introduced, though it is difficult to find much in print that does not include too many third-declension nouns to be used as more than sight reading.

Grade VIII-2 takes up:

1. The verb—passive voice, perfect tense, imperative, infinitive, participle (present participle in English only)
2. Pronouns—relative, interrogative, demonstrative (*hic*, *ille*, *iste*), emphatic (*ipse*)
3. Third-, fourth-, and fifth-declension nouns and third-declension adjectives, very briefly

This sounds very "Latiny," and it is, but remember that at every step the English is correlated with it, the similarities and differences are discussed, and the idioms in both languages are compared. I do not believe that anything is to be gained for either Latin or English by teaching, for example, the Latin pronoun-adjective *is, ea, id* for one half of the class period and the English infinitive for the other. If we are to make this thing work to any good end, *is, ea, id* calls for a discussion of the English *this, that, these, those*, with a glance in passing at such colloquialisms as "those kind of people" and "if anyone wishes *they* may"; the interrogative pronoun *quis, quid* calls for our own *who, what*, and a word concerning the common mistake "*who* did you see?" In the same way the conjugation and synopsis of the Latin verbs teach the same thing in English, with the necessary agreement of verb and subject. Correlate, correlate, correlate!

I am not always able to carry out the same outline with every class, and I am always hindered by the fact that no Latin text does so correlate with the English that the grade requirements in English can be met without much readjustment and rearrangement, but too much time must not be taken for copying rules and exercises, and I am therefore forced to sacrifice more or less of my outline—according to the mentality of the class—and use what I can from text and copies, simply because I have yet nothing better to put in the hands of my children. I have never yet seen a beginner's Latin book that did not need ten Latin sentences for every one that it has, if it is to be used in the grades. Little children learn to talk by talking, to read by reading, whether in Latin or in English, not by philosophizing about it; and a successful text for grade Latin must recognize this principle by its abundance of Latin reading.

I introduce the third, fourth, and fifth declensions, if at all, very briefly, and then merely to give my classes an insight into the different endings they may expect to find later on; therefore the exercises and stories must use only first- and second-declension nouns, with the exception of a very few others like *pater, mater, frater, soror*, etc., which the children can easily guess from their English derivatives and the quotations which they have been

regularly learning. I do not touch the subjunctive at all, and there are no constructions requiring it.

I am not at all convinced that parsing is worth the time it takes, but that, with a short survey of diagraming in Grade VIII-2, is one of the things I concede to the high-school teachers of English: I do not waste much time on frills like the slants, braces, standards, and broken lines of a diagram, but analysis is absolutely essential. The other day I asked a little girl of Grade VII-2 if she could analyze all the sentences she had been translating in an after-school "made-up" lesson after an absence. "Of course I can," she answered, "that's the way I translate." My children learn that analysis is the proof of a translation, whether from the Latin-English or the dreaded and nerve-wrecking English-Latin exercises (and of their own spoken English as well), and they often wonder why their high-school Latin teachers never ask them to analyze their difficult Latin sentences. I wonder, too, though this is the first time I have ever ventured to say so in public.

Each teacher will find her own ways of keeping the subject new and interesting. Vocabulary drills may become a progressive vocabulary party with "vocabulary slips" as cards; parsing or analysis may be a contest—boys v. girls, or one side at the board, the other at the seats checking mistakes; translations may be written out in preparation and compared in class; original cartoons, newspaper headlines using Latin quotations (which we often need to correct!), Latin sayings in our stories and on our coins, abbreviations such as i.e., e.g., v., A.M., P.M., A.D., etc., all these, if noticed, keep the interest high. My own classes have enjoyed the cartoons and quotations especially. Charts of verb and case endings hanging in plain sight, except on test days, are a great help, and I have a stamping outfit for these. Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, the Introduction to the Declaration of Independence and to the Constitution of the United States, with words of Latin derivation underscored in red, emphasize the fact that Latin is a live language not a dead one.

The amount of Latin covered varies with the ability of the class. With a picked class, or with a good grade textbook, the first semester of high-school Latin and much more than the usual

grade English could easily be covered. As it is, with Latin required of all and depending on notebooks for the necessary supplementary work, I do not urge my children to enter Latin in Grade IX-2 when they enter high school, unless they are exceptionally good students. Remember, they have done the regular grade work in English *plus* the declensions, conjugations, vocabulary, and idioms of a great deal of Latin. The Freshmen have enough that is new and difficult and will be thankful for the grade preparation which enables them to "bring their souls alive" through the first year of high-school Latin instead of fainting by the way. And it is not the Latin *per se* that we are working for in the grades, but a foundation for our English, and incidentally for the other most important modern languages of today as well.

A few things are needed among ourselves: First, the National Education Association Committee on Nomenclature reported several years ago. In how many cities have the language teachers come together on that report and agreed upon the vocabulary which shall be used, at least in their own city, regardless of individual hobbies or likings? Do any of us live in such a city? I wish I might hear that the good work has been begun somewhere. It might spread! I don't care whether a child from another school names a construction subjective complement, attribute complement, predicate nominative, predicate noun, or predicate adjective, so long as *he* knows what he is talking about: it's all one to me and should be to any teacher of language. But if his *teacher* uses a nomenclature that the child has never heard of, and that is not mentioned in his textbook, and if every successive teacher speaks a different grammatical language, is it to be wondered at if the bewildered youngster loses his head in the contemplation of the "57 varieties" and seems to have had no previous training? This is surely a great need, first, of course, for the children, but also for the teachers themselves.

Secondly, is it possible, in these times, to get a text published which shall be adapted to grade use, and which shall so correlate the English and Latin as to avoid the change of curriculum and also avoid the added burden to the already overburdened grade child which the introduction of grade Latin as a separate subject

would involve? The present lack of such a book is the one obstacle in the way of a much wider introduction of Latin into the grades. It is one thing (at least I infer that it *would* be) to teach Latin from a carefully graded book which meets the needs of your class; quite another (and this I do not need to infer about!) to take a text meant for high-school pupils already more or less grounded in English grammar and so to supplement and rearrange it as to make it usable (I do not say adaptable) in a grade class which has no knowledge at all of technical grammar. Without a good grade book grade Latin classes are bound to be few and their success more or less uncertain.

Thirdly, in case such a text can be put on the market we must use every effort to establish English via Latin classes throughout the country by showing that they mean to our children (1) a maximum of result with a minimum of the difficulties and discouragement accompanying the regular grind of English grammar or the beginning of high-school Latin; (2) familiar Latin quotations, songs, words, and expressions assimilated as a part of their working vocabulary; (3) a wider English vocabulary and a keener sense of the possibilities of our own language; (4) the foundation laid, at the psychological time when a child learns language—his own or any other—most naturally and easily, for the study of Spanish, French, or Italian; and (5), by no means least, the preliminary Latin work in the grades which makes it possible to avoid the usual distressing mortality in the ninth-grade Latin classes.

Proving this, we establish our right to exist as Latin teachers and to urge that Latin should not only *not* be dropped from our high-school courses but, properly correlated with the English, should become a requirement of the seventh and eighth grades.

FOVEA—A PLAY¹

By H. C. NUTTING
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PERSONAE

SEXTUS	A schoolboy
MARCUS	A schoolboy
TITUS	A schoolboy
GAIUS	A "smart" boy
LUCIUS	A slow student
MAGISTER	
CLAUDIA	A schoolgirl
IULIA	Sister of Lucius
MARCELLA	Sister of Titus

ACT I

SCENE I

A garden with house-fronts in the background²

(Enter from the right a group of schoolboys in conversation.)

Sextus: Lucius, ut solet, pensum suum nondum confecit.
Illo puero nihil hebetius umquam vidi.

Marcus: Eius stultitiae etiam patrem ipsius pudet; et heri, cum Lucius domi e libro quaedam perperam recitasset neque nomen "medicus" recte pronuntiare posset, pater ei: "Nisi caveris," inquit, "una littera plus eris quam medicus."

Titus: Quidnam istis verbis significare voluit?

Marcus: Non intellego; sed plane iratus fuit.

¹ In this play an attempt has been made to give a suggestion of the wit and humor of Roman comedy in a form suited for high-school use. Readers who are familiar with the plays of Plautus will note at once that Gaius represents one of the stock characters that afforded so much amusement to Roman audiences. The action is arranged in such a way that, if desired, the simple stage setting can be made to conform exactly to ancient standards.

² The scene remains unchanged throughout the play.

Gaius (breaking in impatiently): Plus sapientiae quam lapis non habetis. Litteram *N* significavit; em, "m-e-d-i-c-u-s" et "m-e-N-d-i-c-u-s."

Sextus: Hahahe! facete dictum! Sed quid agamus, dum Lucius pensum suum conficit?

Gaius: Puerum probe ludamus. Foveam hic fodiamus atque virgultis terraque tegamus. Tum, cum ille per hortum properabit, pedes in foveam delapsi eum praecipitem dabunt.

Sextus: Euge! hoc faciemus.

(They hurry to dig a pit and cover it over. As they finish, footsteps are heard at the right.)

Gaius: Celeriter huc accedite. Aliquem cursu venientem audio. *(Draws the boys off toward the left, where they stand around, looking as unconcerned as possible.)*

SCENE 2

(Enter Lucius from the right, on a run. Without noticing the pitfall, he strides safely over it.)

Lucius: Tandem aliquando magister aegre me abire passus est. Heus, pueri: vos volo.

(The boys gather about him, looking rather sheepish.)

Gaius: Quid est, Luci? Quid vis?

Lucius: Tandem e ludo effugi; sed videte, sultis, quid molestiae magister iste crudelissimus mihi adiunxerit.

Marcus: Quid est, quod te tantopere cruciat?

Lucius: O me miserum! Hanc sententiam scriptam mihi dedit. *(Holds a paper out for their inspection.)* Hic titulus mihi decies scribendus est.

Titus: Hoc nihil est negoti. Habe modo animam bonam.

Lucius: Omnia nondum vobis dixi. Imperavit magister ut versum excuderem quo eadem sententia exprimeretur, sed verbis commutatis.

Sextus (soberly): Id vero difficilium est.

Lucius: Ei mihi! Nisi haec omnia hodie confecta erunt, cras ad ludum redire non audebo. Eheu! Quid patri tum dicam?

Gaius: Tranquillo es animo. (*Looking knowingly at the others.*)
Fortasse in ea re nos tibi auxilio esse poterimus. Fac sententiam
videam. (*Takes the paper in his hand.*) Sedeamus.

(*They sit down near the left entrance.*)

Gaius (*reading from the paper*): "Pensum noli diffërre in pòsterum diem." Hem. Magister verbis parcit. Unum verum dat.
(*Thinks a moment.*) Nos duos versus reddamus. (*With a wink at the others.*) Quid hoc, Luci? Vide si haec placent. (*Recites*):

Eòs dicàm stultòs qui cùrant silió,
In cràstinum diem quae differi queánt.

Lucius (*who fails to see the point, but whose ear is caught by the rhythm*): Optime, optime! Sine ea verba perscribam, priusquam e memoria mea effluant.

(*The boys gather around to watch him write out the lines.*)

SCENE 3

(*While the boys are yet watching Lucius, enter from the right the magister, who strides down the path with an important air.*)

Lucius (*looking up from his task*): Quam gaudeo haec confecta esse!

(*At this point the magister breaks through into the pit, and falls prostrate. The other boys are transfixed at the sight; Gaius, with great presence of mind, runs to the rescue.*)

Gaius (*helping the magister to rise*): O magistrum miserrimum! Quis tam scelestus est, qui pedibus tuis tam indigne insidias fecerit? Quam doleo id tibi potissimum accidisse!

Magister (*on his feet, trembling with anger, to the other boys, who are with difficulty repressing their mirth*): Quid ridetis, stolidi? Nonne didicistis apud seniores verecundari oportere? Quos ego—sed motam praestat componere vestem. (*Proceeds, with the help of Gaius, to brush himself off.*)

Lucius (*stepping up*): Te obsecro, magister; ego saltem de hac fovea nihil cognovi. Aspice, sis; hi sunt versus, quos mihi imperavisti. (*Holds out the paper.*)

Magister (somewhat mollified): Gaudeo e vobis unum quidem magistrum suum in honore habuisse. (*Reads aloud in a pompous voice*):

Eós dicám stultós qui cúrant slicó,
In crástinúm díem quae dífferí queánt.

(*In a rage.*) Mene hoc modo ludificari? O puer stulte, stolide, sceleste, nonne te pudet? Quamquam quid ego te verbis corrigere coner, quem nihil pudere possit? I prae intro.

Lucius: Sed, magister—

Magister: Tace, inquam. I prae intro.

Lucius: At—

Magister: Bat. (*With gesture.*) I statim.

Lucius: Obsecro—

Magister: Verbum unum adde, et te ad terram colapho affligam.

Marcus (aside to Lucius): Melius est te abire. Nonne vides, quam sit iratus?

(*Exit Lucius at the right.*)

Magister (to the other boys): Domum vos abite. Lucium omnibus documento dabo, ne quis vestrum postea me ita ludos facere audeat. Nunc introeo ut corium istius scelesti probe et ex mea sententia ludificer.

(*Exit magister at the right, boys at the left.*)

ACT II

SCENE I

(*Enter from the left a group of girls. They sit down near the exit. From the right enter Lucius, groaning and rubbing his back.*)

Lucius: Ei mihi! Omnibus membris quam doleo! O crura, o tergum! Magister hodie vires decem hominum habere videbatur. Dicere non possum quam multis modis me male mulcaverit. Ei mihi!

Claudia: Vox nesciocuius mihi ad aures advolare videtur. (*Looks about.*) Quem video? Estne Lucius? Is ipse certe est. (*Rising.*) Quid agitur, Luci?

Lucius: Male vivitur.

Iulia: Quid est, mi frater? Ecquid tibi male evenit?

Lucius: Maxime quidem. Verberatus sum paene ad necem.

Marcella: Puerum numquam vidi qui saepius in malum aliquod incideret. Quid hodie factum est?

Lucius: Quidam versus mihi scribendi erant. Gaius, se me adiuturum pollicitus, quaedam scripsit quibus magister nimis ira incensus est. Gaius se expedit. Ego poenas dedi. Em fabulam totam.

Iulia: O rem indignam! Iste Gaius non ferendus est. Se callidum, se pulchrum putat. Nimis est confidens. Arrogantia eius minuenda est.

Claudia: Quo modo id fieri potest?

Marcella: Quid tu dicis, Luci?

Lucius: Nescio. Nimis argutus est. Hodie ille et pueri ceteri hic in horto foveam fecerunt, quo magister ipse se praecipitavit.

Iulia: Papae! Rem quantae audaciae!

Marcella (with sudden resolution): Ubi est fovea ista, Luci? Inspiciamus. (*They move over to the pit and look in.*)

Lucius (picking up some of the sticks): Quanta sollertia tecta sit, videte, puellae.

Marcella (still more emphatically): Montes aureos non merear, ut iste gloriosus hodie supplicium effugiat. Age, Luci; fer lutum et aquam. Tum foveam comple et denuo virgultis foliisque tege.

Claudia: Quid, amabo, factura es?

Marcella: Noli, sis, mihi molesta esse. (*All set to work.*) Pedem adcelera, Luci; foveam tege. (*Looks suddenly to the left.*) Sed quis venit?

SCENE 2

(*From the left enter Titus*)

Marcella: Incessus pueri mihi notus esse videtur. Est mecastor Titus frater. (*Addressing him.*) Oportunissime venis, Tite; te volo.

Titus (airily): Quid si ego nolo te me velle?

Marcella: Ridicula aufer. Res seria agitur. Lucius noster propter Gai argutias hodie male mulcatus est.

Titus (affecting surprise): Itane? Magister eum re vera verberavit? Putavi hominem id per iocum tantum dixisse.

Lucius (rubbing his back in a reminiscent way): Non putavisses, si audiisses verbera.

Marcella: Numquam mecastor quisquam me postea Marcel-
lam dixerit, nisi ego hodie effecero ut Gaius iste incidat in foveam,
quam ipse hic fecit. (*Points to the pit.*)

Titus: Oho, audivistisne quo modo magister ipse eo inciderit? Numquam aequae risi—postquam ille abiit.

Marcella: Omnia audivimus. Sed nunc animum attende. I, quaere Gaium. Dic mihi eo convento opus est. Ineptus putat me et puellas omnes se amare. Curriculo veniet; at ego eum hinc sic ludificatum hodie dimittam ut se non noverit.

Titus: Me lubente feceris. Arrogantiam pueri ferre non possum. (*Goes off at the left.*)

Marcella (to the others): Vos profecto hanc pugnam videre vultis. Itaque quam primum e conspectu vos amolimini. Mihi paulisper discedendum est. Iam hic adero.

(*Exit Marcella at the right, while the others find hiding-places on the stage.*)

SCENE 3

(*From the left enter Titus with Gaius.*)

Gaius: Quid dixisti, Tite? Tuamne sororem me convenire velle? Satis mirari non possum cur puellae semper me arcessant.

Titus (with veiled irony): Minime mirandum est. Num putas in hac urbe multos tibi esse pulchritudine pares?

Gaius (flattered): Abi, me ludis.

Titus: Minime vero. Quin etiam heri, cum in portu multitudo hominum navem expectaret, prope puellas duas ignotas stabam. De te inter se loquebantur.

Gaius (with a conscious air): Quid dixerunt, quaeso?

Titus: Illa, quae natu grandior videbatur, "Gaio," inquit, "nihil umquam pulchrius vidi. Dicunt eum in palaestra omnibus antecellere."—"Vah!" inquit altera, "quam velim eum videre."

Gaius (smoothing his hair): Aspice, sis; capillus meus quo modo me decet?

Titus: Visne ut domum curram ut illinc tibi speculum auferam?

Gaius (tartly): Etiam taces?

Titus: Nonne vis adferri aliquid pigmenti, quo clarius sit rubor oris tui?

Gaius (angrily): Vae capiti tuo. Mene mulierem esse putas? Cave malum; nam mihi si male dices, faciam ut pugnis meis rubor tuo in ore eliciatur.

Titus: Noli irasci, Gai. Oblitusne es me te huc arcessivisse ut soror mea tecum loqui posset?

Gaius: Ita est, Tite. Sed miror quo puella se contulerit.

Titus: Mane paulisper. Eo ut eam quaeram. (*Goes off at the right.*)

Gaius (soliloquizing): Nimia est miseria pulchrum esse puerum. Marcella profecto me amat. Sagitta Cupido cor eius transfixit. Puto me quoque eam amare posse—si sescenta milia passuum abesset. Sed ubi tandem moratur? Probe a poeta antiquo dictum est:

Mulier profecto nātast ex ipsā Morā.

(*During this soliloquy the concealed actors manifest their delight.*)

SCENE 4

(*From the right enter Marcella in haste.*)

Marcella: Salve, Gai.

Gaius: Et tu salve, Marcella.

Marcella: Quid agitur?

Gaius (assuming an absurd posture): Statur ad hunc modum.

Marcella: Deludis, ut soles? Certe equidem puerum te peiorem novi neminem. Quamvis ridiculus es, cum pater tuus non adest.

Gaius (loftily): Ego iam dudum patrem nihili facio. Iam excessit mihi aetas ex eius magisterio. Meo remigio rem gero. Iam sum plane vir.

Marcella: Non dubito. Sed quo is?

Gaius: Quo eam, rogas? Nonne ipsa tu me arcessivisti?

Marcella: Quid, puer scelesti! Putasne me pueros nequissimos arcessere?

Gaius: Quid est quod ex te audio? Nonne frater tuus mihi dixit te me convenire velle?

Marcella: Id quidem res alia est. Quid frater dicat, id mea minime refert.

Gaius: Pro Iuppiter! Decide collum mihi stanti, nisi istum fratrem tuum hodie male mulcavero, qui me hoc modo ludos fecerit.

Marcella: Ah, nimium saeviter, Gai. Nonne tu ipse iocari soles? Sed animum adverte id quod te rogo. Nos puellae, cum hodie hic sederemus, in illa arbore alta nidum vidimus. (*Points upward.*) Mihine dicere potes cuius generis aves eum fecerint? (*As if to get a better view, she pushes him gently toward the hidden pitfall.*) Clare iam vides? (*Gives him a final push, and steps back as he falls into the pit with a great splash.*)

(*The eavesdroppers rush laughing from their hiding-places. Gaius looks in a dazed fashion from them to his muddy clothes.*)

Claudia: O Cupido, ut vales?

Lucius: Sagitta cor tuum transfigitur? Visne ut medicum arcessam?

Gaius (*shaking his fist*): Nisi actutum hinc abis, te pollinctor curabit, non medicus.

(*All join hands and begin to dance about Gaius, chanting derisively*):

O rosa rubra, O rosa,
Dumetis clam infixā,
Quid vero te fallacius,
Amaro, dulci mixta?

Rosa rubra, O rosa,
O rosa, rosa fera;
Spina tantum Gaius est:
Marcella rosa vera.

O rosa rubra, O rosa,
Spinetis, heu, innixa;
Quae manus te tractare vult,
Discedit vel transfixa.

Rosa rubra, O rosa,
O rosa, rosa fera;
Spina tantum Gaius est:
Marcella ROSA VERA.*

(With the last words the dancers whirl off the stage, leaving Gaius looking helplessly about him.)

Gaius (recovering himself):

Spectatores, fabula est acta.
De me quoque, ut opinor, actum est.
Vos, si vultis, plaudite.

* In default of a better, the tune of "Yankee Doodle" will serve for these verses.

SEMANTIC STUDIES IN LATIN

BY NORMAN W. DEWITT
Victoria College, Toronto

By semantics is meant the systematic and methodical study of the meanings of words and the changes they undergo. Up to the present time the study can hardly be said to be systematic, because its recognition as a distinct branch of linguistics has not been gained, nor has instruction been offered in the subject, and only now and then have scholars devoted their attention to the pursuit of it except so far as etymological studies called for its support. We prefer the word "methodical" to "scientific" because in language study, where one must deal with all the wilfulness of human thought and speech and not merely with phonetic laws or other so-called laws, scientific analogies have been extremely misleading. Between science and art lies a chasm, and literature is art and not science. Literature is a human record of human doings with a background of inherited, continuous, racial thought distinct from the personality of the individual author. It is this background, this subconscious, accumulated experience of the race lying behind the contemporary idiom and involuntarily shared by the individual, that the semanticist strives to recover and bit by bit to reveal. In other words, it is the reaction of the common mind to linguistic environment, if we may so speak, as opposed to the reaction of the individual mind, which was exhaustively studied ages ago and is denominated "style," that constitutes the subject-matter of semantics.

Behind the words of a language lie habits of thinking, little ways of looking at things, which may be quite foreign to our minds and easily escape untrained or casual observation. Take such a common word as *industrius*, older *industruus*, which continues to puzzle scholars, although we know it to come from *indu*, an older form of *in*, and *struo*. It is a good word to begin with because it can be quite definitely explained and will serve to introduce us to

one of the leading principles of semantic study in the Latin language, namely, that this language was made for the most part on the farm, and in the sphere of agricultural life the solution of obscure words must very often be sought. In a quest of this kind an author like Cicero is of little assistance, since he employed the urban dialect and his mind was singularly obtuse to the perception of the earlier implications of words and the thought behind them. It is necessary to turn to a rustic like Cato, whose career was ended before the dialect of the town took shape, or to a poet like Virgil, who had a singular gift for seizing the picturesque and suggestive phrases out of the older authors and an equal gift for living over in his imagination the simple rural life of the days that were no more. Now both he and Cato lay particular stress upon the necessity of supplying one's self beforehand with such things as plows, wagons, yokes, harness, wine and oil jars, and all the apparatus that went with mixed farming as it then existed. These implements constituted the *instrumentum*, and so we see, taking the two words together, that the *vir industrius* was the active and foresighted man who provided himself with each thing that he needed before the day of need arrived. Therefore *industria* was only the modern virtue of "preparedness" and the *vir industrius* what we call the "forehanded man."

A parallel word to *industrius* is *imperator*, older *induperator*, though here we shift to the military sphere. That this is compounded of *in* and *parare* is quite manifest, but how *imperator*, "provider," came to mean commander and *imperium* came to mean "the supreme command" is by no means self-evident. Here we must observe a second principle of semantic study in Latin, that the function of an official not infrequently changed, while the term of denotation remained the same. As an illustration we may mention the *quaestor*, from *quaerere*, who was in the beginning appointed to "investigate" crimes and in the course of time became the custodian of public moneys. Now the *imperator*, according to our principle, must originally have been precisely what the name declares, the official who was responsible for "getting in" supplies for the army. This was done in Caesar's time, as we know from the Gallic Wars, almost exclusively by purchase, *comparare*,

but in earlier days by requisition, *imperare*, which brings to notice two other principles of semantic study in Latin: first, that the Romans, like the Greeks, were prone to maintain customs and forget their origins; and secondly, that religious colorings were regularly given to institutions that had their origin in policy or justice. For example, when the army was being outfitted and fed it was only fair that the city should be exempt from the requisition, since all the leading people had estates outside of the limits, where their surplus stores of hay, grain, meat, wine, and oil would be found. Therefore it was decreed that the *imperium*, or right to commandeer, should have no force within the *pomerium*, or religious boundaries, of the city, that is, the consular auspices must be taken outside. Hence we may perceive that the persistent reluctance to extend the boundaries, though backed by religious scruples, must long have been instigated by class interests and aristocratic selfishness, which will be better realized if we recall that even the Campus Martius and the adjacent land across the Tiber were cultivated down to historical times by members of the patrician families. We can also understand for what reason the title of *imperator* became a term of praise on the lips of the legionary, since his welfare, and especially the needs of his stomach, depended upon the efficiency and courage of the *imperator*, or "provider."

Reverting to the principle that functions change and terms of denotation remain, we may consider the words *praetor* and *explorator*. The latter is manifestly from *plorare*, "cry aloud," but the scout will do anything rather than "cry aloud." Thrown off the scent by this contradiction of terms a multilingual European philologist seeks another root and finds something conceivably similar in Armenian and Old Irish, as one may learn in Walde's *Etymological Latin Dictionary*, a terribly learned book with woeful lapses on the semantic side. Far better is it to confine one's self somewhat obstinately to one language, going abroad with caution and as a last resort. In the case of *explorator* it is likely that we have only the "loud-voiced herald" or "crier" of kingly times. An instance of his purely heraldic function is to be found in a note of Servius to Aeneid (vii. 168): "Nam legati siquando incogniti nuntiarentur, primo quid vellent *ab exploratoribus* requirebatur, post ad eos

egrediebantur magistratus minores." This makes plain to us that his primitive functions lay partly at least in the formalities of communication between governments, and it is likely that he was required to demand of all invaders the nature of their intentions before hostilities began. It is thus easy to imagine how he became a spy instead of a crier or herald.

With *praetor* we are introduced to another phenomenon of much consequence to semanticists, which we may call "polysemasia." By this we mean that a single word may possess more than one meaning, and it is of great importance to determine with which signification the derivative is to be associated. For instance, Varro asserts that the *praetor* was so named because he "went ahead" of the army, but Varro is a hasty etymologist and rarely has second thoughts. It will pay us to make sure that another meaning will not prove a better fit. In the lexicon one finds that *praeire*, abbreviated from *praeire verbis*, is at once frequent and technical in the sense of "dictating an oath," in the manner of the preacher who in the marriage ceremony "precedes with the words" which the contracting couple must repeat after him. It is common knowledge, of course, that the Roman soldiers, except in cases of extreme emergency, were required individually to repeat the *sacramentum* in the presence of the commander, who was originally the *praetor*, *prae-itor*, or "swearer." Admitting this, we can readily understand how this official became a judge in the course of time, with power to swear in jurors, examine witnesses, and in short to preside wherever declarations were to be made on oath. It may be mentioned by the way that the term "dictator" is no doubt a translation of *praetor*, the dictator being the *praetor* or "swearer" *par excellence* and empowered to "swear in" any man for public service. It may be mentioned also that in the schoolroom *dictare* is used of the teacher who dictates a sentence for the scholars to repeat after him, although the usual word is *praecipere*.

To illustrate further the nature of semantic studies from the military sphere we may discuss *provincia* and *exercitus*. The latter is manifestly from *ex* and *arcere*, but it is far from manifest why *exercitus* should mean "army" and *exercere* "exercise." We shall

not dogmatize, but we venture to suggest that Varro gives us a clue when he uses *exercitus* as equivalent to *Comitia Centuriata*, which we know was "excluded" from the city (*De lingua Latina* vi. 9. 88). Thus *exercitus* denoted the whole body of men qualified by age and training to attend the military assembly, who in that capacity were "excluded" from the city, and so "to be excluded" signified "to be drilled." How large a place this institution occupied in the Roman mind is proved by the fact that *exercere* was entirely deflected to the meaning "drill," "exercise," while *arcere* continued to mean "exclude."

In the case of *provincia* also a striking shift of meaning has occurred. Walde affords us no assistance, since the multilingual philologist whom he quotes offers only dubious affinities from Gothic and Old High German, while to explain the term adequately one need not go beyond the Latin, or Greek at the farthest. It is manifestly compounded of *pro* and **vincia*, Greek *ῥοκία*, of the same root as *vicus*, with *n* intruded from *vincere*, and signifies the "outlying settlements" or "frontiers." It signified all parts of Roman territory at a distance from the capital, and it is curious that English actors still use it in precisely this sense, speaking of parts outside of London as "the provinces." Moreover it is likely that the district of Provence in Southern France was first so called in this non-technical way. The technical history of the term begins when the senate assigned a certain part of "the frontier" to a consul as his sphere of action and authority.

The foregoing examples, taken chiefly from the military sphere, will serve to illustrate the methods of semantic studies and their relationship to accepted etymologies, to which they furnish a valuable test and check. It will be noted that the philologist, with the gift of tongues, is tempted to go far afield with slight excuse, while the semanticist, with his chief interest in the literature, strives harder to explain the term within the language; and while the former lays heavy stress upon the scientific aspects of language study, especially in respect to phonetic laws, the latter insists that just as distinct a field of inquiry, demanding taste, judgment, and acute observation, exists in the sphere of meanings, although the end in view is less scientific than literary.

The study possesses many attractions: it is such that any studious person may engage in it; the material is available on every page; it may be pursued in any language and in English and Latin at the same time; it holds out the pleasure of discovery; it throws a gleam of light on many a dark spot in history, and in literature it constitutes an instrument of interpretation and a method of attack; and it stimulates the observation, no matter whether one tries it for himself or merely follows the work of others. Only, one must be prepared to stand upon his own feet and not look upon the dictionary as a Bible. This study will upset many a trusted notion.

THE MICHIGAN CLASSICAL CONFERENCES

BY FRANCIS W. KELSEY
University of Michigan

The First Michigan Classical Conference, a pioneer in its field, was organized as a section of the Michigan Schoolmasters' Club at the University of Michigan in 1895. The proceedings and papers were published in the *School Review* for that year, filling the number for June (III, 321-96). A noteworthy part of the program was a symposium on the question "Should There Be a Course of Six Years in Latin in the Secondary Schools?"; the speakers were Professor Andrew F. West, of Princeton, Professor William Gardner Hale, of the University of Chicago, and Superintendent A. F. Nightingale, of Chicago. To the Classical Conference of 1898 the *School Review* again devoted an entire number (VI, 369-481); in connection with this Conference the Committee of Twelve of the American Philological Association and auxiliary committees for Greek and for Latin held long sessions, which had their fruitful outcome in the *Report of the Committee of Twelve of the American Philological Association*.¹

The classical teachers of Michigan joined with enthusiasm in the organization of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South in 1905, and it was expected that this interstate body would supersede the Classical Conference. If we take into account the adverse conditions under which the Classical Association has labored, it has more than realized the expectations of its founders. The maintenance of the *Classical Journal*, made possible by the generous co-operation of the University of Chicago, has been a conspicuous service to classical studies, while the annual meetings have been helpful in many ways. Nevertheless, on account of the wide extent of territory included in the Association, only relatively

¹ Published by Ginn & Co., Boston, in 1899. A summary of the work accomplished in the first decade is presented in "Ten Classical Conferences: A Retrospect," *School Review*, XIII (1905), 423-28.

few of the many members are able to attend any one meeting, and its activities, so far from superseding those of local classical organizations, have proved to be in fact a distinct stimulus to them.

In Michigan, therefore, the Classical Conference has been kept up, meeting each year with the Michigan Schoolmasters' Club at the end of March; in addition, since 1913 there has been a Classical Section of the Michigan State Teachers' Association which holds its annual meeting at the end of October. The State Association has encouraged the inviting of a speaker each year from outside the state, so that those attending the Classical Section in successive years have heard addresses by representatives of the classical work in the Universities of Chicago, Missouri, and Wisconsin, the Johns Hopkins University, and the Archaeological Institute of America. The section has also had a general program and has concerned itself with arranging for the furnishing of stereopticon slides to schools, as well as with other matters of direct interest to classical teachers.

The Classical Conference was originally founded in protest against devoting the time of gatherings of teachers almost exclusively to questions of method, a practice which in the early nineties was in vogue to a degree now difficult to realize.¹ It aimed, of course, to encourage thoughtful discussion of all aspects of the problem of classical teaching, but not to the exclusion of the interests of scholarship; it afforded opportunity and furnished an incentive for the presentation of results of work in the various fields of classical study. A large number of the papers dealing with matters of scholarship which have appeared on the programs of the Conferences are accessible in printed form, in journals, or in books. A collection of papers relating to classical study, including seven "Symposia," was published in 1911 under the title *Latin and Greek in American Education*.²

¹ Cf. "Should Papers Dealing with Matters of Scholarship or Papers on Method be the Chief Feature of Teachers' Meetings?" *School Review*, IV (1896), 594-603; also "Latin in the High School," *Educational Review*, VIII, 28-42.

² Unfortunately this volume is out of print, although requests for it are constantly being received; the demand exceeded expectations. A new edition is in preparation and will be published, with additional matter, after the war.

Recently two similar volumes of great interest to the friends of classical study have appeared, *The Value of the Classics*, edited by Dean Andrew F. West (Princeton University Press, 1917), and *The Greek Genius and Its Influence*, edited by Professor Lane Cooper (Yale University Press, 1917).

In recent years the traditional program of the Conference has been expanded in two ways. In 1916 the Classical Club of the University of Michigan presented the *Menaechmi* of Plautus, in Latin.¹ This was followed, in 1917, by the *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, in Greek,² with special music composed for this presentation by Professor Albert A. Stanley and choral dances designed by Professor H. A. Kenyon. At the conference of 1918 the Classical Club presented the *Phormio* of Terence in English, in a new version by Professor J. R. Nelson, with adaptations to the modern stage.

Two years ago representatives of the classical teachers of the state requested that if possible an arrangement should be made to supplement the ordinary program of twenty-minute papers by one or more short courses of lectures upon subjects not too remote from the classical work of the high schools. This request was met by joining with the department of education in the University and arranging to group the classical lectures with lectures on educational subjects in an "Institute" held in connection with the Conference and the meeting of the Schoolmasters' Club. In 1917 Professor Ralph V. D. Magoffin, of Johns Hopkins University, gave four illustrated lectures on "Roman Private Life"; in 1918 Professor Gordon J. Laing delivered four lectures, illustrated, on "Roman Religion," and Professor John J. Winter a similar course on "Aegean Civilization." At the Conference of 1919 it is expected that Professor C. T. Currelly, of the University of Toronto, will give four lectures dealing with the results of recent excavations in Egypt which throw light upon Roman life in the period of the Empire, and Professor Campbell Bonner will present a course upon the Greek religion.

Until the war began the *School Review* continued to publish the proceedings of the Classical Conference in brief form, as well as a selection from the educational papers presented. No such

¹ A libretto for this play was published, with stage directions, and with an English translation by Professor Joseph H. Drake facing the text (Macmillan).

² An account of the Greek play by Professor H. H. Yeames was published in *The Nation* for April 19, 1917 (reprinted in the *Classical Weekly* for May 7, 1917); an illustrated account appeared in *Art and Archaeology* for June, 1917. The music will be published after the war.

publication has been made, however, since 1915. To judge from inquiries received, it seems desirable to resume the publication, at least of the programs; if this is to be done, those in Michigan and elsewhere who are interested in the Conference will now find it more convenient to have reports of its work in the *Classical Journal* than in any other publication. In this matter, therefore, the officers of the Conference again gladly avail themselves of the courtesy of this *Journal*, which in previous years has printed a number of the papers prepared for its sessions.

THE TWENTY-FOURTH MICHIGAN CLASSICAL CONFERENCE

The Twenty-fourth Michigan Classical Conference was held in Ann Arbor on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, March 26-29, 1918. It was combined with a Classical Institute, which offered two courses of lectures. The lectures and the sessions were held in Alumni Memorial Hall and were well attended.

At the business meeting of the Conference the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: chairman, Dr. Frederick O. Bates, Detroit Central High School; vice-chairman, Miss Laura N. Wilson, South Grand Rapids High School; secretary, Miss Clara Janet Allison, Michigan State Normal College; Extension Committee, Professor Albert R. Crittenden, University of Michigan; Miss Blanche L. King, Highland Park High School; and the Secretary.

The combined program of the Institute and the Conference follows, as it was actually given, some changes having been made in the preliminary program on account of sickness.

Program

Tuesday Forenoon, March 26

1. Aegean Civilization before Homer: Crete (Illustrated)
PROFESSOR JOHN G. WINTER, University of Michigan
2. Roman Religion from the Monuments: I. The Indigenous Gods of Rome and Italy (Illustrated)
PROFESSOR GORDON J. LAING, University of Chicago

Tuesday Afternoon, March 26

Joint Session of the Classical and Modern Language Conferences

Presiding Officer—PROFESSOR A. G. CANFIELD, Chairman of the Modern Language Conference

3. The Classics and the European Revolution of '48
PROFESSOR W. W. FLORES, University of Michigan

Tuesday, March 26, was the seventieth anniversary of the passing of the Freiburg Resolutions, the first document officially demanding a republican form of government

for a united German state secured by a constitution to be adopted by a German parliament. Professor Florer's paper, which will be published, showed how important a place the study of the classics had in the training of the men who led in that first and futile struggle to secure a constitutional government for Germany. Their indebtedness to classical literature for their ideals and inspiration was freely acknowledged by them, as, for example, by Carl Schurz in his *Reminiscences* (I, 87-89).

4. The Classics and Democracy

PROFESSOR A. G. CANFIELD, University of Michigan

"May I venture, as a modern-language man whose interests are at one with those of you teachers of the classics so far as our educational work is concerned, to say a few words to suggest the interpretation of the facts just presented for our democratic American education?

"It is not at all surprising that these German champions of liberty, defenders of the 'lost cause' of 1848, were men nurtured in the classics. For it is precisely the central and characteristic feature of classical culture to develop the sense of the dignity, capacity, and value of the human spirit, the conviction of the consequent necessity of individual liberty, and the respect for all that goes to enrich the idea of humanity. Its motto has ever been the line of Terence: *Homo sum: humani nil a me alienum puto*. No word has been found to name more fitly the movement which its revival created in the modern world than 'humanism.' Its profound concern is the free play of the human individual, the realization of his various possibilities, the attainment of the full measure of his manhood, and the conservation for the individual life of those spiritual values upon which the long experience of mankind has set the seal of permanence and supremacy.

"Now our time, thanks largely to that country with which we are at war, has seen another and quite different concern gaining the ascendancy—the concern for efficiency. Efficiency looks on the individual as a factor of production, as a subject for organization, as a cog in a vast machine. It deals primarily with the material. Its end is power. It is the natural concern of autocracy. But democracy does not aim at power. When challenged, indeed, as it is now, to desperate self-defense, it must for the moment make the necessary sacrifices to attain it and become as efficient as its enemy. But efficiency can never be its primary and guiding concern. Should it ever be so with our country, we should cease to be a democracy. For democracy too is primarily concerned with the free play of the individual, the development of men and women. Not power, but individual opportunity, freedom to make the most of oneself, equality of privilege, justice between man and man, are its watchwords. It is more concerned that the awkward rustic should unfold the great personality of an Abraham Lincoln than that he should become the most expert and scientific rail-splitter in the world.

"And education in a democracy must be inspired by this fundamental conception. It must not sacrifice the development of the human spirit to the creation of an industrial tool. We must suspect that between *Realschule* and *Realpolitik* there is a certain connection."

5. Roman Religion from the Monuments: II. The Graeco-Italian Divinities (Illustrated)

PROFESSOR LAING

Wednesday Forenoon, March 27

6. Aegean Civilization before Homer: Troy, Tiryns, Mycenae (Illustrated)
PROFESSOR WINTER
7. Roman Religion from the Monuments: III. The Worship of the Emperors
(Illustrated)
PROFESSOR LAING

Wednesday Afternoon, March 27

8. Explanation of an Exhibit Illustrating the Value of the Study of Latin,
prepared, on the lines of Miss Sabin's Manual, under the direction of
Dr. Arthur P. McKinlay, of the Lincoln High School, Portland, Oregon
9. Roman Religion from the Monuments: IV. The Oriental Cults (Illustrated)
PROFESSOR LAING

Wednesday Evening, March 27

Latin Play in English, Presented by the Classical Club of the
University of Michigan

10. The *Phormio* of Terence. English version by Professor J. Raleigh Nelson,
University of Michigan, with adaptation to the modern stage

Thursday Noon, March 28

11. Social half-hour, parlors of the Congregational Church
12. Classical luncheon, basement of the Congregational Church

The Classical and Mathematical Conferences united for this luncheon, at which addresses were given by Professor Wallace N. Stearns, of Fargo College, North Dakota, Professor Arthur H. Harrop, of Albion College, and others.

Thursday Afternoon, March 28

13. Plan and Construction of Roman Highways (Illustrated)
MISS ANNE S. THOMAS, Nordstrum High School, Detroit

Rome's network of highways was so planned that even the smallest towns were connected with the empress city. No obstacle was too great for these ancient engineers to surmount. Dr. Ludwig Friedländer groups the roads into five principal radii, of which three started north from Rome and the other two south.

Itineraries were of course necessary; the Jerusalem itineraries, for example, the itinerary of Antoninus, and the four silver cups found at Vicarello furnish invaluable data.

The aim of the Romans in constructing their roads was primarily military, not commercial. As they extended their conquests they planted colonies and constructed highways in order to hold the territory which they had conquered. Colonization and road-building in Italy well illustrate the Roman plan. Among examples in foreign territory Britain perhaps lends itself most easily to discussion.

From the point of view of construction there were three classes of roads, those of leveled earth, those of leveled earth with graveled surface, and those paved with

rectangular or polygonal blocks of stone or lava. To this third class all the great military roads belong. There were definite rules for constructing them, and these were closely followed, except for possible modifications arising from local conditions. The general type was a massive road from 16 to 30 feet wide, with a bed 3 to 4 feet thick laid in courses.

Gaius Gracchus was the first to provide public roads systematically with mile-stones, and the system was highly developed by Augustus. That emperor set up an inscribed monument in the Forum to mark the central point from which the great roads diverged to the several gates of Rome. The distances on the roads were measured from the gates of the city.

14. Socializing Latin

MISS FLORA I. MACKENZIE, Battle Creek High School

Published in the *Journal of the Michigan Schoolmasters' Club*, Fifty-third Meeting (1918), pp. 32-37; *Classical Journal*, XIV (1918), 56-62.

15. Can Greek Come Back?

PROFESSOR WALLACE N. STEARNS, University of North Dakota

Published in the *Journal of the Michigan Schoolmasters' Club*, Fifty-third Meeting (1918), pp. 24-29.

16. Discussion of the paper by Professor Stearns

The paper "Can Greek Come Back?" was earnestly discussed. While there was general agreement in regard to the desirability of bringing Greek back into the high schools, there was much doubt whether this result can be accomplished until there is a manifest change of attitude on the part of the general public toward the ancient classics.

17. Business meeting

18. Ancient Illustrations of the Homeric Poems (Illustrated)

PROFESSOR WINTER

Friday Afternoon, March 29

19. The Western Front Yesterday and To-day (Illustrated)

MISS GRACE GRIEVE MILLARD, Detroit Central High School

This paper presented a study of the geographical features which condition all military movements along the eastern frontier of France and pointed out striking parallels between the military operations of Caesar and those of the great war.

20. Aims and Problems of Junior High School Latin

Discussion, led by PROFESSOR B. L. D'OOGHE, Michigan State Normal College; SUPERINTENDENT R. HAZELTON, Marine City; MISS E. GRACE PALMERLEE, Detroit Southeastern High School; and MISS LAURA N. WILSON, Grand Rapids South High School

Abstracts of the papers by Professor D'Ooge and Miss Wilson are published in the *Journal of the Michigan Schoolmasters' Club*, Fifty-third Meeting (1918), pp. 37-40.

21. Latin from the Viewpoint of the Inspector

PROFESSOR J. B. EDMONSON, Department of Education, University of Michigan

"I am glad to report that Latin is given a very favorable place in the program of studies in the typical Michigan high school. The number of students electing Latin is relatively large and is increasing in many of our schools. The talk, therefore, in some quarters that Latin is on the decline is not well founded when reference is made to the present conditions in Michigan high schools.

"I am especially interested in the place of Latin in the program of studies in the small high school. It is my opinion that Latin is the best foreign language for the small school to offer when the limitations on the program of studies are such as to force a choice. I base this opinion on the following facts:

"I find that Latin satisfies more of the vocational needs represented in the student body of the typical high school than does any other foreign language. For the student planning to enter college the Latin satisfies the usual entrance requirement in the languages. For the student intending to specialize in English or a modern language a knowledge of Latin is imperative. For the student expecting to enter the ministry, nursing, law, medicine, dentistry, or pharmacy a certain minimum of Latin is usually a definite requirement.

"I very frequently tell boards of education that are interested in organizing a so-called practical program of studies that they must certainly give Latin a place because of its large preprofessional or preprofessional value, and I have yet to find a board that has refused to admit the truth of this claim.

"I advise the choice of Latin in the small school for the further reason that well-trained teachers are easier to secure for Latin than for the other languages, and in the end the teacher is of more importance than the content of the course. I might also add that the unsolved problems for the small school of aim, method, and content are not as perplexing in Latin as in certain other studies. To mention the various values of Latin that could be classified under such headings as cultural and disciplinary would be to repeat much that is already thoroughly familiar to all of you.

"I have been thinking very much of late about this question: Will Latin continue to hold its present very favorable place in the Michigan schools? I have reached the conclusion that the answer depends on the type of replies given by Latin teachers to these two questions:

"First: Is Latin a profitable subject of study for all high-school students?

"Second: Is it part of the task of the Latin teacher to undertake to convince pupils that Latin is an interesting and profitable subject for study?

"I am convinced that an unequivocal answer to these questions in the affirmative is absolutely essential to the best interests of the work in Latin in the Michigan public schools."

22. Latin from the Viewpoint of the Superintendent

SUPERINTENDENT M. W. LONGMAN, Owosso

Superintendent Longman made an earnest plea for the study of Latin in the high school as a basal subject, which satisfies the requirements of an educational instrument in every particular and contributes background to the pupil's mental life. He urged a more generous provision, in school programs, for the help of pupils by the Latin teacher in study hours, in order to prevent loss of time and discouragement.

Current Events

Indiana

Lagrange.—Miss Lena M. Foote, of the Latin Department of the Lagrange High School, sends us the following account of a classroom dramatization of a scene from Caesar.

"I had assigned various passages from the first book of Caesar, upon which the class were to base narratives, descriptions, etc. One student surprised me by attempting a dramatization in verse of her passage, although she had not yet studied versification in school. The 'play' is entitled 'Caesar and the Haedui,' based on chapters xvi-xx of Book I.

"It happened that at about the same time the High School planned an entertainment in connection with an Elson Art Exhibit, and we were asked to present Miss Margaret's 'play' as a part of the program. We selected ten boys from the class and costumed them with the armor, cloaks, etc., preserved from our presentation of 'Dido,' three years ago. The entertainment was given in our high school assembly room, and the boys did exceedingly well with the play, although it was their first appearance as actors. The play was received with enthusiastic applause and many congratulations after the performance."

Massachusetts

Mount Hermon School.—The students of the Latin department of Mount Hermon School, under the direction of Miss J. E. Bigelow, presented a program from their daily recitation work in Vergil to an audience composed of faculty, friends, and fellow-students, on Friday, April 5.

The first number on the program was taken from *Aeneid* i, lines 522-610. This was preceded by the singing of first eleven lines of Book i in Latin to music arranged for them by Professor Stanley, of the University of Michigan, for the dramatization of *Dido* by Professor F. J. Miller, of the University of Chicago. Then followed the chanting of a prayer in Latin hexameter by a priest who held up the holy meal and sprinkled the altar with it. Then came the plea of Ilioneus before Dido. This long speech was divided between Ilioneus, Sergestus, Cloanthus, and Antheus, and their impassioned appeals to the queen were answered by Dido according to the suggestion of the *Classical Weekly* of April 10, 1915. This arrangement of dialogue with Latin hexameter of Vergil was most effective. Before the dialogue was delivered, a member of the class gave a brief outline in English of the poem and the detail of the setting of the dialogue. The next number was the reciting of Vergil's *First Eclogue* by two students, one taking the part of Tityrus, the other Meliboeus.

The *Eclogue* of course was recited in Latin after another member of the class had given a little talk in English about the *Bucolics* and given the historical setting and incident of the *First Eclogue*. With the tree, the shepherd costumes, the crooks, and the Panpipes—everything but the goats—it made a pretty scene. The students who took the parts were especially felicitous in their share of the program—one of these students grew up in India, the other in Bulgaria. This was followed by singing "Gaudeamus igitur."

Then, to lighten the program for the benefit of those in the audience who were less familiar with Latin, "The Schoolboy's Dream" by Olive Sutherland (*Classical Journal*, January, 1912) was given. The program of the evening came to a close with singing by all students of Latin present of "Te cano patria," the Latin version of "America," by Professor George D. Kellogg, of Union College.

The Vergil portion of the program, all the product of daily recitation with no expense of time or money, everybody agreed was attractive and profitable and might be said to bear the same relation—when taken out of the recitation room and presented to an audience as real living dialogue—to ordinary recitation work that laboratory work does to chemistry or field work to geology.

Greater Boston Classical Club.—The third meeting of those interested in the formation of a Greater Boston Classical Club was held at Boston University on Saturday, November 2, Albert S. Perkins, temporary chairman, presiding. A constitution was adopted, and upon recommendation of the nominating committee, consisting of Dr. J. E. Burke, Assistant Superintendent of the Boston Public Schools, Professor A. H. Rice of Boston University, and Mr. Earl M. Taylor, of the Roxbury Latin School, the following officers were unanimously elected: President, Mr. Henry Pennypacker, Head Master Boston Latin School; Vice Presidents, Dr. Ellen F. Pendleton, President Wellesley College, Professor A. H. Rice, Boston University, Professor Clifford H. Moore, Harvard University; Secretary, Mr. Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School; Treasurer, Mr. Thornton Jenkins, Head Master, Malden High School; Censor, Albert S. Perkins, Dorchester High School.

Ohio

Columbus.—On Saturday, May 4, the Columbus Latin Club held its last meeting of the year at the Chittenden Hotel. After the luncheon the following program was given: Miss Rowena H. Lauden, East High School, spoke on "The Literature of War"; Mrs. Clara F. Milligan, North High School, on "Caesar's Gaul in the Present War"; Mrs. Milligan's talk was illustrated. Both talks were warmly received by the fifty members who were present. At the business meeting which followed the luncheon, the officers for the coming year were elected: President, Miss Rowena H. Lauden, East High School; Vice-president, Miss Mary A. Patterson, Delaware, Ohio; Secretary-treasurer, Miss Margaret Uncles, North High School. The Columbus Latin Club has

one star on its service flag at present and expects to add another by fall. Mr. Charles B. Sayre, of North High School, is doing Y.M.C.A. work in France, having resigned his position the first of April. Professor Dwight N. Robinson, of the Ohio Wesleyan University, is in the draft and expects to be called to service at any time.

Wisconsin

The Latin League of Wisconsin Colleges.—The sixth annual contest of the Latin League of Wisconsin Colleges, which was held recently at Madison, was conducted by the Latin department of Northwestern University. Professor O. F. Long, chairman of the examining committee, announces that they were unanimous in their first choice, but that the second and third places were a two-to-one decision.

Mr. Paul Rodewald, of Ripon College, won the gold medal and the Louis G. Kirchner Memorial Prize of 225. Miss Mathilda Mathisen, of Ripon College, was second in rank and received the silver medal. Miss Anna Reed, of Milwaukee-Downer College, won the bronze medal, being third in rank.

First Honorable Mention was awarded to Miss Bessie Burgi, of Milwaukee-Downer College, and Second Honorable Mention to Miss Ruth Bradish, of Lawrence College. Ripon College, having the strongest team in the contest, captured the Elizabeth Priestly Trophy Cup.

Thus far six contests have been held under the auspices of the Latin League of Wisconsin Colleges with the result that Ripon College has won two of them, Lawrence two, and Milwaukee-Downer and Carroll one each.

Hobart College Library desires to obtain copies of Vol. I, No. 1, of both the *Classical Journal* and *Classical Philology* to complete its sets. The publishers' reserve stock of each is exhausted. Any reader who can supply either of these numbers will please communicate with Professor W. P. Woodman, 808 Main St., Geneva, New York.

General Comment

[Edited by Gilbert Campbell Scoggin, The University of Missouri.]

Professor C. N. Smiley's presidential address, delivered last spring before the Classical Association at its meeting in Omaha, has now appeared in the *Unpopular Review* for July-September. Professor Smiley has recently sailed for Italy, where he will be engaged in Y.M.C.A. work during the period of the war.

The *Johns Hopkins Alumni Magazine* for March contains a paper by Professor W. P. Mustard dealing with "Good Old Mantuan." After a brief notice of the chief incidents in the poet's life, the contents of his ten *Eclogues* are given in outline, together with some indication of the literary influence of Mantuan for more than two hundred years. In the course of time, however, this poet came to be neglected, and even his name was often confused with that of Virgil. Erasmus ranked Mantuan almost as high as he did Virgil, but after the appearance of Scaliger's *Poetics* the Christian poet fell more into the background. The vicissitudes of literary fortune are well exemplified in the case of this once highly esteemed poet. Professor Mustard calls attention to the fact that Mantuan is completely ignored both by the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and by the *Century Cyclopedia of Proper Names*. The fourth centenary of his death passed almost unnoticed in 1916. Before Professor Mustard edited the *Eclogues* in 1911, the latest edition seems to have appeared in 1720.

From time out of mind personal names have wielded a fascinating power over the human imagination. A highly important chapter in the study of folklore is the influence of the name. Some indication of this may be gathered by referring to Child's monumental *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*. Consult his Index under "Naming," and see specially i. 95 ff. Even when the original meaning of a name had been obscured the ancients were inclined to etymologize and play upon it. One of the earliest classical examples is the name Odysseus as explained in *Odyssey* τ 407-10. Juno, according to Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, v. 67, is so called "quod una cum Iove iuvat." Caesar, says Festus, as excerpted by Paulus, "a caesarie dictus est, quia scilicet cum caesarie natus est." Cf. Lindsay's edition, p. 50. "Priscianus est nomen derivatum a Prisco, sed melius a Praescio verbo, ut ipse dicit, quod fuit eruditus septem artibus liberalibus," says Guarino, quoted at the opening of the Aldine edition of Priscian, Venice, 1527. The fanciful etymologies of the Middle Ages are not infrequently satirized by the humanist Rabelais along with the rest of the pre-Renaissance instruction of youth. "Some

drink, some drink, some drink," exclaims the future hero immediately after his birth. "Que grand tu as et souple le gousier," roars the proud father, and henceforth Gargantua is the son's name. Even the dead are not respected by an irreverent punster:

Hic jacet Erasmus, qui quondam bonus erat mus:
Rodere qui solitus, roditur a vermibus.

When called to account for making the first syllable of *vermibus* short, this unknown wit replied that it was done to atone for making the first syllable of *bonus* long! Pott's great work, *Die Personennamen*, first appeared in 1853, and the Index of Names appended to the second edition consists of 156 pages, three columns to the page. Fick's *Griechische Personennamen*, first issued in 1874, sought to establish the fact that the names of the Greeks, as well as of those speaking the other branches of Indo-European language, were composed of two parts, either of which might be used in forming a hypocoristic. See Bursian, *Geschichte der classischen Philologie*, II, 999. Violence is often wreaked upon a proper name when it is brought over into another language, especially if the speakers of that language are little inclined to respect the rights of other tongues. English is very instructive in this respect. By the year 1600 many Welsh names had thrown off their foreign appearance. John Ap John becomes John Johnes or Jones; Ap Rhys becomes Prys, Pryse, Pryce, or Price. Folk etymology is always at work with curious results, as may be seen in such a name as Charterhouse (Chartreuse), a famous English public school. Like the English, the Greeks had the reputation of scorning foreign tongues. The distinction between Greek and barbarian was that of language. All peoples but Greeks were stammerers. There has recently been added to the "Vanderbilt Oriental Series" a very interesting volume on *Graeco-Persian Names* by Dr. Alvin H. M. Stonecipher. As the author points out, many things conspired to prevent an exact reproduction of Persian names in Greek, such as inaccuracy of the ear in detecting foreign sounds, inexactness of one alphabet for representing the sounds of another tongue, dialectic variation within the language itself, and our slight knowledge of the different Iranian dialects. These same difficulties beset the student of early Latin inscriptions. The curious forms of Greek names often found on Praenestine bronzes present a similar problem. The thing that strikes me most as I look through this book is that the Greek in very many cases is so little removed from the Persian form. I doubt that a collection of foreign names adopted in English, of like comprehensiveness, could make so good a showing. The Persian names have been arranged in Greek alphabetical order, and in most cases a very slight knowledge of Indo-Iranian will reveal the meaning of the name. To a Persian they must have been as clear as to us are the expletives in such names as Alexander the Great, Peter the Hermit, William the Conqueror, Charles the Bald, and the like. This of course does not imply that the meaning was apparent to a Greek any more than that the Latin-English forms convey their meanings to the

modern. But the classical student will find considerable interest in removing the mask and in viewing the original features of such familiar names as Ariæus, Ariaramnes, Artabazus, Artaxerxes (those beginning with *A* are the most numerous), Darius, Cambyses, Euphrates, Megaphernes, Gobryas, Parysatis, Tissaphernes. Some prehistoric event of importance may be involved in the name Cyrus. Its origin is supposed to be non-Iranian and its meaning not clear. The form Syennesis, mistaken by Xenophon for a proper name, I do not find noted in this collection.

Though Shakspeare asks us, "What's in a name?"
(As if cognomens were much the same),
There's really a very great scope in it.
A name?—if the party had a voice,
What mortal would be a Bugg by choice?
As a Hogg, a Grubb, or a Chubb rejoice?
Or any such nauseous blazon?
Not to mention many a vulgar name,
That would make a doorplate blush with shame
If doorplates were not so brazen!

When a scholar and teacher has decided henceforth to devote his time and energies to the machinery of college administration much interest is aroused in his announcement of the ideals that may be expected to influence him in the government of his institution. Professor William Allan Neilson, formerly of the English department of Harvard University, was installed last spring as president of Smith College, and his inaugural address is mainly devoted to the problem of the future of humanistic studies in America. Himself trained in the best traditions of a famous Scotch university, he should be able to speak from experience and with authority on educational ideals. He maintains that after the war great changes will be introduced in all departments of education, and he agrees with the framers of the recent British educational bill in believing that advance will be attained "by offering to every child the opportunity of enjoying that form of education most adapted to fashion its qualities to the highest use." Accordingly a democracy implies, not the same education for all, but various educations; and in a college like Smith much attention must be given to "selecting those students whose abilities entitle them to this particular opportunity." The presence of those who cannot gain profit will interfere with those who can. This requires a statement of the aims of an institution together with the method of upholding them. If I understand the address aright, it is spoken with reference to Smith College alone. Yet the problems discussed are common to all colleges that would uphold cultural studies.

Emphasis is laid upon the desirability of combining what shortsighted persons consider as antagonistic elements, the classical and the scientific.

Humanists will agree that we want neither pedantry nor pseudoscience but synthetic humanism. The humanizing power of pure science must be recognized, with its training in observation and accuracy. Yet a knowledge of the past is necessary for an intelligent interpretation of the present. Science will deal primarily with natural phenomena, humanistic studies with man's mental and moral development, which of necessity will be learned from books. President Neilson pays special attention to the failings of the humanists "because they have come nearer wrecking their own cause than the scientists." This brings us to that part of his address with which I find myself most at variance. Dean Stanley, a man remarkably liberal in mental attitude, was of the opinion that in general a more satisfactory advance is attained by emphasizing the good of a system than by enlarging upon its evils; and his own success in reconciling rival factions supports his claim. President Neilson asserts that "the foundation of the revolt against the classics is a widespread indignation at being cheated." Students after having spent much time in the study of Greek and Latin find that they can read neither with ease. Speaking for myself alone, I have never felt that the aim of classical study was primarily the ability to read Greek and Latin with ease. I believe it was Porson who said that he was never able to read Greek as readily as he did his newspaper. Yet I am ready to maintain that no person without some knowledge of its language can have accurate knowledge of any people. The student who has worked laboriously through a few books of Homer, two or three Greek plays, and original extracts from the Greek historians has gained insight into Greek character which cannot be gained by him who has read far and away more widely in translation alone. Wide reading in translation ought to supplement careful and exact reading of restricted portions of an author in the original, and I firmly believe that in our higher institutions literary courses in translation should be open to those alone who have at least a slight knowledge of the original tongue. Such courses may supplement, but they cannot replace, courses in language. The dominant characteristics of a people ever have been and always will be enshrined in its language. I never knew a person who had gained familiarity with French literature without some knowledge of the language. I have never seen anyone conversant with Italian literature and at the same time ignorant of the language. Japanese *hokku* I can read only in translation, and I know that I have not the faintest conception of the real beauty and power of Japanese poetry. Think of a knowledge of Shakspeare derived only through Schlegel and Tieck, or of Hauptmann gained through translation alone. The indissoluble union between language and thought must ever be kept in mind. When President Neilson maintains that the general student of literature should not be required to seek knowledge of the language but should be encouraged to enter through "other doors," we can only reply that, before passing through, a sincere student (and his interests alone should be uppermost in the mind of the educator) should be solemnly warned that he must be prepared to leave all hope behind.

It is true that linguistic study has often usurped the place that rightly belongs to literature, and the grammarian in all ages has been the object of ridicule. Yet as good Sir Roger de Coverley once remarked to certain disputants, "Much might be said on both sides." Dr. Syntax was a familiar figure to the jeering populace long before he set out on his "Tour in Search of the Picturesque." Interest in a play of Plautus should not be focused upon archaic forms and constructions; yet the "Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin" will not be lightly brushed aside by the conscientious teacher. There lie before me as I write certain examination papers set long ago by Clough for his classes in English literature. Large space is devoted to the meaning of words, together with etymology and correct usage, and grammar holds a prominent place.

The dangerous fallacy in this matter, as I see it, lies far deeper. Neglect of language inevitably leads to neglect of literature. If, as President Neilson holds, a knowledge of Greek and Roman literature and civilization ought to occupy, with the possible exception of Hebrew literature, the first place in any cultural scheme, it behooves us to proceed carefully. There was a time when the study of Hebrew went hand in hand with that of Greek and Latin, and a knowledge of biblical literature was recognized as a part of a college education. Do not imagine for a moment, reader, that in those good old days the student read with ease all the Scriptures in the Hebrew. He spent much time, usually with much grumbling, over the dry-as-dust grammar and went slowly through chosen parts of the Hebrew Bible and the Greek Testament, thus being enabled to read with understanding the Scriptures in translation. But yielding to pressure from the students themselves, who disliked grammar, Hebrew ceased about the year 1800 to be generally required in our American colleges; and henceforth a knowledge of biblical literature has steadily declined. Today the large body of college students is ignorant of biblical history and will remain so until the coming of the Cocklicranes. Take warning, ye in whose hands are placed the destiny of classical studies in this country.

"It will need several academic generations before we can equip our schools and colleges with teachers who will make classical studies deserve the name of the humanities," says President Neilson. And such is the subtle effect of words that in the popular mind this serious charge will remain unqualified by the added statement that "the line of great teachers of these subjects has never died out." Good classical teachers are few in number compared with poor ones, but the same holds true for teachers of all subjects. If the most important prerequisite for a teacher be knowledge of his subject, and I do not hesitate to affirm that it is, then classical teachers stand second to none. This address, printed in *School and Society* for July 20, contains very good remarks on the value of outside interests for developing the student's personality, and it concludes with recognition of a proper sphere of action for faculty, graduates, and trustees.

Recent Books

Foreign books in this list may be obtained from Lemcke & Buechner, 30-32 West 27th St., New York City; G. E. Stechert & Co., 151-55 West 25th St., New York City; F. C. Stechert & Co., 39-35 West 3rd St., New York City.

- BROWNSON, CHARLETON L. *Xenophon, Hellenica, Books I-V*. With an English translation. (Loeb classical Library.) New York: Putnam. 18mo, pp. 14+493. \$1.80 net.
- DENNISON, WALTER. *A Gold Treasure of the Late Roman Period*. New York: Macmillan, 1918. 4to, pp. 175. \$2.50 net.
- LEFFINGWELL, GEORGIA W. *Social and Private Life at Rome in the Time of Plautus and Terence*. (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.) New York: Longmans. Pp. 140. Paper, \$1.25 net.
- LUPOLD, H. S. *Introduction to Latin*. New York: D. C. Heath. 12mo, pp. xiii+107. \$0.52.
- MACGILTON, ALICE K. *A Study of Latin Hymns*. Boston: Badger. Pp. 116. \$1.25 net.
- MERRILL, W. A. *Notes on Lucretius*. (University of California Publications in Classical Philology, Vol. III, No. 5, pp. 265-316.) Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press. Paper, \$0.50.
- MESSER, WILLIAM S. *The Dream in Homer and Greek Tragedy*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1918. 8vo, pp. 105.
- MOORE, C. H. *Pagan Ideas of Immortality during the Early Christian Centuries*. (Ingersoll Lecture, 1918.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 12mo, pp. 64. \$0.85 net.
- OLDFATHER, W., and OTHERS. *Index Verborum quae in Senecae Fabulis necnon in Octavia Praetexta reperiuntur*. Part I. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois. Pp. 103. Paper, \$2.00.
- PALMER, HAROLD E. *The Scientific Study and Teaching of Languages*. Yonkers-on-Hudson, N.Y.: World Book Company, 1917. 8vo, pp. 328. \$3.00.
- PATON, W. R. *The Greek Anthology*. With an English translation. In 5 vols. Vols. IV and V. (Loeb Classical Library.) New York: Putnam. 18mo, pp. 422 and 400. \$1.80 net per volume.
- RAMSEY, G. G. *Juvenal and Persius*. With an English translation. (Loeb Classical Library.) New York: Putnam. 18mo, pp. 82+416. \$1.80 net.
- ROLFE, J. C., and DENNISON, W. *A Latin Reader*. For the second year, with notes, exercises for translation into Latin, grammatical appendix, and vocabularies. Boston: Allyn & Bacon. Pp. lii+169. \$1.50.
- ROYDS, T. F. *The Beasts, Birds, and Bees of Vergil*. A naturalist's handbook to the *Georgics*. 8vo, pp. 126. Oxford: Blackwell. 4s. 6d. net.
- . *Vergil and Isaiah*. A study of the *Pollio*, with translations, notes, and appendixes. New York: Longmans. Pp. xlii+122. \$1.75 net.

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Editorial

REPORT OF THE TREASURER OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH, SEPTEMBER 1, 1917—AUGUST 31, 1918

The account below represents the expenditures and receipts of the Classical Association for the year, September 1, 1917, to August 31, 1918, with corresponding figures for the preceding year.

Expenditures	Year Ending August 31, 1918	Year Ending August 31, 1917
Cash on hand.....	\$ 578.11	\$ 725.16
Publication of <i>Classical Journal</i>	3,847.30	3,916.15
Publication of <i>Classical Philology</i>	349.70	214.90
Clerical help.....	366.25	196.23
Postage.....	205.90	180.80
Vice-Presidents.....	137.86	55.91
Miscellaneous printing.....	175.93	177.96
Editor's office.....	87.25	56.65
Annual meeting.....	237.94	224.22
Publicity Committee.....	128.71	37.24
Sundries.....	16.77	
Total.....	\$6,131.72	\$5,785.22
Receipts		
Balance from preceding year.....	\$ 725.16	\$ 970.50
Membership dues.....	3,863.15	3,288.90
Commissions from University of Chicago Press.....	1,543.41	1,512.58
Sundries.....		13.24
Total.....	\$6,131.72	\$5,785.22

We have examined the accounts of the Treasurer of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, for the year, September 1, 1917, to August 31, 1918, and have found them correct.

MYRA H. HANSON
FON BERGER
MARGARET E. SCHAFF

A comparison shows that while the membership of the Association has increased by over one hundred during the last year, and while the receipts from membership dues were greater by nearly \$600, the cash balance of the Association has been reduced from \$725.00 to \$578.00.

This decrease is due to increased expenses in two or three items. The largest single increase is that in clerical help in the Secretary's office. The increased help in the Secretary's office means a more active canvass for members, and more complete collections of dues. The cost of securing additional members to the Association increases with the number secured, and I presume a point might be reached where securing additional members would mean a financial loss.

The increase in postage is, of course, due to the increased postal rates, and the increase in expenses for Vice-Presidents represents more money spent for campaign activities. The same may be said of the work of the Publicity Committee, though the activity of this Committee is not confined to recruiting members for the Association.

The cash balance of the Association has now been reduced to a point where it will be nearly exhausted by issuing the Index for the *Classical Journal* which was approved at the last annual meeting.

The Classical Association has been very fortunate to have a printing contract which has covered a period when printing expenses have arisen so rapidly. When the new contract must be made for the publication of the *Classical Journal*, the expenses of printing will be largely increased, and it may be necessary for the Association to economize more strictly than it has been doing.

Respectfully submitted,

LOUIS E. LORD, *Treasurer*

TWO SCHOOLMASTERS OF THE RENAISSANCE¹

BY FLORENCE A. GRAGG
Smith College

Among the many scholars who heralded and spread the Revival of Learning in all the countries of Europe not a few were schoolmasters; and schoolmasters who came to their profession with a complete and passionate conviction that on their fulfilment of their office depended, not only the learning, but the gentle manners, the government, and the morals of the world. The full brilliance of the Renaissance is seen in Italy alone; the courts of Urbino and Ferrara have no counterparts elsewhere; we see no northern school through the golden light that hangs about the school of Vittorino at Mantua. But scholars in the North were not behind the Italians in devotion to their purpose; to all, the aim of education was *utilitas*, efficiency as individuals and as members of communities; to all, Latin and Greek were an indispensable means to that end. If it is Alberti of Florence who says, "Letters can never be a hindrance, but are in the result a distinct source of strength to all who follow any profession whatever," it is Erasmus of Rotterdam who insists that "within the two literatures of Greece and Rome is contained all the knowledge that we recognize as vital to mankind."² All alike agreed in scoffing at the notion that classics corrupted morals, and the North, with its greater insistence on *pietas*, so far from lowering the standard of learning found in letters the road to virtue and in virtue the mark of the true scholar. Furthermore, to all, as to Quintilian, eloquence was a necessity that the treasure of learning might be put to its widest use, and no age could say with more conviction, *omnium regina rerum oratio*. That a man should speak Latin was taken for granted, but to speak *good* Latin required

¹ Read before the New England Classical Association, March 23, 1918.

² Quoted by W. H. Woodward, *Studies in Education During the Age of the Renaissance*, pp. 61 and 114.

training, and to give this training was the object of the numerous school colloquies, which aimed to teach the Latin of Terence and of Cicero's *Letters*, and to banish, as the Master of St. Paul's had it, "all barbarity, all corruption, all Latin adulterate, which ignorant, blind fools brought into this world, with which they poisoned the old Latin speech."¹

Among these colloquia those of Erasmus are justly the most famous, but the satire, the wit, the criticism, which give them their distinction and, above all, their controversial character, can be fully appreciated only by adults. To find the colloquy perfected as a means of teaching beginners we must go to two of his contemporaries, Mathurin Cordier, the teacher and the pupil of Calvin, and Juan Luis Vives, who, though a Spaniard, spent most of his life in Northern Europe, and whose coming to England under the patronage of his countrywoman, Catherine of Aragon, gave new impulse to education there.

Cordier, commonly called Corderius, was born in Normandy in 1479. He was educated and ordained at Paris and then entered on a long life as a teacher, notably at Paris, where Calvin was among his pupils, at Bordeaux, and at Geneva. Before going to Bordeaux in 1534 he had become an ardent disciple of Calvin, and after two years he followed him to Switzerland, where he was teaching in the Collège de la Rive at Geneva at his death. To his complete understanding of children and to his insistence on a sound foundation for scholarship may be traced his brilliant success as a teacher. He never felt it beneath his dignity to teach the elements. Early in his career we find him giving up the chair of rhetoric at Paris to teach the classes in grammar, and later he urged upon the authorities at Geneva the necessity for thorough grammatical drill before rhetorical display. A tribute to his success is found in a Latin grammar published at Paris in 1534, where one of the model sentences runs, *Ubicumque docebit Maturinus Corderius, florebut bonae litterae*.

At the age of eighty-five, after fifty years spent in trying to make boys good and cultured, he published his four books of

¹ Foster Watson, *English Grammar Schools*, p. 325. To this book and to the same author's *Tudor Schoolboy Life* I am indebted for much in this paper.

Colloquia scholastica, which had been begun at the suggestion of Robert Stephanus, *amicorum meorum intimus*. They were dedicated *ad bene vivendi recteque loquendi studiosos* and aimed *ad pietatem et bonos mores cum litterarum elegantia coniungendos*. They were to show children of ten or eleven how Latin could be applied to subjects of daily interest to them. They were not meant to be learned by heart, but to be read carefully and to serve as models for conversations both in and out of class. There is no attempt to give complete vocabularies on particular subjects except in a few of the later dialogues. Thus a great many new words at a time are avoided and variety is secured from the first, but the same words and phrases keep recurring in different settings so that the child is being drilled without realizing it. The first are very short, six lines or so, and all are simple. The characters, of whom there are seldom more than two, are pupils, teachers, monitors; the names have usually no point for us, though they may have had for Cordier's pupils; the exception is Calvin, who appears in one dialogue kindly mending a pen for a smaller boy. The charm of these colloquies (for they have a charm) lies in their simplicity, in their natural and casual air, and, for modern readers, in the discovery that Cordier's pupils were much like our own.

The following¹ shows the method with very little boys:

Salve, praeceptor.

Sit vobis salus a Christo, pueri. Amen.

Iamne repetivistis?

Etiam, praeceptor.

Quis docuit vos?

Subdoctor.

Quid nunc vultis?

Ut per te liceat nobis parumper ludere.

Non est ludendi tempus.

Non petimus omnibus, sed nobis parvulis tantum.

Atqui pluit, ut videtis.

Ludemus in pergula.

Quo lusu?

Aciculis vel iuglandibus.

Quid mihi dabitis?

Dicemus nomina.

¹ 1. 58.

Quot dicetis singuli?

Duo.

Dicite igitur.

Paper,² charta; ink, atramentum. Dixi.

A book, liber; a little book, libellus. Dixi.

A cherry, cerasum; walnuts, iuglandes. Diximus.

Quam belli estis homunculi! Ludite ad cenam usque.

Gratias agimus, praeceptor.

Many dialogues show boys repeating their lessons to each other, as they were urged to do, with exclamations familiar to every teacher. *O si tam bene diceremus coram praeceptore! Me miserum! putabam me recte tenere.* There is much chatter about school affairs; boys have been absent and must copy notes or catch up on school gossip, what the master said in chapel, who won the prizes, etc. Once we have a list of books used in class, *Rudimenta Grammatica, Colloquia*, a dictionary, a Testament in the vernacular, the Psalms, and the Catechism. One ambitious boy has bought Terence, Cato's *Moral Distichs*, and Cicero's *Letters*, that he may study ahead of the class, a purpose which reduces his less ambitious friend to admiring despair, *O me miserum, qui numquam didici quid sit studiosum esse!* There is much comparing of notes as to what they have brought for luncheon. They talk about borrowing and lending paper, pens, ink, knives, money. Books are lost and found under a variety of circumstances; once a Vergil has even been pawned.

Children ask permission to go on all sorts of errands—to the barber, to the shoemaker, to the market, to the inn to see visiting parents. One boy wants to go to his cousin's wedding; another has been sent for by his mother and he has a hateful suspicion that it may be to have his winter clothes made. Once a boy has been on a trip to Italy and returns full of his adventures.

Often they exchange information about their families. Parents are away or just returned; a sister has married an Englishman and congratulations are in order; a brother has gone off to be a soldier *patrie absente, matre invita.*

The fourth book is intended to be more advanced; the colloquies are longer, contain more sustained description, and introduce more

² I translate from an edition published in England.

seriously moral questions. One is on the state of religion in England, another inquires whether one may repay evil with evil, another describes the duties of the submaster, and another the discipline of the school.

An effort is made to introduce numerous quotations, and we have them from Cicero's *Letters* (which were considered proper for beginners, while the speeches, as material for rhetorical analysis, came late in the course), from Quintilian, the very foundation of Renaissance education, from Cato, Publilius Syrus, Terence, Ovid, Horace's *Satires*, and Vergil. They had the great good fortune to read the *Moretum*, and one boy has been into the garden to gather the herbs to make the dish described in it.

An atmosphere of religious and moral training pervades the book. On the most ordinary occasions boys remind one another that God's will is law or that he is the source of all blessings. *Dei beneficio, Deo volente, Bene vertat Deus*, come readily to their lips, but they are saved from priggishness by their directness and simplicity. The boys are not all models either. There is the grumbler who hates to study, *Scio legere, scribere, Latine loqui, saltem mediocriter; quid opus est mihi tanta scientia? ego plura scio quam tres sacerdotes papistici*; the boy who confesses that he heard the text, but through the sermon *aut dormiebam aut cogitabam mille ineptias, ut solent pueri*; the mean boy who toadies to his friends who have money; the irritating boy who in class is always whispering, or snickering, or nudging his neighbor; the exasperating boy who is always asking where the lesson is "because he was absent yesterday," till the master loses patience, *Roga condiscipulos, nam si vellent singuli me interrogare de rebus a me palam dictis, quaeso quando finis esset?* Once a boy is beside himself with terror because he and his friends have been caught drinking by the master.

We get too a great deal of information about the families of the children. Many of the boys are sons of farmers, and they are called home to help with the vine dressing, or the vintage, or packing fruit, or piling wood. Some are sons of business men who go on journeys to France and England. Most are in comfortable circumstances; occasionally one is so poor that he cannot buy his own books; a few are rich, like the boy whose father has a great

game preserve, or the one who describes the elaborate dinner given by his uncle.

Sometimes the pupils live at home and bring their luncheons or lunch at the school table; sometimes they board in the school or in the town with the masters, like the boy who complains of his noisy boarding-place, where his room is so near the stairs that not even a cat can get by without his hearing it, and directly under the storeroom, so that he hears the moving of every box. He is obliged to stay there because the master of the house is an old friend of his father, and his father, not having much education himself, cannot see why quiet is needed for study. Other fathers complain that so much has to be spent on books, or wish their children to get educated in a year and be done with it. Oftener, however, the fathers are represented as giving sympathy and help; some regularly hear their children recite their lessons. One famous colloquy² shows the importance of Latin in a cultured family.

But your brother, how old is he?

Five.

What, does he speak Latin?

Why are you so surprised? We always have a tutor at home who is learned and conscientious and he is always teaching us to speak Latin. He never uses a word of English except to explain things. Why, we don't dare speak to Father, even, in anything but Latin.

Don't you ever speak English?

Only with Mother, and that at a special time, when she sends for us.

What do you speak with the servants?

We seldom speak to the servants and that only in passing; but the men servants address us in Latin.

How about the maids?

If we need to speak to them we use the vernacular, as with Mother.

How lucky you are to have such careful teaching!

We must thank God for giving us a father who takes such pains with our education.

Of course honor and praise for it belongs to the Father in Heaven.

But what are we doing? I hear them calling the roll.

Then we'd better hurry!

Mothers seem to be useful chiefly to put up luncheons; otherwise they are regarded as rather a hindrance to education. One

² 2. 50.

boy relates how his brother, who had been sent to Germany to learn the language, has come home because he missed his mother so, whereupon his friend sagely remarks, "See how foolish this excessive love for our mothers is!" "Well," rejoins the other, "it's our mothers' fault. Why do they love us so much?" "It's hard to repress nature." "Do you remember a verse of Horace that's like that?" "Yes. *Naturam expellas furca licet [sic]; usque recurret.*" Another boy asks a friend how his mother treats him, and on being told *Suavissime omninoque ex animi sententia*, observes darkly, *Fortasse in tuam perniciem*. It is easy to see that the "cockering" mother was not encouraged.

Of the school itself we get a pleasant picture,¹ with the master moving among his pupils like a wise father among his children, though his discipline is strict, with the result that "in our school of six hundred boys there is more quiet than in the rubbishy country schools of thirty or forty." Under the master are assistants and monitors, the latter chosen each month and impressed with respect for their office. The boys feel that the rules are just; no one is harshly dealt with except such as hate learning *cane peius et angue*, and a new boy is confidently assured that when the offense has not been public the punishment will not be. Morning chapel is held regularly. Wednesdays and Saturdays are half-holidays. Permission to leave the school grounds is readily granted, but boys must bring *testimonia* from their parents, or have other boys as witnesses that they have been where they were supposed to be.

Latin is the language of the school at all times, as we learn from a chapel talk of the master. "I hear that some of you speak English and no one reports it to me, from which I gather that you are all offenders. Therefore I remind you that you are all to speak Latin conscientiously and to report the names of all who disobey, that I may correct them." Later he explains that he will not punish those who let fall an English word or two, but only those who are systematically on the lookout for excuses to avoid Latin. Cordier, unlike many teachers, respected the vernacular and encouraged its use with very young children, but he saw no way to teach Latin except by consistent use during the period of instruction.

¹ See especially 4. 25.

The style of the *Colloquies* is admirably simple and direct and they are good Latin. Reynolds, the public orator of Oxford in the middle of the seventeenth century, said that when students asked him how they could improve their Latin "he ever bade them get Corderius's *Colloquies* . . . because in them they should find Terence and Tullie's elegancies applied to their foreign talk."¹ They became extraordinarily popular, and their uncontroversial character caused them to be used, with unimportant omissions, even in Catholic schools. They were used in England well into the nineteenth century.

Vives differs from Cordier in almost everything except his purpose. He was born in Valencia in 1492 of noble family. The boy, drilled in mediaeval scholasticism, who at seventeen called the classics "food for demons," became, with Erasmus and Budaeus, one of the great leaders of the Renaissance movement in Northern Europe. His enthusiasm for the new learning was aroused when he went to Paris in 1509, and still more at Bruges and Louvain, where he knew Erasmus. He looks back with horror at the dialectic and disputation of his school days, which turned out boys more incorrigible than Martial's poet: "They wrangle at breakfast, they wrangle after breakfast; before supper they wrangle and they wrangle after supper. At home they dispute, out of doors they dispute. They wrangle over their food, in the bath, in the church, in the town, in the country, in public, in private; at all times they are wrangling."² For some years he lived the life of a teacher in Bruges, in Louvain, where he lectured in the university besides taking private pupils, and in Paris. After 1522 he gave up teaching and devoted himself to writing. From 1522 to 1528 he spent part of each year in England, where he enjoyed the patronage of Queen Catherine and held for a time Wolsey's readership in humanity at Oxford. To Catherine he dedicated his *De institutione feminae Christianae* and at her request he wrote for the Princess Mary *De ratione studii puerilis*, two of the most important treatises on the education of women in the Tudor period, as his great work, *De disciplinis*, has been called the greatest Renaissance book on

¹ Woodward, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

² Foster Watson, *Tudor Schoolboy Life*, p. x.

education in general. In 1528, after being imprisoned six months for siding with the Queen in the matter of her divorce, he returned to Bruges, where he died when only forty-eight years old.

Unlike Cordier, Vives was a writer first and a schoolmaster after, but his success in teaching is attested by Sir Thomas More in a letter to Erasmus: "Who surpasses Vives in the quantity and depth of his knowledge? But what is most admirable of all is that he should have acquired all this knowledge so as to be able to communicate it to others by instruction. For who instructs more clearly, more agreeably, or more successfully than Vives?" And his continued interest is shown by the fact that only the year before he died he published his colloquies under the title, *Linguae Latinae exercitatio*.

Though the colloquies are dedicated to the eleven-year-old Prince Philip of Spain, they are not confined to subjects and vocabulary exclusively for children of that age. In them we find very little children learning their letters and playing games, boys going to school, youths starting on journeys on horseback, and older students working till midnight; this is in agreement with Vives's expressed theory that the ideal of the school is continuous training from the cradle to maturity. He has, however, quite as keen a sympathy with childhood as has Cordier, and he is able to treat even subjects outside the child's personal experience in such a way that he is interested in them. It has been acutely said that "the value of the *Exercitatio* may be gauged by the hesitation the reader feels in deciding whether the book is a boy's book or a scholar's book."¹

There are twenty-five dialogues, longer and more elaborate than those of Cordier, with more characters, more dramatic setting and action, and greater variety of subject. One feels that Vives looked forward to a wider and more brilliant life for his pupils than Cordier for the children of Genevan reformers. His own life had been passed at court or in the society of noble families and the atmosphere of his book shows it, though it is as far removed from snobbery as possible. Each dialogue is on a special topic, reading, writing, games, meals, the house, dress, journeys, the body, etc. The object is to provide

¹ Foster Watson, *English Grammar Schools*, p. 334.

a complete vocabulary on the subject treated, and it is done with thoroughness! For example, in the two dialogues on meals we find the names of some fifty articles of food, and in those on dress as many names of articles of clothing. There is no being drilled without realizing it here!

Although the scene is only occasionally in the school, we hear of it often. The small boy playing with his puppy is led by his father to wish to go to school *quo eunt beluae, redeunt homines*. The father chooses the teacher with few students, and the teacher, when arranging about tuition, makes the surprising statement, "If the boy does well, it will be little; if badly, a great deal," and, more surprising still, the father agrees. In the more advanced school lessons are heard an hour before sunrise, two hours in the morning, and two in the afternoon. Each master has his own classroom and subject. Boys study their lessons aloud to fix them better in the memory, and support the practice by the authority of "Pliny—whoever he was" (*nescio cuius Plinii*). Some get actually to shouting their tasks, and it is explained that they are *Hispani et Galli, paulo ferventiores*. Once we get a picture of the school dinner table, with the boys taking their turns at saying grace, both before and after dinner, and the masters keeping up the conversation and correcting the boys for putting their elbows on the table and dragging their sleeves in the soup.

Like Cordier, Vives is a strong supporter of the claims of the vernacular—indeed this is characteristic of all Spaniards—but Latin is the language of the school. One boy announces that he has just been witness of a *scelus capitale*: an ignorant schoolmaster near by has four times pronounced *volucres* with the accent on the penult. Many Greek words are thrown in on purpose to accustom the boys to hearing Greek.

A great many quotations from classical authors are introduced—from Terence, Martial, Macrobius, Quintilian, Ovid, Persius, Vergil, Valerius Maximus, Pliny, Plautus, Florus, Varro, Cicero, Plato, Aristotle. Boys are waked with appropriate verses from Martial and Persius, the scholar is sung to sleep with a lullaby from Ovid, the lovely spring day is described in verses from the *Georgics*, and a youth on a journey beguiles the way with a song from Politian,

which, he remarks, has the grace of antiquity. Indeed the numerous quotations helped to make the book popular, for, to quote one of the commentators,¹ "In Vives you will find little flowers of Latin eloquence which he has brought together from various most renowned authors, whilst there is nothing in his work which does not seem to suggest even the Christ, or at least the highest morality and sound education." While devout phrases are not so frequent as in Cordier, the tone is reverent, and Vives' ideal of *pietas litterata* is as high. In the dialogue on the boy prince, written expressly for Philip, a wise councilor is represented as showing him that since he will not venture to play a game, or ride a horse, or steer a boat without previous training, it is altogether necessary that he should learn wisdom before attempting to rule, and wisdom, he is taught, comes from learning and from virtue. The last two colloquies are really serious treatises laying down educational precepts. In one the boy is assured that if he has humility and industry he will attain the thorough education that befits a gentleman; and if he lives at court he will be beloved by all; though he will not care so much for that, since his chief care will be to find favor with God. In the other is described the spring of wisdom which "makes a man of a beast and an angel of a man."

There is much play of fancy and exercise of wit throughout. The names of the characters are often amusing: the master is Philiponus; Philippus and Misippus discuss horsemanship, Asotus and Abstemious drunkenness; we are shown over a new house by Vitruvius; the mature scholar is Pliny, assisted in his toil by Epictetus, Celsus, and Didymus; our friend Orbilius appears, having become with the years *rabiosus* as well as *plagosus*; and the good-for-nothing street urchin rejoices in the enchanting Plautine name of Titivillitium.

There are numerous references to contemporary persons and things. We are taken on a stroll through the author's native Valencia and shown the house where he was born. We get his views on the school teachers of Paris and Louvain. We learn that drivers and boatmen asked twice as much as their services were worth, and that nobles were proud of writing a bad hand. The

¹ P. Motta.

English Queen, Catherine of Aragon, is praised as a modern Griselda, and Vives himself is introduced, once as wrestling with the gout, and once as a writer of verse who composes with difficulty and sings his verses with the voice of a goose. In the dialogue on the body the painter Dürer is exhibiting his portrait of Scipio to two friends, who find all sorts of faults, which the artist explains away in most amusing fashion.

Two examples will serve to show how naturally and whimsically Vives has known how to enliven the dialogues. In the first, after we have learned the various articles of dress, we see the distracted maid getting the children off to school.¹

Let's go now.

What, without washing your face and hands!

Oh, your nagging would be the death of a bull, to say nothing of a man! I should think you were dressing a bride instead of a boy!

Eusebius, bring a basin and pitcher. Hold the pitcher higher. No, pour it slowly, not all at once. Get the dirt out of your knuckles . . . rub your eyebrows and eyelids and rub *hard* under your ears. Now take the towel and dry yourself. *Deum immortalem!* You have to be told every single thing. Couldn't you do anything of your own accord?

Oh, you bother me; I don't like you!

Kneel down now and say your prayer, and be careful, Emmanuel, that you don't think of anything else while you are praying. Here, wait a minute; hang this handkerchief on your girdle so that you can wipe your nose.

Am I ready now to suit you? . . . I bet I've wasted a whole hour dressing.

What if it took two? Where would you have gone or what would you have been doing? Digging, I suppose, or ploughing.

As if I hadn't plenty of things to do!

What a great man! so busy doing nothing!

Get out, you tease, or I'll shy this shoe at you!

The other passage is from the dialogue called "Garrientes" and shows four boys chattering about all sorts of subjects.

Where is your watch?

I lost it a while ago when I was running away from the greengrocer's dog after I'd stolen the plums.

I saw you running, from the window, but I couldn't see where you went to because Mother's hanging garden was in the way. Mother had it put up,

¹ "Surrectio matutina" (II).

though Father didn't want it and made a great row. But Mother persisted and got him to let it stay.

What about you? did you say anything?

I cried to myself. What else could I do when my dearest parents were quarreling? Though Mother did tell me to take her side; but I hadn't the heart to say a word against Father. So I was sent to school without my luncheon four days running by my angry mother, and she swore I wasn't her child anyway, but had been changed by the nurse, and she said she'd have the nurse before the *praetor capitalis*.

What's a *praetor capitalis*? Hasn't every praetor a head on?

I don't know. That's what *she* said.

A deaf woman goes by and one remarks, *Surdaster erat M. Crassus; sed illud peius quod male audiebat.*

A hunter passes, and another says:

He has a chum at home called Tricongius.

Call him an amphora.

No, a sponge.

No, the driest sand in Africa.

They say he's always thirsty.

I don't know whether he's always thirsty, but he's always ready to drink.

They gossip about their former schoolmates—one has gone into his father's shop; another, who used to carry off all the prizes, has grown dull; another has fallen in love (they collect this information from the postman, who has the engaging habit of reading any letter that is not sealed tight). They know town gossip too—

You know Antony, who lives in Fruit Lane by the Three Daws? Haven't you heard? Last year he cooked (*decoxisse*)!

What did he cook? Is that so dreadful? Isn't it done in every kitchen every day?

He cooked his accounts . . . and couldn't pay his bills.

Finally the monitor comes along and calls them to their books.

The *Colloquies* of Vives, like those of Cordier, became exceedingly popular. They were treated almost like a classic with vocabularies in the vernacular, and commentaries. There have been over a hundred editions published in various countries of Europe and even in Mexico. One of the most important editors,¹ himself brought up on the *Colloquies*, pays them an enviable tribute, "As a boy I so loved Luis Vives that not even now do I feel my old love for him has faded away from my mind."

¹ J. T. Freigius.

THEODORE MOMMSEN¹

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No adequate life of Theodore Mommsen has yet been written. The reasons are not far to seek. His amazing productivity as a scholar continued almost to the age of eighty-six. When he died, not one of the associates of his early life was living, not one of the intimates of his middle life was still at work; there was no contemporary whose memory spanned his career, who could with personal knowledge contribute a survey of it in its entirety. His range of work was so wide that in these times of narrow specialization younger men, even eminent pupils, might well hesitate to essay the task of tracking out his activities in all fields, and of attempting a final estimate before time and the advance of knowledge should more thoroughly have sifted the products of his labors. He was, moreover, as candid a thinker and fearless a protagonist in the realm of politics as in that of science; owing to the rapid progress of events in the fourteen years since he died, it is perhaps fortunate for the person who shall be chosen to write his life that in accordance with the terms of his will his personal papers are to be withheld from public scrutiny until after 1933.

However that may be, the lack of an authoritative biography, with data supported by selections from his voluminous correspondence, makes it difficult either to obtain a clear view of Mommsen at different periods of his life, or to reconcile the conflicting statements about him which are found in the many brief sketches printed in the journals and, after his death, in the proceedings of the learned societies. These articles range from a gratulatory

¹ The Research Club of the University of Michigan each year devotes a session to the commemoration of the life and works of some scientist whose investigations have strongly influenced the work in his field, and whose birth came a century, or a number of centuries, previously. At such a session in 1917, in recognition of the centenary of Mommsen's birth, this paper was presented, together with a paper dealing with Mommsen's works by Professor H. A. Sanders (*Classical Journal*, XIII [1917], 177-85).

essay by Fritz Jonas, prepared in 1897 as a tribute in recognition of Mommsen's eightieth birthday, to more or less serious attempts to evaluate his work as that by Neumann in the *Historische Zeitschrift* for 1903, by Seeck in the *Deutsche Rundschau*, in the memorial address before the Berlin Academy by Hirschfeld, and the biographical sketch by Hartmann.¹ Among older scholars in the classical field there is a vivid personal tradition with respect to Mommsen, enlivened by amusing stories of his absent-mindedness; some of these stories are now in print, but for the most part in journals published outside of Germany.² The greatest drawback in attempting to weave an intelligible narrative of his career is the lack of access to his letters. The few that are accessible in print are characterized by such spontaneity, vigor, and intimacy of self-revelation as to imply that the publication of the correspondence as a whole would not only set out Mommsen's career in a clear light, but also be a contribution of value to the history of classical scholarship in his century.³

Theodore Mommsen was born in Garding, a small town in the Dutchy of Schleswig, November 30, 1817. His father, a Frisian by birth, was a clergyman. As evidencing the narrow means of the family, we are informed that when he was born his father had a salary equivalent to about 600 marks, which was supplemented by the produce of a small holding of church land. When the boy

¹ Published in the *Biographisches Jahrbuch und Deutscher Nekrolog* in 1906; reprinted in a small volume under the title *Theodor Mommsen. Eine biographische Skizze, mit einem Anhang: Ausgewählte politische Aufsätze Mommsens*. Gotha, 1908.

² As the *Critic* (New York), XLIV (1904), 64-70; the *Outlook*, LXXV (1903), 631, 632, 824 (with portrait). A striking portrait of Mommsen is published, with those of other classical scholars, by A. Gudeman, *Imagines philologorum* (Leipzig, 1911).

³ In response to an inquiry regarding the disposition of Mommsen's letters, Professor U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, who is a son-in-law of Mommsen, lately wrote as follows: "Mommsen hat leider in seinem Testamente bestimmt, dass sein gesammtter Nachlass dreissig Jahre nach seinem Tode der Oeffentlichkeit entzogen bleiben soll. Er ist daher von dem Testamentsvollstrecker der königlichen Bibliothek übergeben, wo er unter strengem Verschlusse bleibt. Dort werden auch seine Briefe im Original oder in Abschriften gesammelt, und es sind nur vorher einige wenige hier und da veröffentlicht, die Sie kaum verfolgen können. Er hat auch Tagebücher aus seiner Jugend und von der ersten Reise hinterlassen. Ich habe diese und manche Correspondenz gelesen, die für die ersten fünfzig Jahre seines Lebens ergiebig sind, aber mittheilen lässt sich nichts."

was three years old, the father was appointed to a somewhat better charge at Oldesloe, in Holstein, where he labored as pastor until his death, in 1851.

The young Theodore and his brother Tycho, two years younger, were led to devote themselves to scholarship, we are told, by the teaching of their father, who inspired in them also a taste for poetry. So excellent was their instruction at home that both were admitted to the last year of the *Christianeum*, a type of *Gymnasium*, in Altona, opposite Hamburg, in 1834. On completing the regular course both were permitted to pursue an advanced course then offered under the name *Selecta*, the costs being defrayed by a scholarship fund; and in 1838, on completing the advanced course, Theodore received a relatively large stipend, roughly corresponding with an American fellowship. In Altona he studied much Latin and Greek, but also theology, philosophy, rhetoric, German literature, history, mathematics, physics, and the Danish, French, and English languages. An important factor in his development was a "Scientific Club" (*Altonaer wissenschaftlicher Verein*), conducted by students, in which the exercises consisted largely in the interpretation of Latin authors, but included discussions of various themes as well. The titles of three student papers prepared by him, and showing the trend of his mind, are: "What Are the Requirements of a Good Biography?" "Geniuses Are a Necessary Evil"; "Why Is Much Criticism Harmful?"

In the spring of 1838 Mommsen entered the University of Kiel, enrolling himself as a student of law. Kiel, though a provincial university, then as afterward had in its faculty men of strong personality. Three of these seem in no small degree to have influenced the direction of young Mommsen's development, Burchardi, Osenbrüggen, and Otto Jahn. Burchardi had been a pupil of Savigny, whose studies in the Roman law early in the last century introduced a new epoch in the history of this subject. Osenbrüggen was a philologist, but with so strong leanings toward the legal side that afterward he became a member of the law faculty. Otto Jahn, a native of Kiel and only four years older than Mommsen, was also a philologist who, as a pupil of August Boeckh, had gained a broad view of the scope of classical philology and the close inter-

relationship between the study of the ancient languages and that of institutions and life. Jahn had, moreover, acquired a deep interest in the study of inscriptions.

We are not surprised, therefore, to find that in his five years of residence at the University of Kiel, Mommsen's career as a scholar was definitely shaped. Law remained, to be sure, his first, we may almost say his professional, interest, and he recognized in Roman law the most important development of Roman civilization. Nevertheless he had reached the conviction that law cannot be rightly understood and interpreted as an isolated development, and that Roman law in particular, in order to be comprehended in its genesis and application, must be illumined by the study of every aspect of the civilization of which it formed a part. Mommsen had furthermore a full appreciation of the value of inscriptions as first-hand evidence; and he had obtained an adequate equipment for the work of investigation.

The interdependence of philological and legal studies, through which each group is enabled to contribute to the elucidation of the other, is now generally recognized. But we must not forget that this recognition is due in no slight measure to Mommsen's own labors and example, for when he took his Doctor's degree, in 1843, even public and private law were too often treated as if unrelated, while students of philology and law seemed to have nothing in common—a condition to which, in the face of the efforts of some broadminded deans, our American universities in too many cases have reverted.

The university career of Mommsen was not, however, so absorbed in his chosen work as to exclude all other interests, nor was it lacking in the diversions of student life. He and his brother Tycho, who was also at Kiel, became close friends of Theodore Storm, the poet. As a result, the three students published in Kiel, in 1843, a small volume of poems under the title *Liederbuch dreier Freunde*. In later life also, if we may anticipate for a moment, Mommsen occasionally wrote verse; and in 1879 he and Wilamowitz put forth in translation a collection of poems by the Italian Carducci.

Theodore Mommsen and Storm moreover formed a plan to collect the folk-songs and folk-tales of their region. This they

deemed a patriotic duty. The political affiliation of Holstein and Schleswig—whether the two dutchies should be more closely bound to Denmark, or joined to Prussia—was already a burning question. Mommsen ardently espoused the German side and joined with other students at Kiel in conducting a lively agitation in favor of union with Prussia. His participation in the pious task of assembling his country's folk-tales was prevented, however, by his long absence in Southern Europe.

On receiving his degree Mommsen turned for self-support to teaching. The only opening that presented itself was a kind of dual position, in two girls' boarding-schools in Hamburg, where he gave instruction in geography, history, German literature and theme-writing, French, and Latin. As a teacher he was very successful and made friends both for himself and for the schools. He also wrote for the press, and frequently attended the theater in connection with his newspaper work.

In 1844 Mommsen was awarded a Danish stipend which enabled him to go to France and Italy. In Rome the German Archaeological Institute, founded in 1829, furnished an ideal working-place for scholars, and Mommsen soon found a helpful friend in Henzen, the second secretary. He had had in mind a plan to carry out a suggestion of Savigny and make in Italy a collection of inscriptions relating to Roman law; but this idea was soon abandoned in favor of the larger plan to gather up all Latin inscriptions in a single comprehensive publication. The suggestion of such a corpus had been made by Kellermann a few years before; the long and at times acrimonious strife over the handling of the project¹ need not be discussed here.

Three profitable years Mommsen spent in Italy, in some respects the happiest, if not relatively the most profitable, of his life. Being free to use his time as he pleased, he went from place to place making the acquaintance of scholars, hunting inscriptions, searching libraries; he became, as nearly as a northerner can become, himself an Italian. And in this period began his astounding fertility of

¹ Summarized by Hirschfeld, *Abh. der Akad. zu Berlin* (1904), pp. 6 ff. Cf. Harnack, *Geschichte der königlichen preuss. Akademie zu Berlin*, I, 772 ff., and 900 ff.; Mommsen's full plan for the *Corpus*, matured in 1847, is published by Harnack in the same work, II, 522-40.

production. The list of his writings records more than eighty titles of publications—most of them naturally very short—that appeared while he was in Italy; this is an average of more than two articles a month for the entire time.

The sojourn in Italy had several important results. In the first place, it established a relationship of intimacy with Italian scholars which continued for many years and which assured their fullest co-operation in any work requiring their assistance. In the second place, Mommsen was able to collect the inscriptions of the then kingdom of Naples in order to publish them in a way to furnish a model for the proposed *Corpus*. Again, in working over the Latin inscriptions he collected the inscriptions in the ancient dialects akin to Latin, and so prepared the way for their elucidation later. Finally, from his residence in Italy he gained a sympathetic knowledge of the climate, country, and people, which later furnished a realistic background for his Roman history.

Among the Italian scholars were two whose acquaintance proved of paramount importance to Mommsen—Bartolommeo Borghesi and Giovanni Battista de Rossi. Borghesi was a nobleman, born in 1781; he had devoted himself to scholarship, particularly to inscriptions and coins, and was at the zenith of his powers and reputation. Mommsen visited him at San Marino, and in an enthusiastic letter tells us how no one in or outside of university circles had ever before so impressed him with weight and scope of learning. De Rossi, slightly younger than Mommsen, a man of brilliant intellect, was working in the catacombs and placing the interpretation of Christian inscriptions on a scientific basis; and no other scholar had so full a knowledge of the manuscripts containing epigraphic material.

Leaving Italy in 1847, Mommsen found his homeland in a political ferment. For a time he turned journalist, working on the staff of the *Schleswig-Holsteinische Zeitung*. His labors as a newspaper man, however, were short; in 1848 he was called as an extraordinary professor of Roman law to the University of Leipzig. Here his warm friend Otto Jahn had been installed as a professor the previous year, and he soon became one of a small circle of congenial friends; the best-known names in the circle, outside of

Jahn and Mommsen, are Moritz Haupt and Karl Reimer, the publisher, who afterward became Mommsen's father-in-law.

In the political upheaval that soon followed, though the friends were Liberals, not Radicals, their frankness of speech and their connection with a political *Deutscher Verein* offended the Saxon government. Haupt, Jahn, and Mommsen were put under arrest; although cleared in court they were dismissed from their professorships on the ground that their conduct "had created a public scandal and that they had set a very bad example [*ein sehr schlechtes Beispiel*] for the academic youth." None of the men, however, was long without academic standing. In 1852 Mommsen was called to the law faculty of Zürich; the following year Jahn went to the University of Munich and Haupt to the University of Berlin. Reimer later sold out his business in Leipzig and went to Berlin.

Though at Zürich Mommsen enjoyed the companionship of his former teacher Osenbrüggen and other good friends, he was not content; after a sojourn of only two years he gladly accepted a call to the University of Breslau, chiefly, we are told, because it brought him nearer to his homeland and to Berlin, where he still hoped to find adequate support for the publication of the Latin inscriptions. At Zürich he finished the first volume of his *Roman History*.

In Breslau Mommsen remained four years. The situation finally cleared for the publication of the *Corpus* of Latin inscriptions under his editorship, with the support of the Berlin Academy; and in 1857 he was called to the University of Berlin, where in the following year he became a member of the philosophical faculty. Here for forty-five years he continued to work, almost to the day of his death, November 1, 1903. In addition to his duties as professor and as editor, on the death of Haupt, in 1874, he became secretary of the Berlin Academy.

A lively impression of Mommsen's work as a professor is produced when we read the reminiscences of his pupils in those first years in Berlin. Abstracted and oblivious to all surroundings as he often appeared outside the lecture-room, the moment he stood before his students all was changed; his slender form was animation itself, his method of presentation, though handicapped by a voice

not well adapted for lecturing, was earnest and clear. In his seminary he was patient to the limit in correcting papers for errors of fact and method; Seeck tells us how his first paper, large in generalities but small in substance (he was only nineteen when he wrote it), fared at Mommsen's hands. In the kindest manner the master pointed out blunder after blunder, and Seeck went out into the night air with tears in his eyes; as soon as he was by himself he tore the manuscript to bits, and from that evening dated his rebirth as a student.

But Mommsen's students above all prized those evenings in which, in accordance with the German custom, they met him less formally. Seeck writes:

When about eight o'clock we left Mommsen's house, we went ordinarily to a *Kneipe*, nevertheless in most cases his lecture had so stirred us up that it continued to be the subject of ardent discussion and our student jollification got under way only at a late hour. And when he had us at the table, or—what pleased us even more—when he accepted our invitation to a *Kneipe*, those were glorious evenings! Conversation flew thick and fast, on political and economic questions, on literature and art; he knew everything, and he had a gift of pungent characterization, now with a fitting phrase seriously uttered, now with a stinging jest. From his example we learned that the historical scholar must work hard, to be sure, but that he must also take his nose out of his books and look with fresh eyes out into the world—if, at any rate, he would be a sound historian. And when our heads began to get hot, even as the moment drew near when the barriers of proper reserve seemed about to break, in the midst of the uproarious crowd Mommsen would continue to sit undisturbed, laughing and joking like a young student.

The picture of Mommsen at a *Kneipe* reminds one of Socrates at a symposium.

Sharpness of tongue was characteristic of Mommsen at all times of life. In his earlier years at any rate he seems to have prided himself upon it; but we are told that he used his biting wit only in intercourse with those on the same or on a higher plane; in dealing with students he never resorted to sarcasm except when, as rarely happened, someone attempted to pass work not his own. Then, in accordance with the commendable German custom, phials of wrath were emptied and the would-be cheat in most cases never again darkened Mommsen's door.

I have dwelt thus upon Mommsen's conscientious discharge of his duties as a teacher because this side of his professional routine is so overshadowed by his services as an investigator that it is frequently lost sight of; and as old age came on he was naturally obliged more and more to relinquish work with students, so that those who went to him in the later years found things changed. It is also good and salutary for the soul to hold such an example before our eyes in these days, when research has become a word to conjure with, and many a university teacher has tried to excuse slipshod or inadequate work in his classroom on the ground that investigation is his primary concern. The breadth of human interest which Mommsen revealed in his relations with his students and his friends was no mean factor in his success as a historical investigator; it helped him to establish points of view outside himself, and to maintain a perspective.

The value of Mommsen's contributions to learning is everywhere recognized. Difficult it is, however, even when his bibliography of more than 1,500 titles has been analyzed, to comprehend the volume of his mental output, though the fullest account be made of the long period of sixty years of labor allotted to him after he took his degree. When a student in college I was fascinated by his *Roman History*, though even then I mistrusted the soundness of many of his conclusions. Later I worked through his *Unteritalische Dialekte* and thought I discovered that Mommsen was first and foremost a philologist, a historian only by accident. Later still, having occasion to attack his *Roman Coinage*, I was astonished at his range of vision and certainty of touch in dealing with so difficult material. Finally the course of my studies took me, not only to the *Corpus* of Latin inscriptions, but also to the legal and historical texts which he edited, to special articles in the journals and his *Römische Forschungen*, and his monumental works on public law. My sense of deep indebtedness to him is, I believe, shared by every working student of my age in the Latin field, no matter whether his special interests lie along literary or institutional lines; there is not an epoch of Roman literature or life to the illumination of which Mommsen did not contribute.

Nevertheless it may freely be conceded that Mommsen created no new department, that in all the range of his writings one will search in vain for the elaboration of a single thesis which can fairly be termed epoch-making. The fact is that when his contributions began, the pioneering in the classical field, as also in a large group of natural sciences, had been done. When, just before Mommsen's time, F. A. Wolf was delimiting and dividing the field of classical philology as a scientific whole, the botanist Antoine Laurent de Jussieu, dissatisfied with the classification proposed by Linnaeus, was developing the system of botanical nomenclature which forms the basis of that used generally today. Baron Cuvier, the founder of comparative anatomy, finished his *Anatomie comparée* in 1805. About the same time Dalton worked out his doctrine of the atom, which made possible the development of a science of chemistry, and which, reinforced later by the law of the conservation of energy, became the foundation stone of a new physics. In the same period the *Mécanique céleste* of Laplace, which has profoundly influenced the progress of mathematical astronomy, was in course of publication; and the great reflecting telescope of Sir William Herschel, mounted in 1789, was subjecting the heavenly bodies to a closer scrutiny than had previously been possible. As the origin of classical philology was only a phase of a general reaction, so its development formed a part of a larger scientific movement along constructive lines.¹

In this movement Mommsen was a foremost leader. As great immediate predecessors he had, in law, Savigny; in Roman history, Niebuhr; in linguistics, Bopp and Jacob Grimm; in epigraphy, Borghesi and August Boeckh; in numismatics, Eckhel and Borghesi; and in the handling of texts, Karl Lachmann. Mommsen's singular merit lay in this, that in every department in which he worked, by the thoroughgoing accumulation of material and the use now of critical, now of constructive methods, he lifted knowledge to a higher plane with respect to both soundness of content and completeness of statement; his control of the most diverse sources made it possible for him always to do the part in the light of the whole.

¹ *Classical Philology*, III (1908), 375.

The fruitfulness of Mommsen's long career as an investigator may chiefly be ascribed, I think, to the union of three elements rarely united in the same person: constructive imagination, which enabled him, not only to correlate things seemingly unrelated to the average mind, but to visualize with remarkable clearness; organizing power, which made it possible for him patiently to amass, then set in order and utilize, an almost infinite sum and variety of data, and also utilize to the best advantage the co-operation of others; and finally, a capacity for hard work to which a parallel could not easily be found. That he was rapid in his mental processes and quick with the pen we know from the amount of manuscript which, year in year out, he made ready for the printer, and from the fact that he never had a secretary; he did everything himself. It is said that after he went to Berlin he worked regularly until two o'clock in the morning, and arose sufficiently early to catch the car at Charlottenburg in time to reach the University at eight o'clock.

Even with such a mental equipment and capacity for toil Mommsen could hardly have compassed a life-work measuring so far beyond ordinary human limitations if he had not been exceptionally fortunate in his domestic life. From the time of their marriage, in 1854, Frau Mommsen, daughter of the publisher Reimer, with an intelligence equaled only by her devotion, planned and toiled to create for him an environment most favorable for his work. We may guess that the comfortable house in Charlottenburg where they lived was a part of her dower. Here with increasing solicitude, as the years went by, she looked after the famous scholar, striving by forethought to anticipate his wants, and by watchfulness to counteract the effects of his absent-mindedness, which constantly threatened his health through the neglect of precautions in the matter of dress. She was a model mother too in the rearing of a large family of children, of whom twelve, six sons and six daughters, survived him.

But even before Mommsen had reached a great age his forgetfulness extended to matters more serious than dress. At the age of sixty-three he lost a part of his invaluable working library at Charlottenburg by fire; oral tradition has it that, standing on a stepladder, he pulled a large volume from an upper shelf, set the

lighted candle in its place, and began to read. Popular subscription restored, so far as possible, the volumes that were destroyed.

In another instance his forgetfulness turned out to the advantage of an American university. When Mommsen was preparing the manuscript of the tenth volume of the *Corpus* of Latin inscriptions, he copied a number of inscriptions that had been collected by De Criscio, the scholarly parish priest of Pozzuoli, the ancient Puteoli. He promised to send to De Criscio a copy of the published work, but the volume never came. In consequence De Criscio afterward refused to allow any German scholar to see either these inscriptions or others which he had collected. When, however, Walter Dennison, one of the first American students to be appointed to a fellowship in Rome, went to Pozzuoli, De Criscio readily gave him permission to study the stones;¹ thus was established that pleasant relationship which made it possible to bring to the University of Michigan the collection of De Criscio while he was still living, and so it has come about that this university possesses upward of 150 of the original stones which Mommsen copied and published.

At the time of his death Mommsen was the most widely known scholar in the world, at least in humanistic lines. This reputation far beyond the pale of his technical studies we may attribute to three things: the vogue of his *Roman History*, which became a popular work in the best sense; his participation in political discussion, with keen observations upon both national and international affairs, which attracted world-wide attention; and the picturesqueness of his appearance as an old man, which endeared him to the people of Berlin and made him much talked about everywhere. And yet, in the future the *Roman History* will be relatively unimportant among the items on which the final estimate of his work by scholars will rest. Brilliant as it is in point of style, stimulating and clarifying as the work will continue to remain, in the latter part, where it deals with the decline of the Roman Republic, it is vitiated by the adoption of a viewpoint established in the light of German political conditions in the early fifties of the nineteenth century; and this viewpoint is supported by untenable

¹ *American Journal of Archaeology* (1898), pp. 373 ff.

interpretations of the characters of Caesar, Cicero, and Pompey, which Mommsen, oddly enough, took over in the main from the studies of the unimaginative Drumann.

As a broad-minded patriot Mommsen in his earlier years yearned for the unification of Germany under a constitutional monarchy such as that of England. In later life elected to the Prussian Reichstag on a Liberal platform, he opposed the drastic measures of Bismarck with such directness of speech that Bismarck sued him for libel. He made his own defense and was acquitted, retiring afterward from active participation in politics. This is not the place to discuss at length the attitude of Mommsen either toward the problems of German politics or toward our problem at the time of the Civil War, when he ardently sided with the North; toward England at the time of the Boer War, when he strongly criticized her course;¹ or toward us again, at the time of the Spanish War, when, as we are told by Andrew D. White,² the vehemence of his criticism of the United States led to temporary coolness between the American ambassador and the distinguished scholar.

On the whole, we cannot justly charge Mommsen with inconsistency in his political life. If, however, he had spent as many years in England as he spent in Italy he would surely have gained a clearer understanding of the workings of that type of government which he so much admired, and both the viewpoint of his *Roman History* and his later judgments of international affairs must have been quite different. By temperament a partisan, warm in his affections and strong in his antagonisms, in politics as in scholarship he nevertheless strove to maintain an attitude of reasonableness and an open mind; he was large-hearted and sincere.

In a generation of notable scholars Theodore Mommsen was the most notable. Upon a temperament as sensitive as that of an artist were superimposed, as it were, prodigious intellectual power and a restless, inexhaustible energy. Mommsen had also the gift of friendship, richly imparted to a close circle. In the amount of intellectual product put forth in written form he probably surpassed any other scholar of either ancient or modern times.

¹ Sidney Whitman, *Contemporary Review*, LXXXIV (1903), 866 ff.

² *Autobiography*, II, 177-78.

THE DISOBEDIENCE OF CLEARCHUS AT CUNAXA

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Clearchus has frequently been held responsible for the disastrous outcome of the Battle of Cunaxa, in which the victory of the Greeks was rendered nugatory by the death of Cyrus, which is ascribed more or less directly to the failure of Clearchus to obey the orders of his superior. Plutarch¹ says that he spoiled everything. Grote says,² "From fear of being attacked on the unshielded side he was induced here to commit the capital mistake of keeping on the right flank." The Goodwin and White edition of the *Anabasis* decries his extreme caution.³ The Mather and Hewitt edition is especially severe upon him. The disobedience of Clearchus is held to have left Cyrus and his bodyguard to contend unsupported against overwhelming odds.⁴ His conduct is criticized, though part of the blame for the crucial fact, the death of Cyrus, is ascribed to the inexcusable rashness of Cyrus himself.⁵

On the other side I find only a casual remark in Harper and Wallace,⁶ to the effect that we do not know how serious might have been the results if Clearchus had obeyed orders. A careful perusal of Colonel Boucher's study of the *Anabasis*,⁷ supplemented by some little independent investigation and reflection, has convinced me that Clearchus should have a new trial. In view of my participation in the Mather-Hewitt edition of the *Anabasis* the present paper is a sort of palinode. In it I shall try to determine, so far as a somewhat unsophisticated civilian may, whether such a move as that directed by Cyrus was wise or even feasible.

To this end it is important to determine first of all the absolute lengths of the two battle lines; the relative lengths we know

¹ *Artaxerxes* 8.

⁴ P. 287.

² *History of Greece*, IX, 44.

⁵ P. 16.

³ Note on i. 8. 13, p. 196.

⁶ P. 402.

⁷ Colonel Arthur Boucher, *L'Anabase de Xenophon*, Paris, 1913.

approximately.¹ Exactness is probably not obtainable, but I shall set forth certain considerations which point to a line considerably longer than is usually estimated. Goodwin and White think that Cyrus' front must have been more than a mile,² and that of the king, accordingly, well over two miles.

In the determination of this question the first point is the depth of the Greek phalanx. Normally it was eight men,³ though this number was freely varied on occasion.⁴ Here the circumstances called for a long, thin line to avoid being hopelessly outflanked. Cyrus seems to have reasoned that a line four deep, for the sort of a battle he expected to fight, would be as effective as a line eight deep. Of course it could not stand the enemy's shock, but neither could a line eight deep. If the heavy Persian phalanx, perhaps one hundred deep, struck the Greeks it would sweep away a line of eight as easily as one of four.⁵ The Greek line was to deliver, not to sustain, the attack. But would such a line be sufficiently impressive to intimidate its opponents and turn them to flight? A great deal depended on this, and Cyrus made an experiment in the early days of the march which convinced him that a line of Greeks four deep was solid enough and looked sufficiently businesslike to rout a Persian phalanx. Cyrus was naturally much pleased⁶ with the result, for it meant a precious mile added to his front on the great day.

Now the Greek force was composed of 10,400 hoplites, 2,500 peltasts,⁷ and was supported on its right by 1,000 Paphlagonian

¹i. 8. 13. The king's line was somewhat, we do not know how much, more than twice the length of that of Cyrus.

²P. xlviii.

³Bauer, *Kriegsaltertümer*, p. 328. For the Athenian phalanx, see Thucydides iv. 94. 1. Liddell and Scott, s.v. *φάλαγξ*, are scarcely justified on the basis of *Anab.* i. 2. 5 and *Hell.* iii. 4. 13 in declaring that the normal depth in Xenophon's time was four.

⁴Thuc. v. 68. Sometimes it was twelve deep. Xenophon *Hell.* vi. 4. 12; cf. ii 4. 34. For ordinary purposes, a line four deep, says Arrian *Tact.* 5. 6, speaking of the Macedonian phalanx, was not deep enough. But the Macedonian phalanx was usually deeper than the Spartan; cf. 5. 5 and 9. 6.

⁵At Leuctra the Theban phalanx of fifty deep crushed the Spartan line of twelve deep (Xenophon *Hell.* vi. 4. 12).

⁶i. 2. 18.

⁷i. 7. 10.

cavalry. The hoplite front would be 2,600 men. For attack in close order the men of a Greek phalanx occupied each about a yard of front.¹ This would give for the hoplites a front of nearly one and a half miles. The peltasts need not have stood so closely nor need they have been drawn up four deep. Goodwin and White, who estimate the whole front of Cyrus at a little over a mile, point out that it is a fair inference from i. 10. 7 that they were in line, i.e., single line.² This would by itself be scarcely less than 2,500 yards or about one and two-fifths miles.³ But supposing them drawn up four deep, their front would still be 625 men and would occupy at least one-third mile. How much space was occupied by the 1,000 Paphlagonian cavalry cannot be accurately determined. Let us suppose that this cavalry was drawn up four deep⁴ and that it was to attack in waves; it would occupy a front of one-fourth mile.⁵ Then there were 100,000 Persian troops. The depth of these we do not know, but even if they stood 100 deep they occupied a front of one-half mile. This distance, like that assigned to the Greek peltasts is, it seems to me, an irreducible minimum, for it would seem that Cyrus should have drawn up his Persians in a thinner line in order to present a front as long as possible. The total length of Cyrus' line aggregated about two and one-half miles and may have been longer. This was less than half the king's front, which consequently had a minimum length of five miles.

The royal forces were drawn up in the traditional Persian formation of solid squares, of what depth we are not informed. Grote calculates that the depth of the Persian phalanx at Issus was from sixteen to twenty-six.⁶ Rawlinson estimates the depth at Marathon at sixteen.⁷ Xenophon⁸ states that Amasis sent Croesus a body of

¹ Arrian *Tact.* 12. 6. But see Boucher, *op. cit.*, p. 69b, note.

² P. xlviii.

³ They may have spread themselves over part of the gap left by the charging hoplites.

⁴ Xenophon *Hell.* iii. 4. 13.

⁵ Boucher (*op. cit.*, p. 69b) supposes them twelve deep, and estimates their front at 100 meters.

⁶ *History of Greece* XII, 119, n. 3.

⁷ *Seven Ancient Monarchies* ii, 629, n. 112.

⁸ *Cyropedia* vi. 2. 10. Rawlinson states (*Herodotus* ii. 325) that these were formed in phalanxes of 10,000 men. These, if true squares, would have 100 men on a side.

120,000 troops, and Rawlinson thinks that here we have the origin of the phalanx arrangement afterward adopted in other armies. It seems reasonable to assume for the king's army and for the Persians of Cyrus a maximum depth of 100 men. Further than this it seems fantastic to go. I cannot think with Goodwin and White¹ that the king's squares must have had an average depth of 185 men. I find no authority whatever for such an excessive depth, and it was perhaps motivated only by the necessity of getting a Persian line that should be not much more than the inadequate mile or so allotted to Cyrus' line.

The number of the Persian forces is given very differently by our authorities. Xenophon² tells us that the number engaged on the king's side was 900,000. Ctesias,³ the court physician, says that the king had only 400,000. To bridge this vast discrepancy we must remember that while Xenophon recognizes and allows for the fact that the contingent of Abrocomas was not engaged he takes no account of the incompleteness of the contingents that were engaged. For example, the contingent led by the king's bastard brother (*στρατιὴν πολλήν*)⁴ may well have been included in the 900,000, and there were doubtless others which arrived too late for the battle. On the other hand it was Ctesias' cue to minimize the number of the king's forces as much as possible to lessen the disgrace of the defeat. Boucher thinks the number may well have been as high as 700,000.⁵ Our estimate of the Greek front led us to the conclusion that the Persian line must have stretched over some five miles. Supposing each man had three feet of front and that the lines had a uniform depth of 100 men, the number necessary to fill this space would be 968,000, which is not far from the number given by Xenophon. But it is unlikely that all arms of the service assumed the same formation. Cavalry, light-armed forces, and incomplete phalanxes of infantry may well have had less depth than the 100 men which I have assumed as the maximum.

The king probably knew the battle array of his brother's forces. Cyrus had rehearsed it some days previously⁶ and had in fact

¹ P. xlviii, note.

² i. 7. 12.

³ Plutarch *Artax.* 13.

⁴ *Anab.* ii. 4. 25.

⁵ Boucher, *op. cit.*, p. 61a.

⁶ i. 7. 1.

marched for one day with his army drawn up in full array.¹ It would be easy for one of the royal spies in Cyrus' Persian force or for some scout to convey to the king the valuable information. At any rate Artaxerxes had so disposed his forces as to balance the strong places in the opposing army. He had put Tissaphernes, his most efficient general, in command of the only part of his line which Cyrus could muster soldiers enough to oppose. If Artaxerxes had been allowed to select the Greeks' position he could scarcely have put them where they could do him less harm than at the place where they were actually stationed.² The fate of the Persian center, where the king was, would decide the day, and not even the barbarian force of Cyrus extended so far as to front this. Cyrus must have known in what part of his army the king would be. Xenophon seems to be right when he says that the usual position of a Persian commander was at the center of his forces, though we know that there were exceptions to this rule.³ Cyrus should have put his Greeks opposite the king, for there the best forces of the Persians would surely be. Only his best could defeat them, but if these choice troops were once beaten he might count the day his.

He tried, when it was too late, to remedy his error by his famous order to Clearchus. This was a command to attack the king's center with his own troops. Clearchus on the right wing held the position of honor, but we are not told that he was commander-in-chief of the Greek force. Yet this order probably referred, not to his division only, but to the whole Greek hoplite force. Even then such a maneuver not only ran counter to all the rules of Greek tactics, but was against the dictates of common prudence. I am

¹ i. 7. 14.

² Plut. *Artax.* 8. Plutarch uses this as an argument to blame Clearchus, assuming that it was he who was responsible for the position of the Greeks. He was responsible rather for their not changing their position. The original error of putting them next the river must be laid at the door of the commander-in-chief. No hint to the contrary is given by Xenophon.

³ i. 8. 22 f.; cf. Arrian *Anab.* ii. 8. 11 of Darius at Issus, and Xenophon, *Cyr.* viii. 5. 8 of the central position of Cyrus the Great in his camp. As the king was at the center of the Persians, so the Persians were at the center of the conglomerate of nations that formed their army. At Marathon they had the center of the line (Herod. vi. 113). But at Plataea the Persians were on the left wing facing the best troops of the Greeks. This arrangement, however, was suggested to them by the Thebans (Herod. ix. 31).

inclined to think that it was a practical, if not an absolute, impossibility.

Let us see what this move involved. The arrangement of the forces is sketchily portrayed in Fig. 1, thus:

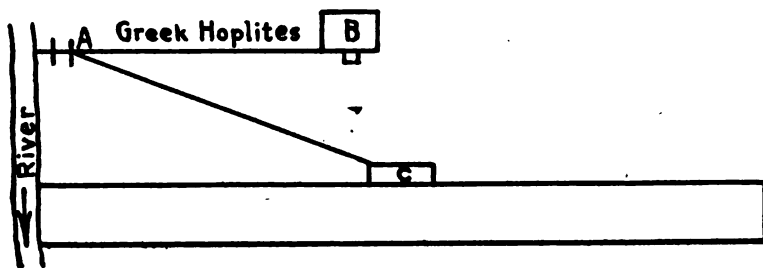


FIG. 1

A is to attack C. How far apart are the lines? On this depends of course the acuteness of the angle at which the Greeks would have to attack. At the time the attack was delivered they were about two-fifths of a mile apart.¹ I have drawn the two lines about twice that distance apart to meet the objection that there must have been more than two-fifths of a mile between them at the time Cyrus gave the order. We must remember on the other hand that we have to consider the conditions, not at the moment when the order was issued, but at the first moment at which it could be put into execution. Obviously the Greeks could not charge until Cyrus went back to his station, and we are not told that anything but his return happened in the interim, which can scarcely have been more than fifteen minutes. During this time the space between the lines would diminish only slowly. Such a mass as that of the Persians could not advance faster than two miles an hour. The Greeks were not advancing at all, for their lines were still forming.² They seem to have attacked as soon as they were ready. In fifteen minutes the gap between the forces would lessen from four-fifths to two-fifths of a mile. The sketch then represents the path of the attack, assuming that the order was given fifteen

¹ i. 8. 17. A Greek phalanx regularly delivered its attack from a very short distance. See Bauer, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

² i. 8. 14.

minutes before the charge was made and that Clearchus could have put it into effect as soon as he received it. In point of fact, however, I cannot conceive how Clearchus could have issued orders for such a maneuver, for which, in view of its difficulty and strangeness, there could have been no such simple signal as a blast on the trumpet, in less than a quarter of an hour. The order must certainly have gone the length of the line, passed from man to man, and been repeated back to Clearchus to insure its correctness. This would take time, especially as Clearchus was not at the center of the Greek troops but considerably to the right of the center. For these reasons I think that the angle of attack should be drawn much more acute than I have made it.

To return to our problem: A is to attack C. There is evidently more than one way in which this can be done. I showed the problem to a West Point graduate, now a lieutenant colonel in the United States Army. His first suggestion was that A go around behind B and deliver a frontal attack on C. But this would take too long, it would leave a bad gap in Cyrus' line, and it does not fill the conditions of the narrative. Clearchus feared for his flanks;² such a move would have imperiled rather his rear.

My informant next suggested that A would march in column of squads across the front of B and then deliver his attack directly upon C. But this would mask and render useless the 100,000 men of the Persian force and would present no obstacle to an encircling movement on the part of Tissaphernes.

So we are driven to the third possibility, which is the one that is usually assumed to have been adopted—an oblique movement of A in a straight line upon C. Such a movement must be possible enough at certain angles. But made at such an angle as that shown in our sketch—and I think it would be necessary to advance at an angle considerably more acute than that—it would be full of peril. The right, or unshielded, flank of the attacking party would be exposed to the slings and bows of the Persians for a considerable distance and increasingly to weapons of shorter range as its oblique course brought it near the Persian lines. This, if the Persian left remained where it was; but if Tissaphernes should use

² i. 8. 13.

a portion of it to attack the Greek flank, he would put it in a very dangerous position.

Add to this the fact that the Greeks who were nearest the river would have to charge, not two-fifths of a mile, as they actually did, but about two miles, and that the length of their line was several times the width of the space in which they would have to perform this maneuver, and it is not strange that the idea seemed to Clearchus so utterly preposterous that he did not even enter a protest nor discuss the matter, but returned a reply, noncommittal in form, but calculated to leave no doubt in Cyrus' mind that the only thing to do was to adhere to the plan of operations upon which they had previously decided. Someone has suggested that he intended Cyrus to think that his orders would be obeyed. This I cannot believe. Nothing in the subsequent conduct of the battle shows Cyrus in an embarrassing position because he did not know the intentions of Clearchus. If Clearchus did not intend to obey—and it is clear that he did not so intend—he had absolutely nothing to gain by leaving his chief in ignorance of his intentions. True, he did not refuse. But a gesture would have made his position clear, even if we can think that Cyrus himself did not realize that at that stage there was absolutely no chance to change the plan of the battle. He was lucky, marching as he did, to get most of his forces into line before the king attacked. Can it be believed that he seriously intended at the last minute to make a change which it must have taken many precious minutes even to communicate to his troops? If, as might be objected, these were the original orders of Cyrus, reiterated at the last minute and disobeyed because his subordinate lost his nerve and lacked the courage to carry into execution an apparently perilous move, why did Cyrus station the Greeks where it would be so perilous to hurl them against the king? Why did he not align them opposite the king?

It looks to me like a serious blunder on the part of Cyrus. But of course Cyrus was no fool. How are we to account for such a miscalculation? The excitement of a moment upon which hung such momentous issues for him would explain his giving an impossible or unreasonable order. But how is it possible to explain the miscalculation which made such an order seem to him necessary?

The answer that seems to me to explain the facts best is that Cyrus had greatly underestimated the completeness of the Persian mobilization. He had planned to be upon the king before the resources of the great empire could assemble to defend the capital.¹ The king had reason to fear that he would succeed in this attempt. Plutarch² tells us that Artaxerxes had determined to retire into the interior of his empire until his forces should be adequately mobilized. He would be much in the position of Joffre in the late summer of 1914, giving up the north of France and retiring to previously determined positions rather than stake everything upon a premature engagement. The profound moral effect of a military disaster in the early days of a campaign is well known. Not that he made no provision for a first line of defense. He dug an elaborate ditch across Cyrus' path more than two days' march from the capital and left it in such a condition of completeness that two hours' work would connect it with the river and fill it with water. It was not an ideal defense against an army that was not afraid of close fighting, but with half his normal forces the king would do better to defend a thirty-foot ditch, either empty or full of water, than to meet his foe in the open plain. On the other hand, when the king's mobilization had reached an advanced stage it would never do to meet Cyrus at such an obstacle. The Persian tactics aimed to crush a foe by superior force or envelop him by outflanking. For this purpose a wide plain would be selected. It would be good policy to let the enemy pass unopposed a ditch which would prove a serious obstacle if he were obliged to flee. Plutarch ascribes the king's resolution to fight his foe to the advice of Tiribazus, who represented to him the inadvisability of avoiding an engagement (*φυγομαχεῖν*). This means, not that Tiribazus was reproving the general policy of strategic retreat, but that he, perhaps sooner than the king, had come to realize that changed conditions made it no longer necessary.

The king had apparently been given more time than he feared he would have to mobilize his forces. Cyrus was clearly very much longer than he had calculated in reaching the vicinity of Babylon. His journey occupied six months, of which three only

¹ i. 5. 9.

² *Arlaz.* 7.

were consumed in marching and at least two in unforeseen and, under ordinary circumstances, avoidable delays. Allowing him the other month for necessary or anticipated stops, we find him approaching Babylon two months behind his schedule. He had taken half as long again as he, and doubtless the king, had estimated.

Let us now suppose that he had arrived two months earlier and that the king had had, say, 350,000 men in line, which is about what Ctesias says he actually did have. On the principle of arrangement already worked out, the relative length of the lines would have been as shown in Fig. 2, which would put the Greeks, A—A, in a position to strike effectively at the Persian center, C.

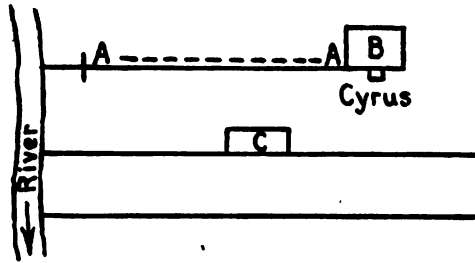


FIG. 2

But Cyrus was perfectly well aware that he was two months late, and he might have remodeled his arrangement to suit the altered conditions. Why he did not is hard to explain. Hoping against hope that his delays would not give the king an overwhelming margin of superiority, a man of Cyrus' sanguine and optimistic temper may possibly have succeeded in closing his eyes to the inevitable. That at a comparatively late period of the march, at a time when his most serious delays had already been suffered, Cyrus was still banking on slow mobilization on the part of the king is evident from Xenophon's remark¹ that the weakness of the Persian Empire was due to the length of the roads and the scattered condition of its forces. This must have mirrored the common talk among the Greek generals and probably the opinion of the commander-in-chief.

After passing the abandoned trench Cyrus became convinced that the king would not fight him. This conviction seemed to render it unnecessary for him to change his plan of battle, although

¹ i. 5. 9.

since the midnight rehearsal of his formation he had received information relative to the numbers of the opposing army. When the king's approach suddenly became imminent there was no longer any time for change of plan. His forces, strung out over perhaps ten miles of road, barely got into battle line before the charge was delivered. As the lines faced each other Cyrus saw that his Greeks were far away from the point where he wanted them. Either his "order" to Clearchus was a desperate attempt to make a change when it was too late, or was really more of a query than a command: "Can't you lead," etc. Xenophon, a veritable hero-worshiper, admired Cyrus and makes no comments derogatory to him. He lays no blame on Clearchus either. But among all his eulogies of Cyrus he never commends him for good military judgment; and we can see in the mad rush to kill Artaxerxes that Cyrus was likely to lose control of himself at a critical juncture.

At any rate Clearchus adhered to the original plan which had probably been discussed and adopted in council of war between Cyrus and the Greek generals. His strategy was conservative and it was successful. He broke the Persian left and pursued it. For this he has been criticized, as in the Mather-Hewitt *Anabasis*,¹ in words penned by Mather but with which Hewitt fully agreed: "He foolishly pursued, thus withdrawing the best part of Cyrus' army from the conflict while he left the king's center and right free to surround Cyrus' native force." To break through an enemy's force and get in his rear or fold back his line is not withdrawing from the conflict the division that performs such an extremely useful exploit, especially if it is a rapidly moving force, while that which hypothetically could surround Cyrus' native troops was a very cumbrous and slowly moving arm. In fact, a Persian line usually melted away when any portion of it was pierced. How far toward the Persian right the panic extended we have no means of knowing, but it is clear that it would extend considerably beyond that portion of the line directly affected by the Greek attack. It may have reached well toward the center and would be constantly and rapidly extending farther. Clearchus after breaking the enemy line would naturally tend to his left to fold that line back upon its own rear.

¹ P. 16.

How important the Greek success was felt to be is evident from the prompt and risky measure Artaxerxes employed to counter it. The Persian force of Cyrus had not charged with the Greeks. This left the Greek left flank unprotected, or "in the air." The king decided to attack it in the brief period between the inception of its charge and its coming in contact with its foe. It is usually said that he struck with his whole right, but that would have taken a very long time, and minutes were precious. Such a quick thrust could best be delivered with his 6,000 choice cavalry. To be sure, this would expose the right of that cavalry, but the masses of Cyrus' Persian infantry could not attack it, and Artaxerxes may have hoped that Cyrus' 600 cavalry would consider the odds of ten to one too great. But Cyrus, seeing the beginning of this maneuver, realized that the Greek flank and rear were in the utmost peril.¹ To parry the king's quick thrust, one equally quick was necessary. Cyrus and his 600 charged the royal horse and put them to flight,² but his lack of judgment and his consequent death turned a glorious victory into a dismal defeat.

Ariaeus and his Persians fled through their own camp to their camp of the previous night. Apparently the 6,000 cavalry now rallied and pursued them, for their losses were heavy³ and Ariaeus himself was wounded.⁴ The pursuit seems to have ended at the day camp, which the Persians stopped to plunder.

On the Persian left the Greek success had not been complete. One portion, under the direct command of Tissaphernes, had not fled when the Greeks broke through. This was probably a body of cavalry stationed near the river. With this Tissaphernes charged the Greek peltasts and broke through them. Xenophon says that they let him through,⁵ inflicting some loss upon him as he passed, while themselves suffering no casualties, and he remarks that Episthenes, their commander, showed himself a sensible man.⁶

¹ *Anab.* i. 8. 24. If the whole Persian right were attacking, it would be for himself and his Persians that he would have to fear. Of course the right wing might have begun an enveloping movement at the same time.

² i. 8. 24.

⁴ ii. 2. 14.

³ Diodorus xiv. 26. 6 puts them at 3,000.

⁵ *διασφάττες* i. 10. 7.

⁶ *Ibid.*, *ἐλέγετο φόβος γένεσθαι*, i.e., I take it, in making no attempt to resist an irresistible attack, and so conducting himself as to receive no harm and inflict some injury on his opponent.

But it is a curious business and can scarcely have been as creditable to the Greeks as our author describes it. At any rate Tissaphernes attained his objective: First, he broke the Greek line. Or rather, it seems to me, he merely went through the vast gap left in it by the absence of the Greek hoplites, the peltasts simply setting their backs toward the river and discharging their weapons at him in a more or less desultory manner as he passed by. Secondly, he effected a junction with the king in the camp of Cyrus. This ended the first phase of the battle. The Greek hoplites were pursuing a disorganized rout of Persian infantry. Four miles to their rear their camp was held by the cavalry of the enemy.

What had become of the Persian right and center? Had it shared in the general rout of the left, or was it still on the battlefield? On this point Xenophon is strangely reticent and consequently obscure. A calculation of the time allotted to the battle, coupled with a true estimate of the slow and cumbrous movement of a Persian phalanx, makes it evident that they cannot have shared in the pursuit of Cyrus' Persians and the plundering of their camp. They may have remained on the field¹ and may have been picked up by the cavalry on its return from Cyrus' camp. To this point I may have opportunity to return on some future occasion.

¹ Evidently from Plutarch's account (*Artax.* 13) a goodly number rallied around the wounded king when the death of Cyrus was reported. The speed and completeness of their rally would be a resultant of two factors, the spreading panic due to the success of the Greek attack and the spreading confidence as the fact of Cyrus' death became known.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN 1917

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The meagerness of news from Greece, to which I referred in my last report, has been more marked than ever during the past year. Apparently war conditions have brought about an almost complete cessation of archaeological activities, at least so far as excavations are concerned. One suspects that the Greek Society may have continued some of its enterprises, but no reports, so far as I know, have reached this country. For the foreign schools, at all events, the year 1917 was simply a period of "carrying on," of keeping the machinery in order in preparation for the return of normal conditions.

At the American School, only the Director, the Secretary, and the Architect were in residence. Mr. Hill and Mr. Blegen visited Corinth, but only to arrange for the expropriation or the lease of additional land for later excavation, or to study what had been found in earlier years. Mr. Blegen devoted a considerable amount of time to the preparation of complete reports on the architectural remains at Korako¹ and on the early pottery discovered on all the prehistoric sites explored in 1916. In collaboration with Mr. Wace, of the British School, he also prepared an article on prehistoric pottery in Greece, which is to be published in the *Annual* of the British School. Mr. Hill continued his work on the Erechtheum. He reports that some new fragments of the frieze have been identified and that a little further excavation was undertaken near the building itself in an attempt to clear up disputed points. Mr. Dinsmoor succeeded in bringing his study of the Propylaea and the other monuments of the western slope of the Acropolis nearly to completion, but the publication of this work, as well as that of the long-awaited book on the Erechtheum, cannot be expected until the war is ended.

¹ Cf. *Classical Journal*, XIII, 188.

The French School in Athens remained closed from December, 1916, to August, 1917. Then Mr. Fougères, the Director, returned to Athens, and with him four men took up their residence in the School building. According to the official report, they were "appointed interpreter-officers in the Army of the East, placed under the orders of Gen. Braquet, and allowed to work in the School." Under these circumstances, naturally, no excavations could be undertaken.

This is all the "news" from Greece that I have been able to gather. Since it is so little, it may, perhaps, be permissible to supplement the reference which I made in last year's report to discoveries in the neighborhood of Salonica by a fuller account, based on an interesting letter of Professor Ernest Gardner in the literary supplement of the *London Times* for March 28, 1918. Soon after the Allied forces occupied Salonica, a general order was issued that any discovery of antiquities in the trenches or elsewhere should be reported to headquarters. The British authorities established a provisional museum in the famous White Tower, which was placed at their disposal by the Greek government. The French began the formation of another collection in a temporary building. What has been discovered has been found for the most part by chance, though systematic excavations have been made at a few places, mostly by French archaeologists. Attention has been directed especially to the mounds which are found in large numbers in Macedonia, but which have never been much investigated. Two types can be distinguished—regular conical tumuli and mounds of irregular, but usually oval, plan. Of these the tumuli are of a familiar type, namely, heaps of earth piled up over a tomb, which is usually a built tomb of stone or marble. Those that have been examined are mostly of Hellenistic date, though some may be earlier.

The irregular mounds are in some ways more interesting. They are the remains of early settlements, and when carefully explored reveal the stratified remains of successive villages. Hearths and stone floors mark the position of separate dwellings, sometimes with empty sockets which once were filled by wooden beams to support the roofs and which still show the impress of bark or the grain of

the wood. The superstructures were apparently made of unbaked clay and rushes. Burnt layers suggest that the settlements were frequently destroyed by fire; in other cases the houses probably were rendered uninhabitable by storms and simply disintegrated. When a settlement fell into ruin, the top of the mound was leveled and a new settlement begun. Thus the mounds, which at first were comparatively low, rose gradually to a considerable height, sometimes as much as forty or fifty feet above the level of the plain. When the gradual raising of the level reduced the habitable area on top of a mound, a new settlement seems to have been begun on another rise nearby; at least, it is noticeable that in several cases a small, steep mound and a lower, flat one are found side by side, and in such cases the pottery found on the lower mound is later in date than that in the steeper and smaller one. In several instances, the change appears from the pottery to have taken place in the sixth or the fifth century, B.C. Thus a lower limit is arrived at for the date of the older mounds, and an upper limit for that of the later ones. The period when the older mounds were begun is harder to fix, but the beginning of the third millenium is suggested by the pottery, which is similar to early Thessalian wares of about 3000 B.C. Moreover, fragments of ordinary Mycenaean vases of about 1400-1200 B.C. often appear in the upper strata of the older mounds.

In general, the Thessalian pottery is clearly of local manufacture. It has certain similarities to the early Thessalian fabrics, but shows little similarity to any of the styles that prevailed in the Aegean area between 3000 and 1200 B.C. It is handmade, and in the earliest strata is decorated with strips of clay or incised patterns. The scheme of the decoration is usually geometric, although large spirals are common. Later, painted decoration in dull pigments appears. From very early times the pottery shows skilful workmanship; the texture is fine and delicate, and among the painted specimens some have almost the appearance of fine china, with red designs on a creamy white surface. These early wares are succeeded by rougher and coarser fabrics, which merge into a very ordinary type of pottery found in Macedonia down to historic times. Indeed there seems to be a steady deterioration in handi-

craft in the latter part of the prehistoric period. The Mycenaean vases were clearly imported, and in general the evidence for communication with Greece or the Aegean area in prehistoric times is comparatively slight.

From later times the most important discovery is a series of tombs of the eighth or the seventh century, B.C. In these were iron weapons, gold and bronze ornaments, and a pottery lamp of Greek design, by means of which the whole series is dated. The most noteworthy point in connection with these tombs is that the decorative designs do not resemble those in vogue in Greece in the eighth and the seventh centuries, but are very similar to early Iron Age designs from Central Europe. Even in this period, therefore, Macedonia seems to have looked toward the north rather than toward the south.

From still later times, graves of Greek, Roman, and Byzantine date have been found, and from them considerable numbers of vases, terra cottas, coins, and other small objects have been brought together in the collections at Salonica. Among larger objects Professor Gardner mentions especially two Roman tomb reliefs, one of which represents a man and his wife, the other a family group; a draped female figure of excellent workmanship, dating from early Hellenistic times; and the inscription relating to Manius Salaris Saborius to which I referred last year. Altogether, the prospects for an interesting Macedonian Museum in Salonica seem bright.

Between this meager showing and the comparatively large amount of news from Italy the contrast once more is marked. In spite of the difficult living conditions brought about by the war and the great amount of time and energy that the Italians were obliged to devote to the protection of monuments exposed to danger by air-raids, most of the larger enterprises were carried forward and many chance finds were made.

In Rome the most remarkable event of the year was the discovery, near the Porta Maggiore, of a large vaulted hall of basilican type, some fourteen meters long and eight meters wide, with vestibule, apse, and three aisles divided by pillars. This was found as the result of a landslide under the roadbed of the Rome-Naples

railway, and was cleared with considerable difficulty, owing to the necessity of reinforcing the walls to prevent their collapse under the vibration caused by passing trains. The decoration is elaborate. Walls, vaulted ceilings, pilasters, and apse are all covered with well-preserved stucco reliefs, executed in a bold and rapid style. Among the subjects are mythological compositions (Apollo and Marsyas, the punishment of the Danaids, Hermes Psychopompus, Hercules and the Hesperids are mentioned), figures of *orantes*, sacrificial and ritual objects, and symbols of resurrection and after-life. All this suggests that the building was used by followers of some of the mystic cults which flourished in Imperial Rome, but as yet no good evidence as to the particular cult has appeared. In the main chamber all the decoration is in white stucco, but the vestibule has a dado of Pompeian red, adorned with bright figures of flowers and birds, and a ceiling decorated with squares of sapphire blue. Much of the mosaic flooring is preserved, but several rectangular spaces where the pavement is missing show that its finest portions, no doubt panels with figure compositions, were removed in the later days of antiquity. The date of the building is apparently the second century after Christ.

On the Via Appia, about a mile and a half outside the Porta San Sebastiano, the ancient ruins under the basilica of San Sebastiano were further explored. This spot is traditionally associated with the worship of Peter and Paul, either as the place of their residence or of their temporary burial. In earlier investigations here, columbaria and portions of Roman villas with excellent paintings were discovered. The more recent work in May and June, 1916, and in March, 1917, brought to light further columbaria and two more rooms of one of the houses. The mural decorations are described as among the finest examples yet known of Augustan and Claudio-Neronian painting. The only one of which I have seen a description represents a harbor with a long, pillared pier; boats are putting out to sea, and on the shore is a fête champêtre under an awning which is stretched between a great tree and a round tower. Under the nave of the basilica, a complicated building of the third century after Christ was found. This appears to have been a *triclia*, or place of refreshment for pilgrims, who, as

numerous inscriptions bear witness, came to visit this spot on account of its supposed connection with the two great apostles.

Inside the walls, also, several interesting discoveries were made. The excavations in the Golden House of Nero were continued, but the one brief and tantalizing account which I have seen barely mentions "a superb domed octagonal hall and a number of chambers with wall paintings that for freshness and beauty surpass anything yet found in Rome." In the eastern extension of the Piazza Colonna, where the Palazzo Piombino stood until 1889, a careful examination of the ground preparatory to building operations revealed, not the Porticus Vipsania, which had been generally supposed to be located there, but only a large group of insulae of Imperial date. Near the intersection of the Via Po and the Via Gregorio Allegri, the discovery of several tombs of the first century after Christ, with paintings and mosaics, is reported, and also remains of a large building connected with the tombs by a stairway of travertine. The building consisted of a portico, an atrium with mosaic pavement, and several side rooms. In the same excavations fragments of a fine Hellenistic relief, representing a four-horse chariot rising from the sea, with marine animals pushing it from behind and two young men making it fast to the shore, came to light.

Among the mooted questions of the year in Rome was a proposal to remove the Palazzo Caffarelli, which in recent years has been the home of the German embassy. The ostensible reason for the removal is to disengage the ruins of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, but political and sentimental considerations naturally played a great part in the discussions. As yet, so far as I have seen, no official decision as to the fate of the palace has been made. One of the interesting events of the year was the official opening, on April 21, 1917, of the *Passeggiata Archeologica* between the Caelian hill and the baths of Caracalla.

At Pompeii, work along the Via dell' Abbondanza was continued, but no remarkable discoveries were made. One of the houses exhibited a projecting balcony formed of blocks of stone held together by a wooden framework, which has been restored. Near by was a well-preserved *castellum aquae*, with its lead reservoir still in place.

At Ostia, further excavation north of the Via Decumana, between the theater and the Temple of Vulcan, revealed the ruins of a large rectangular forum divided into two parts by a central building, the whole considerably below the level of the city of Imperial times. In this neighborhood were found fragments of the local fasti, parts of a great inscription of which two portions, covering the years 19-21 and 91-92 A.D. were found at the beginning of the last century. The new portions cover the years 36-38 A.D. They give the names of the magistrates of Rome and of Ostia and record important events. Among the latter are fires in Rome in the Campus Martius and between the Circus Maximus and the Aventine; the death of Antonia and that of Drusilla; and, most interesting of all, the death of Tiberius at Misenum, on March 16, 37 A.D., the transport of his body to Rome (it was carried on the shoulders of the soldiers), and the funeral ceremonies.

The balcony of the Casa di Diana,¹ which was found to run the whole length of the house on the two sides toward the street, has been replaced, thus giving an excellent idea of the original appearance of this unique structure. Another house near by has a large hall measuring some 8 by 7 meters, with a well-preserved mosaic pavement and wall paintings. Among the latter is a remarkable series of portraits, chiefly of elderly, bearded men, probably philosophers or poets. One, which is unusual in that the subject is young and beardless, is thought possibly to be a portrait of Virgil, a suggestion to which a crown of laurel lends some support. Among the lesser finds may be noted one of the few Christian monuments found at Ostia, namely, a small column of cipollino, with a relief representing the Good Shepherd.

At Veii, where Dr. Colini has begun to carry out a systematic plan of excavation, the foundation of one of the gates of the acropolis was cleared and two strata of huts were found, the earlier apparently Italic, the later, Etruscan. The site of a temple, tentatively identified as a temple of Apollo, yielded many figures of terra cotta, which are said to be the most important archaic works yet discovered in Italy. Among them are a head of Hermes, several small heads of warriors, and especially a remarkable head of Apollo

¹ Cf. *Classical Journal*, XII, 206.

with well-preserved color, which has all the qualities of fine archaic Greek work. The long, narrow eyes, elaborate hair, and carefully modeled drapery bring further proof of the Ionic influence which is notable in many archaic statues found in Etruria. These terracotta sculptures have been deposited in the Museo di Villa Giulia.

During the year the museum at Ancona was enriched by an archaic chariot found at Fabriano in Umbria, which is of the greatest interest. Unlike the famous chariot from Monteleone in the Metropolitan Museum and the later example in the Etruscan Museum of the Vatican, both of which seem made for ceremonial rather than military purposes, this new specimen was apparently intended for use in war, and so gives us our first example of a real war-chariot from Italy.

Finally, in spite of war conditions, the excavations at Cyrene were carried steadily forward, especially in the precinct of Apollo and on the site of the ancient agora. The most important single discovery that has been reported is a statue of Eros playing the lyre, the best example yet known of a type which is generally attributed to Lysippus.

SURVIVAL OF TYPE

BY FRANCES JULIETTE HOSFORD
Oberlin College

Once upon a time a German prince crossed the Rhine at the head of a band of fierce warriors. His name, as it comes down to us, bears the characteristic marks of Roman revamping, but we know him as Ariovistus. The invader made his way through Alsace toward the Great Gate of France—the Belfort Pass—as surely as if he had been trained in military topography. His political method was entirely modern. He began by fraternizing with the Sequanians, placed German garrisons at strategic points, took under his charge sundry judiciously selected hostages, and then proceeded to exact huge indemnities under pressure of frightfulness.

Then Caesar joined the Entente; this was a loose coalition of Gallic states, formed through fear of the German menace.

There were diplomatic messages and conversations, which have fortunately been preserved. True, we have only the Roman, not the German, chromatic codices, but Caesar was an excellent witness, a good observer, a master of lucid diction, with a lively interest in men and things as they really are, and a healthy contempt for camouflage. According to Caesar, Ariovistus pressed the *argumentum ad hominem* with resistless logic. The Romans had carved a new province out of their side of Gaul; why should not he do likewise with his end? Neither need interfere with the other, but both had a right to a place in the sun. He ended with a hint about the strength and virulence of the opposition to Caesar at Rome.

There was another German invasion almost two thousand years later, this time through the lowlands where dwell the people of whom Caesar wrote, "Fortissimi sunt Belgae." But the world had changed in two millennia; the incident of the "scrap of paper" was eagerly discussed in lands of which Caesar and Ariovistus had never dreamed; the taking of hostages and the deportation of populations for forced labor were, to both Caesar and Ariovistus, ordinary incidents of warfare, needing no more apology than a fortified camp. Among the busybodies of the new order

these things aroused an ever-increasing wave of horror and wrath, and this was naturally resented by the friends of the good old way. In August, 1916, a letter was written to the *New York Times* concerning the deportations from Lille. It bore a German signature, which we will call Schmidt. It affords a curious comparison with the reply of Ariovistus to the demand of Caesar that he surrender the Haeduan hostages. I subjoin the Caesarian text, and then, in parallel column, an English version and the letter of Schmidt. I have taken the liberty of imitating Mr. Schmidt's literary style; it is undoubtedly superior to the English often employed in the translation of the first book of the *Gallie War*, and is effective for comparison.

Ad haec Ariovistus respondit: "Jus esse belli ut qui vicissent eis quos vicissent quem ad modum vellent imperarent. . . . Haeduos sibi quoniam belli fortunam temptassent et armis congressi ac superati essent stipendiarios esse factos. . . . Haeduos se obsides redditurum non esse neque his neque eorum sociis injuria bellum inlaturum si in eo manerent quod convenissent stipendiumque quotannis penderent; si id non fecissent, longe eis fraternum nomen populi Romani afuturum. Quod sibi Caesar denunciaret se Haeduorum injurias non neglecturum, neminem secum sine sua pernicie contendisse. Cum vellet congredieretur; intellecturum quid invicti Germani, exercitatissimi in armis, qui inter annos XIV tectum non subissent, virtute possent.—B.G. i. 36.

ARIOVISTUS DIXIT

War gives the conquerors the right to treat the conquered peoples as they think fit. . . . The Haeduans tried their luck at war and got licked, and had to pay an indemnity. . . . I shall not give the hostages back to the Haeduans, but I shall not fight them or their allies, provided they do the square thing—keep their promises, pay the indemnity, and do it every year. If they don't do that, the Roman junk about "brothers" won't alter their treatment one whit.

You talk big, Caesar, about the "wrongs" of the Haeduans, and how you won't fail to tend up to them. Nobody has fought me without getting licked. If you want some, you are at liberty to come on. The Germans can't be beaten; their military training is the best there is, and they have lived in camp for fourteen years; you'll find out what they can do.

SCHMIDT DIXIT

I would like to say that none of the neutrals will be able to alter the course of the German authorities in their treatment of peoples of the captured territories one whit. They control these territories and control them in every sense of the word. Whether or not the Allies like the way in which their people are being treated does not matter a bit. The Germans do as they think fit. . . .

If certain neutrals do not like the way in which we Germans do things they are at liberty to go over to Europe and try to stop them. Germany has been licking the Allies right and left, and if there are any more that would like to receive some of the same dose, very well, the greater will be the honor for the Fatherland when it has shown them their places and put them where they belong.

We need not teach our pupils to thank the Lord that the Anglo-Saxon is not as other Teutons are; fortunately and unfortunately, he is, at times, very much so. But we may well lead them to see that the world of Caesar and Ariovistus is the world of Foch and the Hohenzollerns. The average schoolboy has long regarded Caesar's story of the clash of Teuton and Latin as a super-desiccated ration, only preserved from sepulture because it is the medium of an especially poignant variety of indirect discourse. It is now possible to restore some of the original *vitamines*.

FRIENDS OUTSIDE

BY MIGNONETTE SPILLMAN
Corsicana, Texas, High School

In our efforts to prove to the high-school student that he can and does use his Latin in everyday life, the exhibit illustrating Miss Sabin's "The Relation of Latin to Practical Life" has been our most valuable ally for the past five years. Not only is it very interesting and inspiring to the thoughtful boy and his parents, but it stimulates us, the boy's teachers, to try out related projects such as our individual needs demand and our teaching environment permits.

While Latin is constantly growing more difficult to teach, it can be said also to be growing more interesting in its possibilities as a secondary-school subject. Today we can consistently discuss patriotism, peace, and war in a Caesar, Cicero, or Vergil class and be sure of a more intelligent and active interest than ever before. The times make it possible. Yes, and let us classicists reach up to our opportunities. The ideal of service which we Americans write in the creed of strong men has a most forceful expression in "Pro Archia." In short, the fact that discussions of such timely topics as military strategy, European geography, munitions of war, international law, and national characteristics and ideals can have a place in the friendly atmosphere of the Latin classroom presses home the universality of appeal of that which is truly classic.

Boys and girls of today are reading newspapers and magazines with eager interest and a purpose larger and more vital than ever before. In most high schools in either the history or English course, students are required to do reading of this sort regularly. And so it is that such periodicals as the *Literary Digest*, *Outlook*, and *Independent* are a part of the material for study. In these the Latin teacher has a treasure-house close by, but perhaps has not yet searched it. Make the periodical supply lists for study in derivation. The student feels the need of understanding words in today's

English and material can be chosen to fit any scheme, detailed or brief in its demand, that the teacher wishes to use. Interesting word-histories are brought to light which will be recalled frequently, as these will belong to everyday English. Here is a list taken from a recent *Literary Digest* which illustrates the variety and timeliness of this material: travesty, reprisal, paternalism, multifarious, nil, delirium, armistice, emanating, par, belligerent, plenipotentiaries, propaganda, evacuation, succinctly, peremptory, international, insensate, inimical, pinnacle, crucial, resilient, vulcanize, gradients, deterrent, magnanimity, incandescent, recurrent, supervene, ramify, negotiations, inexorable, ultimatum, demobilization, contingency, tentatively, corroborative.

We are teaching language-structure. Let us, then, allow Latin syntax to reveal the realities of English structure in so far as possible. Place side by side an English expression and a Latin example to illustrate a certain case-use or difference in idiom. Let the student bring to his prose-composition recitation English sentences from current periodicals that illustrate the points in the lesson of the day. Perhaps he will discover that syntax is not something hidden away in his Caesar to be brought out and aired only in his Latin classroom. Then, too, he will have it before his very eyes that the English yields a varied expression of some ideas that he has habitually put into certain stereotyped forms in his translation of the Latin and he may try to use more natural and idiomatic English. In one article in a recent *Independent* over fifty different verb and noun uses were illustrated. Another use of the periodical in the prose-composition class is to select passages for actual translation into Latin. President Wilson's speeches furnish good material for this.

Prove to your Cicero classes that writers and speakers of today use anaphora, asyndeton, and other rhetorical devices for the purpose of persuasion. In an article in the *Literary Digest* for September 28, Cicero students can find the following devices for varied and forceful expression: anaphora, asyndeton, polysyndeton, metaphor, alliteration, antithesis, parallelism, climax, rhetorical questions, imperatives, exclamations, short sentences, picturesque words, and rhetorical word-order.

"Will Our Roads Stand Truck Traffic?" and "Shall We Keep on Saving Daylight?", articles in an issue of the *Literary Digest* a few weeks ago, bring up for the student of Roman life and customs the subjects of Roman roads and daylight saving among the Romans. The boy who has been reading the Helvetian campaign cannot but react to the article on the "New Swiss Route to Salt Water" in the same issue. The department of "Current Poetry" in this magazine often offers much that can be brought to the student's attention in the way of classical allusions and forms. The number mentioned above has a sonnet entitled, "Sidera sunt Testes et Matutina Pruina." Many high-school students appreciated Henry van Dyke's story in the *Outlook* of November 13, "A Classic Instance," especially if its significance were discussed in the Latin classroom.

The advertising pages in most periodicals are not lacking in appeal to the Latin student either in the way of decorative designs or names of products. It is easy to make an interesting list.

Within the walls of our Latin course today we have most valuable instruments for our purposes, but why not go outside with our students and allow these extra-mural tools to serve us too?

Notes

[Contributions in the form of notes or discussions should be sent to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

CLASSICAL STANDARDS IN CONTEMPORARY SCHOOLS

In the *Classical Journal* of October, 1918, E. T. M. devotes the greater part of his review of Professor Browne's lectures to strictures on the teacher of classics in the secondary school. With his desire for well-trained pupils I am in full concordance, but I think he has not given due consideration to some facts which are of prime importance in the discussion of the topic he has raised.

To E. T. M.'s statement of the amount of Latin read by the pupil in the secondary school of a generation ago no one can take exception, for each one of us did that work to secure admission to college. And we all know that his second point, that many teachers, particularly of the public schools, are desirous of a still further diminution of the required Latin, is true. But to his assertion that "He [i.e., the pupil of a generation ago] had no more time to accomplish this than at present," I wish to take exception.

When my classmates and I were preparing for college at Phillips Academy, the required recitations per week were sixteen one-hour periods; a few had one or two more hours in order to add one of the minor requirements for college admission. Today at Phillips a lad must carry twenty one-hour periods per week. Of these, Latin still has twenty-five per cent. In 1896 we were able to secure admission on one year of French or of German, a four-hour course; today, thanks to the colleges' demand for better students and increased preparation, a lad must study two years of French or of German in order to meet the minimum requirement, and either nine or ten hours are the fixed standard. Our history, then Greek and Roman, was given in one two-hour course, Greek history being studied until February, Roman to the end of the year; and we found no great difficulty in meeting the college test and in knowing something about those two countries; today the college requires that the course in history shall consist of five recitation periods and insists on such a preparation that only a lad of considerable maturity can successfully meet the test. In 1896 geometry was covered easily by the work in the old Wentworth, in which we did the majority of the original propositions; today the emphasis is laid increasingly on the solution of originals, and the actual increment of time required to gain such proficiency is scarcely measured by the additional hour of recitation granted each week. It is practically within the generation that English was added to the curriculum of the secondary school. In my time three hours per week were given to this subject; today a lad has four hours in two of his four years in English, but the attention to detail and the accuracy

and knowledge required are vastly increased; yet the contempt and disgust of the college professor over the ignorance of English in each incoming Freshman class are vocalized with increasing vehemence. If a lad, as is now permitted by our generous colleges, substitutes chemistry or physics for his senior Latin, his laboratory course, a necessary concomitant of three hours of text, uses up four more recitation periods, the nine hours counting as five on his schedule, because for his laboratory course no outside preparation is required. The algebra today, so my colleagues who teach the subject tell me, is increased by a large amount and by the degree of proficiency demanded.

These facts leave untouched the padding of "practical" courses required in most public schools. They show that today in the judgment of the colleges there are no minor subjects in the preparation for college admission; each stands on an equality with every other and each college department insists most jealously that its subject be given as much time in the secondary school as any other.

There is one result to this situation. The secondary school has perforce increased the required hours of instruction, thereby lessening the hours of preparation open to the pupil unless he devote to study hours needed for sleep and recreation. A second result is the growing dependence of the pupil on instruction instead of self-development; to me this is prostituting education. One gets the best *pate de foie gras* by spiking a goose's feet to the floor and ramming food down its throat; but we ought not to aim at a similar process and result in training our pupils.

The lessening of the hours that may be devoted to preparation and the necessity of being equally proficient in each subject cause the student to divide up his time evenly among his subjects; in consequence Latin cannot receive much more than an hour and a half of preparation per recitation; yet I dare the assertion that in our generation many a lad spent three, four, or even five hours of preparation on many a Latin lesson. Today that is impossible.

Is the lad of the present day of inferior mental ability? Is he less industrious? To each question I answer most emphatically, "No." But he is dazed by the pressure. The college, in its effort to improve, broaden, and deepen the work of the preparatory schools and thereby to get students better qualified to run with success the college course, has forgotten that there are limits to a growing lad's mental powers; and in insisting on a maturity of judgment and on a maximum of attainment in too wide a field has doomed its own purposes to defeat.

HORACE MARTIN POYNTER

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ON *B.G.* i. 40. 5

Of the twenty-five instances of *cum* with the indicative in the *Gallic War*, eighteen are of the "whenever" type, four of these with the present tense, eight with the perfect, and six with the pluperfect. There are, besides, three

instances of "*cum* inverse" (6. 7. 2; 6. 8. 1; 7. 26. 3), one with *cum primum* (3. 9. 2), one of definite time (6. 12. 1), and two of the type which Hale calls "forward-moving relative clauses," where *cum* equals *et tum* (1. 1. 4; 1. 40. 5). The second of these two passages runs as follows: *Factum eius hostis periculum patrum nostrorum memoria, cum . . . non minorem laudem exercitus quam ipse imperator meritis videbatur*. This is the only imperfect indicative with *cum* in the Gallic War, and is notable also because it retains the indicative in an indirect subordinate clause.

Most of the indicatives scattered through indirect discourse are easily explained as parenthetical or explanatory statements, inserted by the narrator, and so not really a part of the quotation. Some of the Caesar textbooks, in their grammatical references on this passage, explain *videbatur* in this way, though the clause seems very clearly to be a part of the original speech. Three of our best-known Latin Grammars also state that the indicative is used in indirect discourse "to emphasize the fact stated," and a number of the textbooks explain *videbatur* in this way. But this use of the indicative in indirect discourse is not recognized by some of the most complete and most reliable grammars, and there is some ground for thinking that the category may have been specially made for this particular passage, for two of the three grammars which have this category give no illustrative quotation, and the third quotes this passage only. Moreover, why should Caesar, the *historian*, wish to emphasize to his *readers* this particular fact? Or why does this fact need more emphasis than the one directly following showing the advantage possessed by the gladiators under Spartacus because of their training in the Roman arena?

As a substitute for these explanations I can only suggest very tentatively that the indicative may here have been retained in order to preserve the special meaning of the indicative with *cum* in distinction from its circumstantial use with the subjunctive. I have found no other similar instances, but this case would be analogous to the tendency of *dum*, meaning "while," to keep the indicative under similar circumstances.

This passage is also responsible for one of the most stupid comments it has ever been my lot to read. A very good school edition of Caesar, after saying that "this indicative emphasizes the fact," sensibly suggests that Caesar thus refers to the army of Marius "as a hint to his own army to be equally deserving of praise." A textbook published a few years later, whose editors, I very much fear, had the earlier edition before them as they wrote, tries to combine the two ideas in one sentence, and says that "the indicative emphasizes the fact, and thus stimulates the soldiers to do as well." The editors apparently are not concerned with the fact that any stimulation of the soldiers must have occurred several years before Caesar, as a historian, decided to retain the indicative used in the original speech.

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Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., for the territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for the Middle States, west to the Mississippi River; Walter Miller, the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for the Southern States; and by Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Miss Julianne A. Roller, Franklin High School, Portland, Ore., and to Miss Bertha Green, Hollywood High School, Los Angeles, Cal. This department will present everything that is properly news—occurrences from month to month, meetings, changes in faculties, performances of various kinds, etc. All news items should be sent to the associate editors named above.]

California

The twentieth annual meeting of the *Philological Association of the Pacific Coast* was held in San Francisco on Saturday, November 30, 1918. Owing to the necessity of holding classes on Friday, the sessions were this year confined to one day. The following papers were read:

"The Poimandres, a Type of Second-Century Religious Philosophy," by Dr. William J. Wilson, of the Hitchcock Military Academy; "The Four Daughters of God in Spain," by Professor Hope Traver, of Mills College; "The Canterbury Tales at Chaucer's Death," by Professor John S. P. Tatlock, of the Leland Stanford Junior University; "Notes on Stevenson's Olalla," by Professor Ramón Jaén, of the University of California; "Latin Adjectival Clauses with the Subjunctive," by Professor Frank H. Fowler, of the Leland Stanford Junior University; "More Light on the Greek Theater of the Fifth Century, B.C.," by Professor James T. Allen, of the University of California; "Chaucer's Prioress's Tale," by Professor Walter Morris Hart, of the University of California; "The Real Nature of Dissimilation," by Professor Albert J. Carnoy, of the University of California; "The Wrath of Achilles," by Professor Augustus T. Murray, of the Leland Stanford Junior University. In addition, the following papers were presented to be read by title: "On Some Passages in the *Silvae* of Statius," by Professor William A. Merrill, of the University of California; "Hrozný's Conception of Hittite," by Professor George Hempl, of the Leland Stanford Junior University; "An Idiomatic Use of 'This,'" by Professor William H. Carruth, of the Leland Stanford Junior University; "A Note on Goethe's Advocacy of Burns," by Dr. Lawrence M. Price, of the University of California; "Interpretation of the First Canto of the *Divine Comedy*," by Professor Oliver M. Johnston, of the Leland Stanford Junior University; "New Gods for Old," by Dr. William Chislett, Jr., of the University of California; "Aristotle's Theory of Poetry in the Light of the New

Aesthetic," by Professor Jefferson Elmore, of the Leland Stanford Junior University; "Vowel Gemination in English Spelling," by Dr. Arthur G. Kennedy, of the Leland Stanford Junior University. At the evening session, the retiring president, Professor Gilbert Chinard, of the University of California, delivered an address bearing the title, "Literature and International Misinterpretations." Under a witty manner Professor Chinard presented some serious thoughts touching the danger of judging the spirit of a nation solely through its intellectual manifestations in literature.

The officers elected for the ensuing year are: president, H. C. Nutting, of the University of California; vice-presidents, J. S. P. Tatlock and W. A. Cooper, of the Leland Stanford Junior University; secretary and treasurer, respectively, S. G. Morley and Geo. M. Calhoun, of the University of California. Executive Committee: (with the above), C. G. Allen, B. O. Foster, Kelley Rees, and H. G. Shearin.

Illinois

The fifteenth meeting of the *Chicago Classical Club* was held at the Hotel La Salle, December 7, 1918. The attendance (63), though not the largest in the history of the club, marked an improvement over recent sessions. The delectable luncheon was diversified by the singing of Latin songs under the leadership of Mr. W. L. Carr, of the University High School. Reports from the Latin Front revealed an encouraging situation. Some high schools had actually increased their Latin registration, nearly all had at least held their own, and only a few had suffered an appreciable loss. The schools in the third group usually had a decrease in total enrolment as well as in Latin. In accordance with custom, the president of the club, Mr. Roy C. Flickinger, of Northwestern University, was the first speaker of the year. His most interesting lecture, which was entitled "Greece Before Homer," dealt with Schliemann's excavations at Troy, Mycenae, Tiryns, etc., and those of Evans and others in Crete, and was illustrated with stereopticon views and electroplate reproductions. In the interest of sociability the members sat at small tables, each of which was provided with a host and hostess.

The Chicago Classical Club was organized early in 1914. The presidents have been Messrs. John A. Scott, Gordon J. Laing, Omera F. Long, and Robert J. Bonner. The officers for the current year are Mr. Roy C. Flickinger, president; Miss Frances Etten, of the Wendell Phillips High School, secretary-treasurer; and Mrs. James Gibson, of the Schurz High School, Mr. William T. McCoy, of the Wendell Phillips High School, and Miss Loura B. Woodruff, of the Oak Park High School, as additional members of the Executive Committee. The membership was put upon a more definite basis last year by requiring members to pay dues, and at this last meeting the constitution was changed so that others than teachers may belong. The programs have always been of a character to interest a larger public, and an effort will now be made to extend the membership list. A yearbook will probably be published sometime next

spring. The winter meeting will be devoted to a classical forum on a subject of outstanding importance and will be held Saturday, February 8, 1919.

Texas

At the *Texas State Teachers' Association*, recently, in Dallas, one put aside the fear that the present-day trend of vocational education might encroach upon the established position of the classics. However, we of the faith regret that the setting forth in so unanswerable a manner the value of our subject, even to those vocations that scoff at its merit while reaping its benefits unawares, could not have been presented to those who ungratefully criticize without reflection or investigation.

W. G. Phelps of the Terrill School at Dallas gave some exceedingly practical hints to first-year Latin teachers. The representative body of teachers who heard him took on new courage as they added his spirit of enthusiasm to their own. He measured the future strength of the Latin student by the thoroughness and interest of the first year's work. He also caused numbers of teachers who communicated their comments throughout the audience by a sort of wireless method to be "Sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought" as he intimated that the teacher who allowed a question as to the value of Latin to arise in his class should thereupon retire to the ranks of vocational employment. The adroit suggestion was appreciated and we could not but be appalled at the possible sudden exodus!

Mr. Major of Abilene emphasized Latin as the best of all subjects for developing a *language sense*, hinting also at its service in tying together the Romance languages.

E. S. McCartney of the University of Texas gave an interesting illustrated lecture on "Life and Monuments of the Roman Campagna."

A pertinent suggestion offered was that if Latin is to have lasting value it must be so connected with the English that it becomes inseparable, thereby rendering it impossible for the one-time Latin student to *forget* his Latin.

A telling illustration of the dependence of English on Latin was given by a teacher who had her classes clip from a daily newspaper each Latin word. When they were all clipped the paper would no longer hold together.

At the last meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Professor Benjamin L. D'Ooge of the Michigan State Normal College, Ypsilanti, gave an illustrated lecture on "Modern and Ancient Methods of Warfare." To the many requesting the use of this material he wishes to announce that he will be glad to send the lecture and slides to anyone that cares to assume the expenses of transportation.

General Comment

[Edited by Gilbert Campbell Scoggin, The University of Missouri.]

The Ingersoll Lecture on the Immortality of Man was delivered at Harvard University in 1918 by Professor Clifford Herschel Moore, his subject being "Pagan Ideas of Immortality during the Early Christian Centuries." The lecture has been printed by the Harvard University Press. According to the provisions of the foundation the lecturer may be either a clergyman or a layman. Among the lecturers of former years may be mentioned William James, President Benjamin Ide Wheeler, Josiah Royce, John Fiske, Sir William Osler, Rev. Samuel McChord Crothers, Professor Wilhelm Ostwald, Professor George Herbert Palmer, and Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson.

In the *American Historical Review* for October, 1918, Professor A. E. R. Boak writes on "The Extraordinary Commands from 80 to 48 B.C.; A Study in the Origins of the Principate." "The ultimate basis of the Principate, as established by Augustus, was the imperium, unrestricted in its scope, which gave its holder the supreme command over the whole army of the empire, so that all troops took the military oath of allegiance to him and obeyed his orders." Way had been prepared for this by the numerous preceding "extraordinary imperia of a military nature," and "the career of Pompey the Great especially foreshadowed that of Augustus." Numerous examples of extraordinary commands are collected and arranged in chronological sequence. These all fall into four groups: (1) those under senatorial control, (2) those for the control of which there was rivalry between the senate and the comitia, (3) the rival commands of Pompey, Caesar, and Crassus, and (4) a section dealing with Pompey as the forerunner of Augustus.

The Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of Liberal Studies held on November 8 a Symposium on the Value of the Classics. The speakers and their subjects were as follows: "Modern Languages," President W. W. Comfort, of Haverford College; "Engineering," Professor Harold Pender, of the Towne Scientific School, the University of Pennsylvania; "Law," Professor David Werner Amram, of the Law School, the University of Pennsylvania; "Medicine," Dr. Charles R. Turner, Dean of the Evans Dental Institute, the University of Pennsylvania; "Biology," Professor Spencer Trotter, of Swarthmore College; "Historical Studies," Professor Morris Jastrow, of the

University of Pennsylvania; "Architecture," Leicester Bodine Holland, of the Department of Architecture, the University of Pennsylvania; "Journalism," Mr. Fullerton L. Waldo, Associate Editor of *The Public Ledger*; "Theology," Rev. Phillips E. Osgood, of the Chapel of the Mediator; "Education," Professor Frank P. Graves, of the School of Education, the University of Pennsylvania; "The College Curriculum," President M. Carey Thomas, of Bryn Mawr College.

From time to time the American-Hellenic Society has been issuing pamphlets indicating the just claims of Greece for consideration when the final terms of peace are being worked out. A recent pamphlet, entitled *Hellenism in Asia Minor*, is of special interest, not only because it sheds much light upon the Greek population of Asia Minor, but also because the author is a teacher in a famous German university. Written by a man primarily concerned with the interests of the Fatherland, it carries all the more conviction when it brings before us the characteristics of the Greeks as contrasted with those of the Turks, their masters. The introduction, by Mr. Theodore P. Ion, presents a succinct account of the part played throughout history by Asia Minor in conserving Hellenism. It is hard to exaggerate this point when we recall the part it played in stemming the tide of Persian invasion. Here also many of the early philosophers were born and here later was reared the stronghold of Christianity and here were found the homes of some of the greatest of the church fathers. Throughout the Middle Ages it was a constant barrier against the onslaughts of barbarism. Through all the varying fortunes of the world it fostered and maintained the idea of Greek nationality and succeeded in keeping alive the great traditions of its past. A good account is given of the schools supported in this region of some 335,000 square miles. Even where Turkish population predominates the Greek schools, supported by Greeks at their own expense, show by far the greater number of students. In these schools Turkish-speaking Greeks are taught their ancestral tongue and unity of race is strengthened. One is forced to admire the perseverance of a race which, under the handicap of Turkish subjection, has struggled so long and so successfully to preserve the memory of its ancient glory. Dr. Oeconomides adds a chapter on the history of Pontus with remarks on the Greek dialect spoken there. Included also is a very good map of Asia Minor. The reading of this booklet cannot fail to intensify a desire to see this Greek community throw off the Turkish yoke and be allowed an opportunity to develop its worthy national aspirations.

Recent Books

Foreign books in this list may be obtained from Lemcke & Buechner, 30-32 West 27th St., New York City; G. E. Stechert & Co., 151-55 West 25th St., New York City; F. C. Stechert & Co., 29-35 West 32d St., New York City.

- BOGART, E. E. *Latin Vocabulary for the First Two Years*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon. Pp. 5+65. \$0.32.
- CLARK, A. C. *The Descent of Manuscripts*. New York: Oxford University Press. 8vo, pp. 16+456. \$11.20.
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Editorial

THE FIFTIETH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

The American Philological Association met, in conjunction with the Archaeological Institute of America and the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, at Columbia University, December 26-28, 1918. By a vote of the Association a year ago the Executive Committee was given power to omit this year's meeting, if conditions seemed to warrant such action. Even before the armistice was signed the Committee wisely decided that we should meet as usual. It was realized that the present high cost of travel would prevent most members living at a distance from attending the meeting. New York, however, is our natural center of population, and a fairly well-attended meeting was assured in any case. The wisdom of the Committee is attested by the result, for not many meetings of the Association, even in actual peace times, have been so largely attended. Few members came from far away, but the total attendance was about 150. Definite figures on this point can never be given, for a considerable number of members, in spite of all requests to this effect, always fail to register. Before the beginning of the day's program on Saturday morning 122 had registered. Undoubtedly others registered after that time.

Those who were lucky enough to arrive as early as Thursday morning were greeted by a grand and unique celebration. Some wondered if it was simply the usual joy shown by New York on extending a welcome to the Association! Grand and noisy as it

was, we hope that it will remain unique. On this occasion our returning dreadnoughts, battleships, cruisers, etc., amid the booming of countless guns, passed in review before the Secretary of the Navy and came to anchor in North River. As the most widely read New York newspaper said in an editorial on that day: "This is Navy Day. . . . Fortunate are the men, women, and youth of this period to witness so inspiring a demonstration of American naval strength." Snow and fog interfered in some degree with the enjoyment of the spectacle.

It was a notable meeting, not simply on account of the large attendance, but also because Columbia University proved itself, as always, a most admirable host. On Thursday evening President Nicholas Murray Butler extended to the three associations a cordial welcome, in an address that gave renewed courage to us all. Dean Andrew F. West replied for the associations. His speech too was graceful, eloquent, and encouraging. We were made to feel entirely at home everywhere and on all occasions. President and Mrs. Butler gave a reception to all members of the associations and their guests on Thursday evening in the Avery Library. The reception was evidently attended by all members who had been fortunate enough to reach New York by that time, and it was thoroughly enjoyed. On Friday a luncheon was tendered to the delegates and members of the associations by Columbia University, in Students Hall, Barnard College. The large room was filled, and this event was a success from every point of view, including the social side.

On Friday afternoon no session of the Association or of the Institute was held. Three separate attractions were offered to the members: (1) the Library of Mr. J. P. Morgan; (2) the Museum of the American Numismatic Society; (3) the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The privilege of visiting any one of these is well worth a special trip to the city from any place, no matter how far away, and many days might be devoted to the inspection and study of these collections. One or the other of the three rich treats was thoroughly enjoyed by most of the members. We sincerely hope that these opportunities may still be open to us when we meet again in New York. Naturally we could not visit them

all in one afternoon or see as much as we wished of the one we did visit.

One fact deeply regretted by us all was the absence of the president of the Association, Professor Frank Frost Abbott. We were glad to learn that nothing more serious than a cold kept him away, but even that was bad enough, because it did keep him away. In the absence of Professor Abbott, Professor Walton Brooks McDaniel, one of the vice-presidents, presided, and he conducted our sessions with great efficiency, tact, and grace. At the joint session of the associations on Thursday evening the President's address on "Some Reflections on Classical History and its Trend in America" was read by Professor Duane Reed Stuart, who gave a humorous apology for the lack of perfection in reading that we were to expect. It was delightfully given, with a reference to the famous passage in Livy viii. 2, where we are told that when the voice of the great actor Livius failed he called upon a boy to utter the lines, while Livius did the acting. No apology was needed, however. The paper was excellently delivered, just as we knew it would be.

The address was masterly in thought and in form, as the speeches of our presidents have regularly been. The basic idea was most important, not only for us but for the world at large. The address was full of fine suggestions, and it was eloquently expressed throughout. The history of Greece and of Rome must be thoroughly comprehended by all who wish to understand modern civilization and to bear a part of the burden in securing the improvement of present conditions. Classical history must be taught to an increasingly large number of students by men and women well trained in the best historical methods and possessing a good knowledge of both Greek and Latin. A teacher without a knowledge of these two languages is handicapped almost to the point of uselessness. The address closed as follows:

Nowhere else can we find so well exemplified the ideals toward which the individual should strive as in the story of the Greek, and nowhere else are the methods of social organization so fully illustrated as in that of the Roman. How fatuous for the modern world not to take the fullest advantage of their rich and varied experience in the difficult times which are before us! From

the life of these two peoples we have much to learn that will be of inestimable value to America and the world in reconstructing civilization out of the chaos of today, and it is for us, as students of antiquity, to interpret the lessons drawn from that history.

The papers read by members displayed the usual high scholarship. They were extremely varied in subject-matter, but all were interesting and well written and delivered. In number the papers presented were somewhat fewer than usual. This fact afforded ample time for discussion, which was probably the end sought by the Executive Committee, for many papers, as always, were read by title only. Every paper was thrown open for discussion, which was limited on no occasion by the chairman. In some instances the discussion occupied more time than the presentation of the paper. On the other hand, a few papers were not discussed at all. This does not mean that the papers concerned were not interesting and important, for they were valuable and skilfully developed. The simple fact was that apparently nobody had anything to add to what had been said. In the case of the last two papers on Saturday morning there was no discussion because we had had a long session and nearly everybody was in a hurry to catch a train! This always happens, no matter when a meeting adjourns.

The first part of the session on Saturday morning was devoted to business. Much of this was purely a matter of routine and will not be noted here. Under the head of new business Dean West spoke in behalf of a proposal to approve the formation of the American Classical League and the proposed constitution for the league. While this proposed constitution at present makes no reference to this matter, Dean West said that, in his opinion, "the constitution must provide for a representative on the League's Executive Committee from each of the four regional classical associations, the American Philological Association, the Archaeological Institute of America, and those local classical clubs that have a large number of members. This should be done as a matter of course. The leading classical bodies of the United States should be represented."

After Dean West had finished speaking Secretary Bill read the resolution of the Executive Committee on this subject: "The

Executive Committee recommends that the American Philological Association approve the formation of a National Classical League, upon the Executive Committee of which there shall be representation of the leading classical associations in the United States." This resolution was passed by vote without dissent. The Institute had previously passed a similar resolution. The constitution of the league will be drafted in its final form at a meeting of the league's temporary Executive Committee, to be held in July, 1919.

The officers elected for the coming year are as follows: President, Professor John A. Scott, Northwestern University; Vice-Presidents, Professor Walton B. McDaniel, University of Pennsylvania; Professor Clifford H. Moore, Harvard University; Secretary and Treasurer, Professor Clarence P. Bill, Western Reserve University; Executive Committee, the above-named officers and Professor Francis G. Allinson, Brown University; Professor H. R. Fairclough, Leland Stanford Junior University; Professor R. M. Gummere, Penn Charter School; Professor Angie Clara Chapin, Wellesley College; Professor Duane Reed Stuart, Princeton University.

Three institutions desired to become the hosts of the Association next December. The Executive Committee decided to accept the invitation to meet in Toronto.

M. N. W.

A FIELD FOR THE AMERICAN CLASSICAL LEAGUE

The existing classical organizations of the United States have done an admirable work. Teachers of Greek and Latin have been drawn into closer touch with one another, with much mutual benefit in the way of information and inspiration; and through the establishment of official organs, now widely circulated, matters of professional interest are systematically brought to the attention of teachers everywhere.

Existing agencies have thus very successfully cared for what might be called the "inside relations"; but there is a wide field of outside relations that has as yet scarcely been touched. Thus, for example, we write strong papers in defense of the classics and waste them on audiences that are already convinced; and this we do simply because we have no machinery whereby to bring these

papers to the attention of very different and much larger audiences that need to be educated to the value of cultural studies in general and to the worth of the classics in particular.

The American Classical League could find here a task of the highest importance, with a twofold objective: (1) to acquaint the classical teacher more fully with the trend of present-day educational discussion, so that he may himself understand more clearly the place of the classics in a twentieth-century program of high-school studies, and thus be better prepared to defend his position intelligently; (2) to secure a hearing for the advocates of the classics in journals read by the general educational public.

At this point there is much need of missionary effort. All sorts of misconceptions abound. The critics of the classics are generally densely ignorant as to present-day conditions and methods of teaching Greek and Latin, they are deluded by the supposed findings of the experimental psychologist, and they are caught by the pseudo-professional cant of the times. (In this connection note the following classic copied from a school letterhead: "Our High School's Aim: 'A democratized program of studies for each student pursued amid a socialized environment with content of each subject vitalized with vocational functioning.'")

Moreover, the enemy is intrenched in the Modern School and subsidized by the Rockefeller millions. Never was there a time when the situation confronting classics in the schools was so critical. There is a huge task ahead, and the fight must be waged on a grand scale. The heavy guns of the Princeton Conference spoke with a sound that drew the attention of the whole country, and it now remains promptly to follow up the impression already made.

The chief difficulty is that of adequate financial support; the problem is to float the new venture without impairing the resources of the agencies that are now so well caring for the inside relations. Earnest thought must be given to this aspect of the situation, and a solution must be found. For the need of a general forward movement is so pressing that every teacher of the classics and every believer in the value of cultural studies in the high-school course should put his shoulder to the wheel with a will. A little later may be too late.

One other point. The Modern (Lincoln) School, proposes to have the best of teachers and every advantage that money can buy. Obviously such an "experiment" is bound to be a "success"; and the school was established under cover of such a deadly assault upon Latin that any degree of efficiency developed by it will in the public mind be credited not so much to the unusually favorable conditions under which the work was done as to the exclusion from the curriculum of the "obsolete and discredited classics."

This issue could be met squarely only by establishing a rival experimental *classical* school, wherein new methods could be tried out under like favorable conditions. Later, results could be compared with those secured by the "Modern School"; and from such a comparison the classical school would have nothing to fear.

To hope that any such fair play will be secured for the classics may seem an idle dream, for of course we cannot compete with the Rockefeller millions. But it is not beyond the realm of possibility that some strong classical school could be induced to alter its program sufficiently to serve the purpose of a test such as is here proposed. If the American Classical League could engineer some such project it would render a service the value of which would be hard to measure.

H. C. N.

OUR ANNUAL MEETING

Announcement is made by the Executive Committee that the annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South will be held this year at Atlanta, Georgia. The Association will be the guest of Emory University, Oglethorpe University, the Georgia School of Technology, and the city of Atlanta through its representative commercial bodies. The date has been fixed for April 10, 11, 12. The full program is promised for the March number of the *Journal*. This program will be made up in part from papers requested by the Program Committee, and in part from papers offered by members. Those who desire to offer papers should send their titles to the secretary, Professor Louis E. Lord, 541 West 123d Street, New York City.

JULIUS CAESAR IN THE ENGLISH CHRONICLES*

BY **FREDERIC STANLEY DUNN**
University of Oregon

Few of the really great in history have escaped the fictions of the ballad monger and the novelist. The majority of the heroic figures of old stalk through the pages of literature as if possessed of double entities, one of these a shadow cast, as it were, by the light of legend and fable.

Two personages are thus revealed to us as Alexander the Great: one the historical King of Macedon, the other the mythic Iskander, who could thread the ether in a chariot of gryphons. Solomon, Theodoric, Charlemagne, Richard Coeur de Lion—all have their "Didymi," often quite as fascinating as their real selves. And so too there is an apocryphal Caesar, a Caesar so strangely altered, so curiously staged, that the Emperor would have wept from sheer merriment to have seen his image in such convex-mirror fashion.

It is the English Chronicles that have bequeathed to us this pseudo Caesar—a composite, to be sure, for there is considerable variation throughout, and incomplete at that, for not all the chroniclers essayed to feature Caesar. Asser, for instance, is consistently monographic in his *Life of Alfred* and ventures not a single allusion to things Roman, except the city of Rome itself. Gildas too, in the scant portion reserved for the purely historical out of his biblical exegesis, devotes his whole attention to the Saxon régime, and only the later years of Roman occupation are mentioned. And Ethelwerd, to cite still another example, while purporting to transmit a history "from the beginning of the world," in reality condescends only some brief prefatory remarks upon the Roman period before proceeding to his actual theme. This last-mentioned characteristic has indeed removed the majority of the Chronicles from con-

*The author apologizes for the use of translations, the originals not being available.

sideration, for the Saxon epoch is their proper subject-matter and reference to preceding periods is quite incidental.

It is rather to be regretted, from a historical standpoint, that William of Malmesbury too devotes to the entire Roman occupancy only a page by way of preface. A sentence not even complete is assigned to Caesar, in which Britain is said to have been "compelled" by him "to submit to the Roman power"—a hasty generality withal.

But quite incidentally in Book II of the *Modern History*, as Malmesbury calls the continuation of his narrative into the reign of Stephen, a bit of unique reference to Caesar is introduced. The arrival of Earl Robert of Normandy in England, with but 140 horsemen, to support the cause of his sister, the empress Matilda, reminds Malmesbury of the similar fortitude of Caesar at the outbreak of hostilities with Pompeius. He cites Livy as authority that Caesar "had but five cohorts when he began the Civil War, with which he attacked the world." No such statement is now to be found in the epitomes, which is proof, by the way, that portions now lost of Livy's *Annals* were still extant in Malmesbury's time. The remark, however, is substantially verified from Caesar's own memoirs, for, although he left Ravenna for Ariminum with the entire Thirteenth Legion, he from there dispatched five cohorts with Antonius to Arretium, retaining only five with which to cross the Rubicon.

But beyond this likeness in dash and intrepidity Malmesbury regards the similarity between Caesar and Robert as ceasing, for, to quote his own words, Caesar, "an alien to the true faith, reposed his hope in his good fortune, as he used to say, and the valor of his legions," whereas "Robert, celebrated for his Christian piety, relied only on the assistance of the Holy Spirit and the Lady St. Mary." The trouble with this rather naïve logic is that the "true faith," at least the "true faith" which the chronicler had in mind, did not exist in Caesar's time, and the latter's reliance upon Fortuna and his own legions was probably as efficacious as Robert's appeal to heaven.

Malmesbury's conclusion is that "the comparison . . . is invidious." Caesar, moreover, he proceeds to say, "had partisans

in Gaul, in part of Germany and Brittany, and had attached to him by means of presents all the Roman people with the exception of the Senate," whereas Robert could count on but a handful of adherents. These geographical references are of course expressed in the phraseology of postclassical times—Gaul, Germany, and Brittany all being portions of Caesar's one province.

Richard of Cirencester's Chronicle may be dismissed at once as an acknowledged forgery. It could afford us little additional interest at best, for the author merely quotes from Caesar's *Commentaries*, albeit with commendable accuracy. Cassivelaunus appears as Cassibelinus, a variant much affected by the bona fide chroniclers. It is only when the pseudo Richard ventures outside his authorities that he bears watching. For example, his assertion that even the name of the Romans was unknown in Britain before Caesar's invasion is scarcely credible. Again, it may be noted that the flight of the young Trinobant chieftain Mandubracius and his refuge with Caesar in Gaul, as related by Caesar himself (*B.G.* v. 20), are rather enlarged upon, the inference being that the Emperor intended the whole episode to be interpreted as a pretext for his second invasion, an interpretation, by the way, shared by other chroniclers as well.

To turn to the several narratives that deal in any extended fashion with Caesar's invasion, the chronological order should doubtless begin with that agglomeration of pieced and overlapping manuscripts, called, for want of a more definitive name, the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle." To be sure, there is one reading which reduces the whole story to a single paragraph:

Before the incarnation of Christ sixty years, Gaius Caesar the emperor, first of the Romans, sought the land of Britain; and he crushed the Britons in battle, and overcame them: and nevertheless he was unable to gain any empire there.

Codex A, however, with text largely based upon the Latin of Orosius, expands the preceding epitome to the following more pretentious record:

Sixty years before Christ was born, Gaius Caesar, emperor of the Romans, with eighty ships, sought Britain. There he was at first distressed by a fierce battle, and a large portion of his army was dispersed. And then he left his

army to abide among the Scots, and went south into Gaul, and there collected six hundred ships, with which he came again into Britain. And as they first rushed together, the emperor's *gerrefa* ("tribune") was slain: he was called Labienus. Then the Welsh took large and sharp stakes and drove them into the fording place of a certain river under water; this river was called Thames. When the Romans discovered this, then would they not go over the ford. Then fled the Britons to the wood-wastes, and the emperor conquered very many of their chief cities after a great struggle, and departed again into Gaul.

The error of one year in subtraction, discovered in this document, was perpetuated by all the chroniclers—60 B.C., instead of 59, being assigned to Caesar's consulship. But the greater error was thereafter made of centering all Caesar's subsequent proconsular acts as well around this one year, with the consequence that 60 B.C. came to be the generally accepted date for the invasion of Britain. Bede, it is true, in the body of his *Ecclesiastical History* distinctly names 60 B.C. as the year of the consulship and then uses the very colorless term "afterwards" to cover all the succeeding *imperium* in Gaul. But in his chronological recapitulation Bede too falls back upon the common error: "In the sixtieth year before the incarnation of our Lord, Caius Julius Caesar, first of the Romans, invaded Britain"

As for chronology, Ethelwerd, it may be mentioned in passing, falls farther afield than any other chronicler. He makes his first mistake in fixing the sack of Rome by the Goths, which he uses as a point of departure, in the year of the city 1146, i.e., 394 of our era, as against 410. The more egregious error is superinduced when he counts back 485 years to Caesar's invasion, i.e., the year 91 B.C. Even if he had reckoned back from 410 A.D., it would still be exceeding the actual period by 20 years.

The fruitlessness of the invasion is usually a florid figure in the Chronicles, following the very succinct statement quoted above, of which Bede's quaint summary is a happy variant, that Caesar "was victorious, yet could not gain the kingdom." Yet, despite this discomfiture, the chroniclers seem largely to share Ethelwerd's assertion that the Romans "had held the island, beginning with Caesar." That same tendency to telescope their periods led to the assumption that Britain had been a Roman province ever since

Caesar's time, denying to them a proper cognizance of the years that elapsed before Claudius and Suetonius Paulinus came, almost a century, in which the Britons were left quite to themselves.

It was doubtless the stupidity of a copyist that transposed Orosius' phrase "in hiberna" into "in Hyberniam," and thus interpolated Ireland, the original home of the Scots, into the story, in lieu of the harmless "winter quarters." It is an interesting example of how such errors may become fixed and can accumulate to themselves much foreign material. This too may account for a curious reference to Caesar, far to the end of Ethelwerd's Chronicle, in connection with the Danish invasion under the given date of 913: "After a year, a fleet entered the mouth of the Severn, but no severe battle was fought there that year. Lastly the greater part of the army go to Ireland, formerly called Bretannis by the great Julius Caesar," a statement which cannot be substantiated from the *Commentaries* and seems to have no parallel in the other Chronicles.

But the text of Orosius is directly responsible for the much more serious blunder we have seen in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle already quoted—an error that led subsequent generations of annalists far afield. Caesar, in narrating the second invasion (*B.G.* v. 15), mentions the death of a tribune named Q. Laberius Durus. The similarity in sound and spelling led to confusion, the more famous name of Labienus finally prevailing. Of course there could have been no confusion in the mind of Orosius himself—he mentions the real Labienus in succeeding chapters, for Caesar, as we know, had left his great *legatus* upon the Continent with three legions and was obliged to write him to make up the tale of the damaged ships. But not so the chroniclers. The habitual curtailment of the narrative enforced upon them the identification of the obscure tribune with Caesar's greatest soldier, sadly to the entanglement of the story.

And now we have come to Bede the Venerable. But Bede, otherwise so valuable an authority, is reduced to a minimum of interest to the Caesarean student. His one brief chapter, which he entitles "C. Julius Caesar, the First Roman That Came into Britain," is discovered to be taken almost *verbatim* from Orosius. And yet this it is, despite the errors in transmission, that imparts

to Bede's narrative a markedly sane, sober demeanor and removes it from the category of other Chronicles, embarrassed as the latter are by the extravagant and the romantic. Bede's chapter would indeed bear upon it all the characteristics of thorough credibility and possibility, did we not have Caesar himself as a corrective in the rather significant errata already noted—mistakes which were transmitted, often word for word, to the chroniclers who came later and were, withal, much enlarged upon.

Orosius then, through Bede, is responsible for the emphasis given to that "rough handling"—as is the translation of the latter's phrase—which the invader received both at the hands of the Britons and from the elements. His discomfiture and final victory only at great cost are kept painfully before the reader of the usual English Chronicle. The persistence of this feature seems to indicate a lively tradition and certainly lends color to the vague suspicion of insincerity heard ascribed in some quarters to Caesar's own account. To cite an instance of variation from the *Commentaries*, the impression we had previously obtained from Caesar suffers rather a shock when we read the Orosius-Bede summary of the first invasion, that Caesar "lost a considerable part of his fleet, no small number of soldiers, and almost all his horses"—this last an obvious mistranslation of *equites*. Then in the account of the second invasion defeat is distinctly credited to Caesar's cavalry, wherein the pseudo Labienus falls.

Bede's evident sincerity in following his Latin annalist is illustrated by a bit of personal testimony interpolated into the original text. The stakes driven into the river bed and banks of the Thames to obstruct Caesar's advance elicit this comment: "The remains of these are to be seen to this day, apparently about the thickness of a man's thigh, and, being cased with lead, remain fixed immovably in the bottom of the river."

The final submission of the several tribes is enhanced in Bede's narrative by the introduction of a city named Trinovantum, an element much built upon by later hands in the Chronicle. Trinovantum may be a fiction, the eponymous town of the tribe whom Caesar names the Trinobantes, but it is far more likely to have been a misinterpretation of Orosius' phrase "Trinobantum firmissima

civitas," in which the very evident genitive plural has been read as an appositive neuter noun.

Mandubracius, the exiled Trinobant princeling whom Caesar restored to his tribal position, as he himself relates, now becomes, doubtless through textual mishap, Androgeus. He is in command of the city of Trinovantum, and his surrender of this fortress breaks the power of Cassibelaun's resistance. The amplification of the Androgeus episode by later annalists is one of the astounding features of the Chronicle.

In the chronicle passing under the name of Nennius, written a century after Bede's, we detect for the first time positive distortion of the story and the introduction of those fanciful additions which, at the hands of such masters as Geoffrey of Monmouth, leave the actual substratum of fact almost unintelligible. Nennius devotes two sections, a page in all, to Julius, who is twice complimented as "the first who had acquired absolute power at Rome" and "the first exercising supreme power over the Romans who invaded Britain." We probably should not take these pluperfect tenses too seriously, but it is not at all improbable that the chronicler therein evinces a blurred conception of the sequence of events in Caesar's life, imputing to him the dictatorship and the establishment of the monarchy previous to the invasion of Britain.

Nennius' account of the first invasion is prefaced as follows: "The Romans, having obtained the dominion of the world, sent *legates* or deputies to the Britons to demand of them hostages and tribute, which they received from all other countries and islands; but they, fierce, disdainful and haughty, treated the legation with contempt." Thus we have restored to us from Nennius, though apparently upon no authority whatever, and, as we shall presently see, later enhanced by Geoffrey, something that Caesar himself fails to make satisfactory to us—an adequate pretext for his invasion.

To resume, Caesar was "highly incensed" against the Britons and came in person to avenge the insult. His fleet consisted of sixty vessels—this in comparison with Caesar's enumeration of eighty transports and an unmentioned number of *naves longae*, not to speak of the eighteen transports assigned to the cavalry, which, however, failed to make conjunction with the main squadron.

Nennius names the mouth of the Thames as the point attacked by Caesar, and there, in fact, all the chroniclers unhesitatingly land him. Caesar himself, it will be remembered, names no localities at all in this first invasion. Archaeologists still dispute Caesar's land-fall, the Thames being almost a vanishing quantity in the argument.

Then follows a confused passage. Caesar's ships were wrecked while he himself was engaged in battle on land with one Dolobellus, the latter bearing the ascription "proconsul of the British King." The king himself is named Belinus—a variant reading is Cassibelanus—evidently our old acquaintance of the *Commentaries* but further pompously identified as "the son of Minocannus, who governed all the islands of the Tyrrhene Sea." A sweeping summary almost immediately follows: "And thus Julius Caesar returned home without victory, having had his soldiers slain and his ships shattered." This is a much worse stigmatization of Caesar than Orosius and Bede had given him, for the latter did leave a remnant to return to Gaul. Caesar tells us that only twelve ships were eventually missing, and nowhere does he mention any serious casualty in life. In one skirmish he reports, "Paucis interfectis."

Nennius surprises us by postponing the second invasion three years. Again the mouth of the Thames is named, and again the estimate of ships falls considerably below that given by Caesar—two hundred as compared with six hundred transports and twenty-eight triremes in the *Commentaries*. No mention is now made of the still greater storm of this second summer. The stakes, rather cursorily mentioned by Caesar, Nennius calls "iron pikes," and, differing from Bede, throws considerable emphasis upon the ruse, the stratagem being ascribed to the same Dolobellus. One is led to infer that Caesar's discomfiture is imputed largely to the stakes, for the assertion immediately follows: "Thus Caesar was compelled to return without peace or victory."

But, climax of all the surprises, a third expedition was launched, and this time Julius defeated the Britons "near a place called Trinovantum," styled in a variant reading London. This third invasion, so summarily compressed in the Chronicle of Nennius, is dated "47 years B.C. and 5,212 years after the creation!"

And now we turn to Geoffrey of Monmouth, to find included in his delectable *History of the Kings of England* all the errors of Bede and the fiction of Nennius embodied and amplified and a most diverting romance woven about Caesar and his British wars. Book IV starts out interestingly enough with the picture of the Roman proconsul standing on the northernmost Gallic shore, having fought his way thus far and now for the first time glimpsing the opposite coast line of an unknown island. He is represented as being filled with wonderment, despite his own many references to Britain. Most of all is he astounded to learn that the inhabitants of this newly discovered and yet, happily for him, unconquered world are in a way distant cousins of his. "By Hercules"—how up to date with modern fiction this charming classical asseverative in Julius Caesar's mouth! The Romans and Britons were descendants of a common ancestor, Trojans both, in that Caesar looked back to Aeneas, while the Britons were so named from Brute, Latinized as Brutus, a great-grandson of the same Aeneas, who, after many adventures, founded for himself a kingdom and dynasty in Albion.

Caesar is unable to restrain his native instinct for conquest, yet, having a nice conscience as to making warfare upon his own kinsfolk, he feels that etiquette demands of him a courteous ultimatum. Chapter ii is the truly royal letter in response to King Cassibelaunus, epic in its phrasing and veritable Scripture for the Englishman of all time: "Yea, should even the gods themselves think to snatch it [freedom] from us, we should withstand them to the last gasp, and it should go hard but that we should hold to it in their despite." Are Englishmen of today ignorant of their own Geoffrey? Else would we have, ere this, heard from parliament and the *Times* alike this splendid text from Cassibelaun's letter: "Be it therefore clearly understood, Kaiser, that in case, as thou hast threatened, thou dost emprise the conquest of this island of Britain, thou shalt find us ready to fight both for our freedom and for our country." We are almost constrained to look again in the text for the psalmist's "Selah," after the old-time connotation given to it in the childhood of this generation.

Chapter iii brings the crisis—Caesar “carrying into effect the message he had sent to Cassibelaunus.” But there is no storm in Geoffrey’s version; it is a “fair wind” and a “fair course” that bring the Roman squadron to the mouth of the Thames, conformably to the unanimous practice of the chroniclers. What we gain in one epic we lose in the other, for Geoffrey again gives no place for the Homeric-like episode described in the *Commentaries*, where the hostile armada is casting about for its Protesilaus to be the first on shore. The immortal standard bearer of the Tenth Legion and his famous dictum are subjected by Geoffrey to a process of ecthipsis; they are, as it were, “squeezed out” of the story, for “they had already landed from the boats, when lo! Cassibelaunus with all his strength cometh to meet him.”

Cassibelaun’s generalship, it must be confessed, is rather weakened in comparison, in Geoffrey’s version, by this failure to strike before Caesar had landed. Caesar was encamped when the British king, to quote the Chronicle, “held council with his barons how best to keep the enemy at a distance.” At this council of war in the town of Dorobellum there were dukes and vassal kings present whose nomenclature smacks decidedly of the Arthurian cast. We meet here with Belinus, commander-in-chief of the army, whose name was confused in the Chronicle of Nennius with that of Cassibelinus as king. Two nephews of Belinus are there, one of them that same Androgeus, “Duke of Trinovantum,” whom we have discovered in Orosius and Bede—Caesar’s Mandubracius.

The battle that ensued when the British came down upon Caesar’s camp is a cameo of true Nibelung colors: “Forthwith on this side and on that the wounded fell smitten through the vitals, and the ground is flooded with the gore of the dying, as when a sudden southwester drives back an ebbing tide.”

And Geoffrey must needs insert a thriller in the way of a single combat, to give the tale all the semblance of the chivalric. Nennius, “who commanded the men of Kent,” and brother of the king, is “glad beyond measure that it should lie in his power to strike even one blow at a man so great,” even “Julius himself,” who is here, as

elsewhere by the chroniclers, styled "emperor," doubtless a mis-translation of the Latin *imperator*.

The magic swords whose names have been heralded in the *Morte d'Arthur*, the *Chanson de Roland*, and the Norse sagas are herein increased by the addition of Caesar's own, though Caesar himself probably knew it not by name. Excalibur and Angurwadel and Ironbiter are not to be placed one degree higher in excellence or invincibility than Julius Caesar's "Saffron Death," "for that no man smitten thereby might escape or live."

Caesar's first blow at Nennius gave him a mortal wound, though he was not aware of it at the time. But with the second blow Saffron Death remained imbedded in the Kentishman's shield, and "the Emperor had not strength to wrench it forth." Just then the combatants were separated by the onrush of troops, and Caesar, in most unheroic-like style was obliged to relinquish his famous sword. Subsequently Nennius succeeded in loosing it, threw away his own weapon, and, armed with Roman Saffron Death, launched forth like an Achilles. "Whomsoever he smote therewith, he either smote off his head or wounded so sore at the passing, as that no hope was there of his living thereafter."

"In the thick of the melly . . . Labienus the tribune" came within touch of Saffron Death and fell by his own general's sword. It is at once apparent that Geoffrey is herein perpetuating Bede's mistake in erasing the redoubtable Labienus thus early in the game. What anguish Caesar would have been spared in the years to come if his traitorous marshal had actually died this premature death.

Geoffrey pictures a very much crestfallen emperor at the end of that first day, it would seem. This is the ending depicted of that first invasion: "During the night he got together all that were left of his troops and betook him to his ships, glad enough to make the deep sea his camp of refuge. And when his comrades dissuaded him from continuing the campaign, he was content to abide by their counsel and returned into Gaul."

After the digression of chapter iv, which briefly relates the death of the lamented Nennius, we return to find a great surprise for us in chapter v. Caesar has landed in Gaul to find the tribes emboldened by his British disaster and ready to crush him without

further ado. And what does Caesar, the ordinarily so redoubtable Caesar, with his Stoic indifference and his supreme reliance upon "Mother Venus" and Fortuna? Caesar, evidently unmanned by the loss of Saffron Death, like Samson shorn of his hair, opens his coffers and dispenses his bribes right and left, until his supremacy is once more assured. "Thus," says Geoffrey, "he that aforetime had stripped them of all they possessed and roared at them with the fierceness of a lion, hath now become a gentle lamb and humbly bleateth out what a pleasure it is unto him to be able to restore them everything." And here is "the most unkindest cut of all," like unto the scorpions of Rehoboam: "In the meantime not a day passed but he chewed the cud over his flight and the victory of the Britons."

Geoffrey now follows the lead of Nennius' Chronicle in allowing a space of two years to elapse, in which both Roman and Briton prepare for a recurrence of hostilities. Then we have in chapter vi the famous account of the stakes in the river bed below the city of Trinovantum. The sequel of this deadly ruse, as set forth in this and the succeeding chapter, is a unique surprise, a fair example of what legend and fiction were making of Caesar. The whole purpose of the stratagem is revealed as being directed, not against a wading troop of infantrymen, but against Caesar's ships. It is submarine warfare with a vengeance. Caesar's ships are disemboweled by the sunken palisades, and a woeful mortality of Romans ensues. Says Geoffrey: "His soldiers were drowned to the number of many thousands." Not even the rally of his forces on land availed to restore the day for Caesar. "Thoroughly routed," we now quote, "he fled with his minished numbers to his ships, and reached the shelter of the sea exactly as he wished, for a timely wind blew fair, and, hoisting sail, he made the coast of the Morini in safety."

Fortunately the elements are not also called in to fight the cause of Britain, else, had Geoffrey seen fit to include the storm, we are led to wonder what would have been left of Caesar. The close of chapter vii is certainly a heartless lampoon upon our *Deus Invictus*. It is a picture of Caesar taking refuge in a tower on the Belgian seaboard, a tower he had built in his foresight for this very purpose before setting out for Britain. If Cassius had seen him then and

thus, Shakespeare could not have invented satire and venom enough to put into his mouth. Poor C. Iulius Caesar!

But the drama now takes a new and unexpected turn. The third invasion so briefly suggested in the Chronicle of Nennius is given a most fantastic setting by Geoffrey. Cassivelaunus, in honor of his victory, holds a tremendous feast, worthy of the extravagance of an Ahasuerus, and at this feast the nephew of Androgeus, duke of Trinovantum, slays the king's nephew. The refusal of Duke Androgeus to make amends leads to civil war, and the upshot of it all is a letter from the affronted Trinovant to the Roman general, asking his assistance against his former suzerain. But Caesar had been taught prudence and refuses to come again into Britain without the assurance of good faith. Androgeus forthwith sends his own son, among other hostages; this, it will be remembered, having a semblance of substantiation in the *Commentaries*.

So Caesar comes, on this fictitious third invasion of Britain! The decisive element in the ensuing warfare is the ambush of Androgeus with 5,000 men, and, after a terrific contest, Cassivelaunus finds himself cooped up on a hill, with the Romans cutting off all egress. Geoffrey at this point interpolates a striking apostrophe: "O, but in those days was the British race worthy of all admiration, which had twice driven in flight before them him who had subjected the whole world beside unto himself, and even in defeat now withstood him whom no nation of the earth had been able to withstand, ready to die for their country and their freedom." A like tendency has already been noted in former chroniclers of crediting the Caesar of this earlier period with his subsequent fame as a world-conqueror.

At the close of the second day the king was hungry and sent word to Duke Androgeus to intercede for him with Caesar, "lest," as Geoffrey adds, "the dignity of the race whereof he was born should suffer by his being led into captivity." So Androgeus, though with much scorn, finally consents to use his good graces with Caesar.

Chapter x closes the Caesarean portion of Geoffrey's romance. Androgeus is made to clasp Caesar's knees in plea for Cassivelaunus,

but "Caesar answered him never a word." Androgeus renews his entreaties, closing with threats of treachery, and thereupon Caesar, a Caesar unworthy of his real Roman entity, weakens through fear of his vacillating ally and accepts the surrender of the British king with stipulated tribute. But, not yet through with the wrenching of history, Geoffrey now calmly delivers himself of two more "memorabilia." Caesar is represented as wintering in Britain, not returning to Gaul until the following spring—this probably a variation of the error already noted, in which Ireland came so unexpectedly into the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. "Some time later, after collecting an army of men of all nations, he marched to Rome against Pompey."

Last to have our attention is the Chronicle of Henry of Huntingdon, in which there seems to be, as far as Caesar is concerned, a curious combination of the more authentic substratum to be found in Bede and a topping of the romantic after Geoffrey of Monmouth. Henry returns to the sound narrative of two invasions and includes the storm encountered in the first expedition. But he apparently builds upon Bede's errors and misconstrues other statements.

The amplifications which Huntingdon makes of Caesar's own accounts are sometimes amusing, sometimes illuminating. It is interesting, to say the least, to find emotion injected into Caesar's dispassionate narrative. We read, "Things did not at first turn out according to his expectation," or "outnumbered by a foe whom he had greatly underrated," or "exasperated at his ill-success," or "distracted by the cares of wars," and finally "returning with regret to Rome." It is impossible to discern from Huntingdon's tale any effort at chronology. The events of several days are apparently telescoped into one; at least there is no hint to the contrary.

With only Huntingdon to rely upon we would be led into grievous error. While Lucius Bibulus is correctly stated as Caesar's colleague in the consulship, there is nothing to refute a possible deduction that this doughty obstructionist was also associated with Caesar in his campaigns, and that too during the year of the consulship. The inference is that Caesar's entire army was employed in both invasions of Britain and, as in Geoffrey's account, that the

Romans were forced back into the ships and compelled to re-embark for Gaul immediately following their first attempt at landing.

It is the second storm, however, that brings out "the consummate general," to quote Henry's wording, for, "seeing all hopes of retreat cut off, he the more urgently roused the spirit of his troops, and while he was in the act of exhorting them battle was joined with the enemy." The error of Orosius' text is here again perpetrated of making "the Tribune Labienus" lead "the van of the Roman army against the division of Dolobellus," who is here styled "the lieutenant of the British King." Dolobellus, it will be remembered, was the character introduced by Nennius but wholly ignored by Geoffrey. A variation is now discovered in the *Huntingdon Chronicle*—Labienus routs Dolobellus' division, but is eventually surrounded and "slain with all his troops" by Belinus, the king's brother.

And then Caesar, in desperate straits, feigns a retreat into a wood, great numbers of his men falling on the way, and there, while collecting his troops under cover of the forest, he makes a splendid speech, doubtless of Henry's own composition and quite Tacitean or Ciceronian, as you please. Caesar, we know, was a finished orator, and he probably suffers little at the hands of Henry of Huntingdon, though the speech does smack rather loudly of the grandiose and the star chamber. The general ends his Homeric discourse with a call for a show of hands. To quote: "Having thus spoken, he extended his right hand and the whole army with loud shouts raised their hands to heaven and thus cheering began the battle."

The ruse of the stakes, which, however, Caesar discovers in time, and the surrender of Androgeus, the governor of Trinovantum, together with the storming of Cassibelaun's stockaded headquarters, are all reproduced from Bede. Huntingdon's idea in conclusion seems to be that it was Caesar's intention to winter in Britain, but that the outbreak of the Civil War immediately recalled him to Gaul, forcing him to withdraw his legions in order that they might accompany him in his march upon Rome.

ARIOVISTUS AND WILLIAM II

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Civilization had its first contact with the Germans more than two thousand years ago, and against it they have warred ever since, seeking forcibly to dominate it, to direct its energies, and to restrict its development to their own uses and advantage. Their initial appearance in the history of Western Europe was made with a flourish of war trumpets somewhat more than a century before our era. At that time vast hordes of Teutons engaged in a general tribal movement toward the West. After about a decade of victorious wanderings, during which they had penetrated as far as Spain, they were crushed and well-nigh destroyed by the Roman commander Gaius Marius in 102 and 101 B.C. No descriptions of these tribes, however, or of any individuals among them have come down to us, beyond the fact that they were a military scourge.

The first German personage of whom we have any record was Ariovistus, a king who was reigning in 58 B.C., the momentous year when Julius Caesar entered Gaul on the career of victory that was definitely to determine the trend of occidental civilization.

There is no direct evidence that Ariovistus was a Hohenzollern! Caesar, however, who came into conflict with him, has given us in his *Commentaries*¹ abundant material for a character study of the first German war lord of history, which will show remarkable similiarity of trait and outlook on the part of Ariovistus to the most conspicuous member of that fateful clan. William II regards himself as the incarnation and integration of the national character, and as the

¹ All material used in the present study is taken from Caesar's *Commentaries on the Gallic War*, and all references are to this work, by book and chapter. Tacitus and the illuminating works of the mediaeval writers, Peter of Dusburg, Lasicius, Dionysius Fabricius, and others, have not been quoted, as the object is to show, not the development of German character, but its persistence, in the main unchanged, from the beginnings of German History to the present day.

model and guide of his people toward the expression of that character. We accept him in that capacity. Ariovistus also expressed the racial character and is accepted by modern Germany as a representative German, if we may judge by numerous comments upon him contained in German editions of Caesar intended for use in German schools. Ariovistus expressed the race character as the chosen overlord of those who would choose as lord that man only who could sum up in himself, express, and give direction and effect to the instincts and characteristics which they possessed in common with him. He was content to be the chosen, or perhaps the self-imposed and subsequently accepted, overlord of the clans whom he directed to the carrying out of his and their common impulses and purposes. His notorious successor has advanced from this position, and acknowledges his election to supreme authority only at the hand of God himself. Really it is not such a far cry, as blood goes, from Ariovistus to the Hohenzollern. It is highly probable that Ariovistus was of the cruel and warlike Suebian stock. Caesar, in his account of his victory over the Germans, tells us that "there were two wives of Ariovistus, one a Suebian by nationality, whom he had brought with him from home" (i. 53), pointing definitely to Suebia as their joint home and not as hers only. And besides, no member of any other than the dominant clan could ever have established himself as "king"; and that the Germans themselves regarding the Suebi as the most powerful of their tribes we learn elsewhere, for a joint embassy from several German tribes declares to Caesar that "they yielded to the Suebi alone, whom not even the immortal gods could equal; but there was no one else on earth whom they were not able to conquer" (iv. 7). The Hohenzollerns also are a Swabian house, though the blood has been debased by the offscourings of the last days of imperial Rome, plus a taint of Balto-Slav and of Esthonian, the last a Mongol infusion. The "two wives" have been mentioned above, instead of economizing space by naming only the one in question, as throwing light on a certain suggestion emanating from the Hohenzollern, or at least countenanced by him, proposing plural marriage as a means of repopulation after the present war.

Now to our study of the man. Enter the protagonist: "Ariovistus, king of the Germans," ushered upon the stage of history by Gaius Julius Caesar (pronounced in Latin, *Kaisar*). The two names arrest the attention at once. Ariovistus, a proud title of overlordship; for what Caesar states as the name of the German king is really a Latinization of a primitive Germanic form of *Heer Fuerst*, "war lord," even as later Arminius is recognizable as Hermann camouflaged in an Italian disguise; and the successor and possible descendant of the German king, that "barbarous, hot-tempered, headstrong man," bears as his imperial title the name of Ariovistus' conqueror, become a world-symbol of military might. Furthermore, the title "King of the Germans" suggests at least that Ariovistus had succeeded, as did the grandfather of his successor, in welding together various tribes of Germanic stock into some sort of confederation; for, as the account of the battle shows (i. 51), Ariovistus was at that time the overlord of at least seven tribes, of which one, the Suebi, was powerful and important enough to be termed "nation" by Caesar (i. 53).

The three subjective traits of Ariovistus' character mentioned above—barbarity, irascibility, stubbornness—found their outward and objective expression in a relentless and gratuitous cruelty, not merely evidenced in his personal acts, but enjoined by him upon his willing agents. "They dreaded the cruelty of Ariovistus even when absent," says Diviciacus to Caesar, "just as if he were present in person" (i. 32); and by those whose ravaged towns fell into his sinister power, "all forms of cruelty had to be endured" (i. 32). Ariovistus tore from their homes and deported or dragged with him in his train the noble, the wealthy, the officials, of conquered peoples. He even carried off the children—and it is to be noted that "children," not "sons," is the word employed—of all the prominent men of the Gallic tribes over whom he had by force or craft extended his sway (i. 31). The torture and execution of these innocents as punishment for acts of their parents or of their countrymen, upon which acts he might lay his own whimsical construction of treason, or guilt, or disobedience, or *lèse majesté*, was his common practice: "Upon them he practiced every sort of

cruelty, if some trifling thing was not done according to his whim and desire" (i. 31). Prisoner and hostage alike were beyond compassion: "In their defeat they met with overwhelming disaster; they lost all their nobles, all their senate" (i. 31). He handed over to the cruelty of vassal tribes, as foreign to his stock as the Armenian is foreign to the Turk, conquered tribes in the vicinage of the vassals' dominions, to lord it over them in imitation and emulation of his own savagery: "They were compelled [by him] to give the noblest men of the state as hostages to the Sequanians" (i. 31).

Ariovistus' first foothold west of the Rhine was gained by craft and violence and by regarding an agreement as a "scrap of paper." It was a fine instance of peaceful penetration: "It chanced that the Germans were called in as mercenaries by the Sequanians. After these savage and barbarous men had become used to the lands and mode of living and the abundant resources of the Gauls, more were brought over" (i. 31); but the bargain was a sad one for the Sequanians. Victory with German aid was worse for a weak ally than defeat at the hands of a more chivalrous foe: "But worse happened to the victorious Sequanians than to the conquered Haeduan, because Ariovistus had settled down in their territories and had seized a third part of the Sequanian land, which was the best of all Gaul; and now he was demanding that the Sequanians vacate another third" (i. 31). Ariovistus' price for assisting the Sequanians on their own invitation and in their own land was the land itself. And why? Not that it was "nominated in the bond," but it was "the best in all Gaul"; and so Ariovistus coveted it and took it. The trifling fact that the land was another's weighed not at all with a character so cruelly selfish. With such men it is an openly proclaimed principle that *might is right*.

It is, by the way, a rather curious coincidence that this Sequanian land which the barbarous German so unscrupulously seized is today—Alsace. Even then its rich territory was a bait to barbarism.

It must have been in a thoughtless or *Kulturless* moment that Ariovistus apparently permitted self-expatriation—I suppose he called it self-determination—on the part of a subjugated or dispossessed tribe; even as, in after ages, the Alsatian victims of the

catastrophe of Sedan were accorded the very real privilege of forsaking the lands of their birth and of their love, and of seeking "another abode, other homes, remote from the Germans" (i. 31) in the narrowed boundaries of *La Belle France*. That such a migration was permitted is evident, for the spokesman of the Gauls declares to Caesar, "It will happen in a few years that we shall be driven from the boundaries of Gaul" (i. 31). Barbarous, hot-tempered, and headstrong as Ariovistus was, he was evidently guilty at times of extremely reprehensible weakness. Since those crude days there has been a steady development in *Kultur*. The modern plan would have been quite simple—merely to have transported east of the Rhine the most restless of the victims; that is, "those who were unable to endure his rule longer"! (i. 31). Strange that Ariovistus should have failed to perceive the advantages of enslaving the Gallic tribes and of utilizing them in forced development of the rudimentary agricultural labor of his semi-nomadic national economy, thus liberating for congenial military enterprises additional relays of warriors whose highly uncongenial task it had been to provide, in alternate years, sustenance for the troops actually in the field (iv. 1).

The army was the chief joy of Ariovistus and his satellite princelings; it was their pride of life. They avidly studied the science of death and devastation and applied it as an art. The blood lust was in their hearts and souls. Blood must flow, be it of men, preferably, or of beasts slain in wholesale battles. Sport and the sportsman's grant of a fighting chance were to them unknown. Their battlefields and their game coverts alike were shambles after battle or hunt: "All their life is devoted to hunting and to military activities" (vi. 21).

To such an extent had Ariovistus' savagery developed that to the slaughter of the neighboring tribes he added the ruthless devastation of their lands. Germany, an oasis of barbarism within a barren and empty desert ring, was his ideal and that of his heathen hosts. Bordering territory must never even be able to nourish a possible rival or an annoying neighbor. And in a nightmare of hate and fear of the rise of a rival, the harrying and despoiling of the lands just beyond his borders became a fixed principle of

conduct. We may readily imagine the fiendish joy of the Teuton horde in the cutting down of orchards, the burning of the standing crops, the poisoning of wells, the devouring blaze of cottage and of stable, the very ruin of the soil: "Tribally they consider it the highest praise that the land shall lie vacant as widely as possible from their borders" (iv. 3); and again, "It is the chief praise for a state that it shall have around it solitudes with wasted lands to as great a distance as possible" (vi. 22). Oh, ghastly science of devastation! Who would ever have dreamed that civilized men would again behold it reappear upon the earth?

This craze of Ariovistus and his wolfish hordes for destruction has a clear psychological explanation and an economic reflection. The basic motif was of course fear, however strenuously Ariovistus would have denied it and indeed have disbelieved it. Fear has ever been the active principle of tyranny, from earliest Mesopotamia down the long line, through Ariovistus, through Herod, slayer of infants, to the present. And fear breeds hate of the object feared. What savage shrilling of some primitive hymn of hate must have rent the flame-reddened sky as these unholy marauders plied spear and axe and torch in their frenzied orgies of ruin! And why should they fear? Why should any tyrant fear, be he savage or *soi-disant* civilized? Because his satanic soul knows and can know, imagines and can imagine, no being higher and nobler and cleaner of heart and hand than himself. Superior beings are not dreamed of in his philosophy.

So much for the Ariovistan psychology. The economic reflection of it was an economic isolation, and hence an enforced economic independence, thus establishing the tradition of Germany for the Germans which has persisted through the ages. To insure this economic independence the development of the national resources was promoted in a crude way. We have an early and interesting instance in the improvement of the inferior native strain of animals of burden and transport: "Indeed, the Germans do not use the imported pack animals in which the Gauls take delight and which they procure at high prices; but those which are bred among them, stunted and unsightly, they render by daily training capable of the most severe labor" (iv. 2). The entire economic outlook of

Ariovistus is along the line of expansion from within: the disposal of plunder, the staple product of his chief industry, and not the obtaining of commodities for a nation already deeming itself self-sufficient. The Germans' conception of international commercial relations was "that they may have traders to whom they may sell what they have taken in war, rather than that they desire anything whatever to be brought in to them" (iv. 2).

Ariovistus' list of things *verboten* to his people was long; among them were individual ownership of land and even the right to reside longer than a year in any desirable spot. From these primitive regulations his Junker descendants have widely departed, though the motives for them remain in all their pristine vigor: "That they may not exchange their love of warfare for agriculture," and again, "To keep the commons quiet" (vi. 22). These results are now secured in other ways. Thus even in Ariovistus' time the German government exalted the state and repressed the individual. As an instance, the entire tribe of the Harudes was assigned by Ariovistus to a section of Gaul selected by himself for them (i. 31), probably for reasons of state. To the crude military mind, then and now, the state and its policies are dominant, supreme. The material prosperity of the state is the *summum bonum*; and to this end all morals, public and private, are to be subordinated, all scruples set aside: "Robberies carry no reproach, provided they be committed outside their own territories" (vi. 23). How convenient for the replenishing of public treasury or private treasure, the art gallery or the jewel case! For art and jewels there must have been, even then, though the former may have consisted but of pictographs and the latter of pierced and polished shells or of irregular lumps of amber.

Even thus early in the race-history there existed a highly perfected organization of authority, and especially of military command. Ariovistus actually had a general staff for his army, which apparently differed from the similar body at the present time only in being chosen afresh for each war: "When the state enters upon a war, officers are chosen to direct this war and to hold powers of life and death" (vi. 23). And we may be certain that these primeval Hindenburgs and Ludendorffs gave short shrift to a Gallic man,

or even to a Gallic gentlewoman, who was suspected of constructive disloyalty or of lack of subserviency to the Teuton tyrant, or who might show a little mercy to captive soldiers of the Gallic race.

Ariovistus' methods of fighting and his art of war differed from those of the Gallic tribes both in tactics and in strategy. He had developed to a high degree of efficiency the theory of cavalry supports to a magnificently disciplined infantry (i. 48), as well as that of dismounted cavalry fighting as infantry (iv. 2). His strategy was a reflection of his personal craftiness. He regularly refused to come to fair and final decision in the open; and he won his ultimate victory over the forces of the Gauls only "after he had held himself many months in fortified camps and in the marshes and had not given them a chance at him" (i. 40); and attack on a nation whose army is disheartened and disintegrating brings easy victory; for he had dug himself in, as we should say today, and his somewhat unsophisticated enemies, with their different conceptions of valor and of military honor, fell into the trap and allowed their forces to become discouraged and partially to disband (i. 40). Strategic retreat also figured at that time in German strategy, as when two Germanic tribes forced a passage of the Rhine by deceiving the Menapii through a pretense of retreat. And it is to be noted that when their ruse had succeeded and the Menapii were in their power, "they maintained themselves during the rest of the winter on the supplies of these people" (iv. 4). The starving of resident populations by invading hordes of ruthless savages two thousand years ago set an unfortunate precedent.

Furthermore Ariovistus, as seems highly probable, maintained a more or less elaborate spy system in the midst of tribes and nations whose land he coveted or whose power he dreaded. Thus he was able to tell Caesar that he well knew that he, Caesar, had powerful enemies at Rome, to whom the great Proconsul's death would be welcome news (i. 44). It is hardly to be credited that all the initiative in this unsavory plot came from Caesar's enemies in Rome, or that it was their messengers alone who covered the weary miles of mountain and forest and marsh that lay between Rome and Ariovistus. The word usually translated "messengers" in (i. 44), must rather mean "messages," as it often does; for Romans could

scarcely have come through undetected, and few Gauls of the spy order could long keep a secret, owing to tribal jealousies and personal garrulity; their "unreliability" and "unsteadiness of character" earn many a sneer from Caesar. One is tempted to wonder who these original Boy-Eds and von Papens were, and what was their ostensible mission in the capital city of the world.

Coupled with this evidently efficient intelligence department there existed apparently a thoroughly unscrupulous corps of quasi-diplomats. Dilatory tactics, crafty counterproposals to the Roman demands, sheer time killing, movement of troops during a truce, the tempting of Roman officers from their allegiance—a game which Ariovistus, with singular fatuity, tried to play as a last resort with Caesar himself (i. 44)—all the weapons of a crooked diplomacy were employed with no mean skill, though no record has so far come to light of any request made to Ariovistus by one of his emissaries for fifty thousand Ariovistan thalers wherewith to corrupt the Roman senate.

The rules of diplomatic intercourse were, for Ariovistus, the rules of self-interest only. A solemn agreement of his own proposing was but "a scrap of paper." In the midst of a formal conference between the king himself and Caesar, to which the cunning barbarian had endeavored to prevent Caesar's bringing dependable troops, the German monarch resorted to the basest treachery, planned in advance. Ariovistus, well knowing the cowardice and unreliability of the Gallic cavalry, had demanded "that Caesar should bring no infantry to the conference; that both should come with cavalry" (i. 42). Caesar agreed but, seeing the trap, brought a detachment of his own famous Tenth Legion mounted on the horses of the Gallic cavalry contingent. We may imagine the chagrin of the German King when he saw the swarthy countenances of the Roman legionaries on their Gallic mounts. One might have supposed that, in the face of Caesar's evident suspicion, Ariovistus would have dissembled, in an attempt to convince the Proconsul that his suspicions were unfounded; but in the midst of the conference "it was reported to Caesar that the cavalry of Ariovistus were riding down upon our men and hurling stones and javelins at them" (i. 46). Yet this interview was held at Ariovistus' own

request and on his own conditions. "There is no international law," holds Ariovistus, as he not only violates a flag of truce and the sacred person of an ambassador, and violates them with premeditation, in the seizure of Procillus and Mettius, the latter an old acquaintance, but prepares to inflict fiendish torture on the envoys. They were saved only through the superstition of their unscrupulous captor (i. 47; i. 53), who three times had drawn lots to determine whether to burn them alive at once or to reserve for a future occasion his revenge for being outmaneuvered by Caesar at the conference. Each time, we are told, "they were safe by the favor of chance" (i. 53). Ariovistus and his minions were indeed grossly superstitious. Withered, witchlike crones read the secrets of the gods in weird incantations and made the outcome of their king's battle hang on the horns of the new moon (i. 50). And these German gods? They were conceived in the people's own likeness, creatures of the materialistic, utilitarian, and egoistic national mind. "In the number of the gods they consider only those beings which they can see, and by whose powers they are aided, such as the sun" (vi. 21). Ariovistus too sought his "place in the sun." All this superstition meant merely that adventure was deferred until these utilitarian gods should be believed to be in acquiescence with their worshipers. Progress has been made from this primitive concept by the reincarnate Ariovistus in the adoption of "Gott" as the permanent junior partner in the imperial directorate of the universe. "Breathing the diseased atmosphere of megalomania and blood lust," he has the name of God ever on his lips, and in the words of a recent essay, "To us, who are not on such easy terms with Heaven, the horror of the blasphemy is such that we must laugh, lest we go mad."

Ariovistus was an adroit propagandist. He had not only thoroughly defeated his Gallic neighbors, but he had them fully convinced of German invincibility. The German bogey was an obsession with them, and they passed the dreadful story on to Caesar's men with interest. "The Germans were of huge stature, of incredible valor and skill in arms" (i. 39). They shivered when they looked a German in the face, greatly of course to the delight of the German: "They declared that they could not even bear the

Germans' fierce expression and the glance of their eyes" (i. 39). The effect of these highly colored stories on the Roman soldiers affords a curious example of the contagion of fear. The propaganda almost proved successful; it would, in fact, have proved entirely so had not Caesar resorted to heroic counteractive measures. It is interesting to note in passing that as soon as the infection of the insidious propaganda was checked the Roman army marched splendidly on to final and complete victory. As an incidental means toward spreading his propaganda Ariovistus took pains to learn the languages of his enemies. He knew Celtic thoroughly (i. 47). He probably had a smattering of Latin as well; for while Caesar is usually careful to mention the presence of interpreters at interviews of state, no interpreter is mentioned for his important conference with Ariovistus. That Caesar knew no German is certain: he had never before been in contact with a Germanic race; and he did not even know Celtic (i. 19), a language with which Rome had been in contact for centuries.

Interesting indeed are the outward manifestations of Ariovistus' devious character, as seen in the negotiations leading up to the conference with Caesar and in the interview itself, as well as in the rather inexplicable attempt of the German King to entrap his astute enemy into another. Let us here remark parenthetically that efforts to settle vexing questions with regard to European boundaries by holding one "conference" after another have not been altogether unknown since the days of Ariovistus. This conference also failed of its purpose.

From the very first exchange of notes "Ariovistus himself, however, had put on such airs and assumed so arrogant an attitude that he seemed unendurable" (i. 33). The barbaric German King adopted the haughtiest of tones toward the great Roman, which the latter met with dignified firmness and with amused tolerance: "If he wanted anything from Caesar, to Caesar he would have come: so if Caesar wanted anything from him, to him Caesar should come. Besides, it seemed inexplicable to him what business Caesar or the Roman people at all had in his Gaul which he had conquered in war" (i. 34). For Ariovistus there could be "no peace without annexations"; and so insult after insult is offered in vain by the

representative of barbarism to the representative of the mightiest civilization of the ancient world. The entire thirty-sixth chapter of the first book of the *Commentaries* reads, *mutatis mutandis*, like a translation into Latin of certain well-known imperial utterances. The "good sword" glitters; the "mailed fist" swings; the Germans are "unconquerable" and will teach the presumptuous foreigner a lesson.

The interview itself is conducted on Ariovistus' side in the same vein of proud defiance. Its opening passages ring with the sound of a familiar falsehood. "I did not make war on the Gauls, but the Gauls on me" (i. 44) is the preposterous claim. Charges of bad faith are made and reiterated against Caesar: "I am bound to suspect that under a pretense of friendship you are maintaining the army which you have in Gaul for the purpose of attacking me" (i. 44). At times, however, Ariovistus employs skilful and valid argument, and there is some astute diplomacy, such as the proposed delimitation of separate spheres of influence, "This part of Gaul is my province, just as that is yours" (i. 44), a favorite device of the strong in partitioning the territory of the weak. But the German war lord's remarks consist chiefly of boastings and threatenings, and it is amusing to note the culminating threat of all: "Unless you retire and withdraw your army from these regions, I shall consider you not as a friend but as an enemy" (i. 44). It was the most terrifying thing which his overweening conceit could suggest to him. To defy that threat was indeed *lèse majesté*. We may readily imagine the Teuton shaking his fist under that Roman nose and exclaiming in bitter tones and with ferocious glance: "I shall stand no nonsense from Rome." With his own little world cringing before him in awe, he could not comprehend that strange, great republic beyond the Alps, which did not fear him. But the crowning bit of insulting folly lies in the closing words of the conference. They express a peace proposal on the basis of the *status quo ante* and the detachment of Rome from her allies, coupled with an offer of substantial favors to be granted if the terms are accepted. A bribe to Caesar! "But if you do leave and hand over to me the undisturbed possession of Gaul, I will reward you with substantial recompense" (i. 44). The magnificent diplomacy of Caesar's calm,

restrained reply does not concern us here. But we may note that the crossing of the paths of these two great figures of history resulted in strong confirmation of Solomon's observation, "pride goeth before destruction." May the application of that proverb be universal!

Such was Ariovistus, the type, persistent through the ages and now reincarnate. What has this type accomplished? It is highly probable that the Germanic peoples were originally serfs of the Celts. "And there was of old a time," says Caesar, quoting current legend, "when the Gauls surpassed the Germans in valor, carried on offensive wars against them, and sent colonies over the Rhine" (vi. 24). This strange story is strongly corroborated by the researches of D'Arbois de Jubainville, detailed in his work, *Premiers Habitants de l'Europe*. Caesar proceeds then to describe the gradual reversal of the positions and the slow decline of Celtic strength. War, ferocity, frightfulness seem thus to account for the steady advance of Germanic power from prehistoric days. Are these to be the dread means for the material progress of the nations? Is true civilization, the civilization of peace, then a failure? Is might really right?

It is for America to answer!

THE LATIN OF THE FUTURE

BY B. L. ULLMAN
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"Take time by the forelock" is a familiar proverb and an old one, old even when Phaedrus reproduced it 1,900 years ago. And what does it mean? Take the opportunity before it reaches you, look ahead into the future before it has gone into the receding past. Nothing is said of the present—for there is no present. And so in speaking of the Latin of the future I am not posing as a prophet. The only alternative I had was to speak on the Latin of the past. But to speak on the past of an old subject is too much like conducting funeral obsequies. I repeat, I am not a prophet, but the future of Latin can be forecast in part from past tendencies. Prophecy requires inspiration, forecasting merely a little reasoning, or science, as it is now called.

Now just as I am getting comfortably started, up bobs Mr. Spoilsport, giggling at his own silly joke, and cries: "Stop, you're done with your speech already, for there will be no Latin in the future." Stupid as he is, we must silence him first, or he will be interrupting constantly. If he means a million years hence, we agree with him, but if he is referring to the next few generations or centuries, he is quite mistaken. For the past can tell us something about the future. The United States Commissioner of Education reports the following Latin enrolment of students in the secondary schools of the country:

1890.....	100,144
1895.....	205,006
1900.....	314,856
1905.....	391,067
1910.....	405,502
1915.....	503,985

It is noteworthy that the most recent increase, in the five years between 1910 and 1915, is greater than that in the ten years between

1900 and 1910. It is true of course that this is part of a general large increase in the secondary schools, and that relatively the number of Latin students is less than in 1910 (dropping from about 49.5 per cent to about 39 per cent; yet in 1890 only about 33.6 per cent of the students in the schools studied Latin). The difference is due to the extension of the high school into vocational fields. Latin is still being studied by more pupils than German, French, and Spanish put together. We may expect a falling off in Latin in some of the eastern states in the near future, but this will be counterbalanced by increases in the West. Recent statistics show encouraging gains in Iowa, Kansas, and Wisconsin. The West has had its radicalism and is getting over it. The East has caught it and will have to be nursed until the attack is over. One thing seems clear, that the attendance in the upper years will decrease at least until the junior high school organization has become fairly general. With Latin begun in the seventh grade it is fair to expect that many pupils will continue it for four or five years.

Here comes Mr. Spoilsport again. Well, what now? You say that this growth in the number of Latin pupils is not a healthy one and represents only traditional inertia, that it is, in short, so much fat? 'Tis a pretty fancy that your words contain, plain though they be, and pretty fancies carry weight with the unthinking. But what if I show that the Latin of the future will be so attractive and so valuable that more and more diverse groups of pupils will study it? This is indeed already coming to be the case. In a number of high schools Latin has been introduced into commercial courses with great success. Even the educational experts, who as a class have made it their business in the past to be iconoclasts on all occasions (for advertising purposes?), are beginning to talk in different terms. Most notable are the words of Professor Bobbitt:

Latin is a living language in our country in that it provides half of our vocabulary. Pupils who would know English well should have a good knowledge of this living Latin. If the Latinists would shift their ground to this living Latin and provide means of teaching it fully and effectively for modern purposes, it is possible that the opposing schools of thought might here find

common ground upon which all could stand with some degree of comfort and toleration. When Latin study of the character here suggested is devised, it ought to be opened up to the students of all courses as an elective, so that it could be taken by all who wish a full appreciation and understanding of their semi-Latin mother-tongue. *Such a study ought to be required of the clerical students of the High School of Commerce.* In the meantime, however, all will have to wait until the Latinists have provided the plans and the materials.¹

Well, then, Latin has its future, and its future is not necessarily identical with its past. Most of those who attack Latin do so on the assumption that it is being universally taught in the same way that it was taught to them a generation ago. To this class President Eliot belongs. He is fighting shadows and killing dead men. The classicist is painfully astonished at the triteness of his charges. It is true that the pupil still drones his *amo, amas, amat*, as the monk tells his beads, and still finds his Gaul divided into three parts. But a great difference has begun in method, spirit, and emphasis.

The chief values of Latin study may be grouped under two heads, the linguistic and the content. The former is predominant in the earlier years of study, the latter in the later years. Out of a clearer conception of these values many changes in teaching are taking place.

On the linguistic side vocabulary is the most important for English and the Romance languages. There is great activity at present with a view to making Latin as helpful as possible for English, and we may expect further development in this direction. Careful attention to this matter will make even a one-year course in Latin worth while; and here we must remember that in the future the increase in Latin students will be in the first two years.

Further investigation concerning the Latin vocabulary most important for English is to be expected, but it is already abundantly clear that in large part the vocabulary of classical Latin which we have been teaching is the very vocabulary which is of most importance for English derivation. The improvement that we can effect is in a better selection for the first year; 90 to 95 per cent of the words in Caesar and Cicero (that is, of the parts read in the schools)

¹*What the Schools Teach and Might Teach*, p. 96. Cleveland Educational Survey, 1915. The italics are mine.

have one or more English derivatives. The same percentage holds for the 2,000 words recommended in Lodge's *Vocabulary of High-School Latin*. But it is not enough to select the best vocabulary; it is also necessary to teach the student how to use his Latin as a help to English, that is, the whole matter of word derivation in Latin and English both must be taken up. This involves chiefly the learning of the principal parts of verbs (for most derivatives come from the past participle) and of the simpler prefixes and suffixes. Our teaching of Latin for its own sake has suffered in the past from lack of emphasis on these points. A correction of this weakness will have the double advantage of helping Latin and English.

The importance of the Latin element in English is often overlooked, for reasons that cannot detain us now. In an unabridged dictionary 60 to 75 per cent of the words are of Latin origin. According to a recent estimate, not more than one-sixth of the words in the language are Anglo-Saxon. "But no one knows the whole dictionary," Mr. Spoilsport will say if we give him a chance. True. Then take a fairly extensive passage of ordinary English prose, count each word but once, and you will find in most cases that the words of Latin origin make up 60 to 70 per cent of the whole and are twice as numerous as those of Teutonic origin. If we omit the merely connective words, such as articles, prepositions, conjunctions, etc., the percentage of Latin words is even greater. The newer words coming into the language are overwhelmingly Latin and Greek. The unfamiliar words that the high-school or college student meets are almost all classical; the Anglo-Saxon words he has learned in childhood. On the other hand, it has been estimated that one-half of the original Anglo-Saxon vocabulary has been lost to modern English. More important still, most of the Anglo-Saxon prefixes and suffixes are dead, for they cannot be used to form new words. Their places have been taken by highly productive Latin forms. I once heard a psychologist use the word "functionalistically." Here is a Latin root to which are attached six suffixes, five Latin or Graeco-Latin and one Anglo-Saxon. And what inference do we draw from these facts? Not that Latin is a dead language, but that *English is dead*

and Latin is alive. That is turning the tables on our critics with a vengeance.

"But what's the use of studying Latin to learn English—why not study the English itself?" What's that? Oh yes, it's Mr. Spoilsport again. I had forgotten all about him. In the seventeenth century Sir Thomas Browne said: "If elegancy [the use of Latin words] still proceedeth, and English pens maintain that stream we have of late observed to flow from many, we shall, within a few years, be fain to learn Latin to understand English." The prophecy has come true, for elegancy hath proceeded, in spite of protests, and still proceedeth. One must learn Latin to understand English. It is true of course that one can get a good knowledge of English without any Latin, but it takes an enormous amount of reading. Latin is a short cut to that knowledge. "But why not teach our boys and girls a few important Latin roots and prefixes and suffixes and let it go at that?" asks the irrepressible Mr. S. For one thing, because you have tried to do it and failed. The scheme may be all right for adults, but growing children want something else for their mental pabulum besides concentrated food capsules, be they never so nourishing.

The help that Latin gives is twofold, quantitative and qualitative; it enlarges vocabulary and intensifies vocabulary. By this I mean that it gives the background, the aura, the overtones of a word. There is too a poetry, a romance, in words just as there is in a yellow primrose on the bank. The difference is that for the appreciation of the primrose you need a state of mind, while for the appreciation of an English word you need Latin.

While we are dealing with the matter of English derivatives it is well to mention one change in Latin teaching that has already been widely introduced and will become universal in the futuristic Latin, that is the so-called reading at sight. This was introduced for a variety of reasons, such as a desire to abolish the "pony," to establish college-entrance examinations which would allow greater freedom to the schools, and to get a measurable result from Latin teaching. It is excellent for all these reasons and for another besides. In sight translation the meaning of a new word must be arrived at in one of three ways—by related Latin words, by the

English derivative, or by the context, that is, by scientific guessing. In sight translation, therefore, English derivation must be stressed. Here is real efficiency—the English helps the Latin and the Latin helps the English.

The second linguistic value is in grammar. The word and the subject used to be held in such awe that the word “glamor” grew out of it in the speech of those who were themselves grammarless. But alas, the word has lost its glamor and is, in fact, somewhat disreputable for several reasons. For one thing it suggests the old-fashioned method of learning all the rules in the Latin grammar and then guessing which rule the teacher wanted to have recited in asking about the construction of, let us say, *agmine*. And again it suggests English grammar, and that is an unpleasant topic of conversation, especially among English teachers. Now as to Latin grammar—first, we have greatly reduced the amount of syntax to be learned by omitting nonessentials and subtle distinctions. This allows more time for the essentials. Then we have introduced the inductive method of teaching it.

But why study Latin syntax at all? Because it gives a knowledge of the fundamental principles of all languages, including our vernacular, English. It is a familiar fact that few pupils ever learn anything about English syntax through the study of formal grammar in English. The reason is obvious. English has too few of the inflected forms which distinguish constructions. It is again a familiar fact that pupils begin to understand English grammar after they have studied Latin a short time. The results attained by the teaching of formal English grammar have been so miserable that the attempt is being abandoned, and it is being urged that formal grammar is not worth while after all. Sour grapes! In place of formal grammar the pupil is to be surrounded by correct English, so that he may absorb the grammar that he cannot swallow. Absorption is good as far as it goes, but it is difficult to administer sufficient nourishment in that way. Hence the study of Latin grammar is a short cut to correct English. The Latin of the future must assume no knowledge of English grammar on the part of the pupil and must in fact see to it that the student gets this knowledge through Latin. Considerable work remains

to be done in correlating English and Latin grammar. The path has been made much smoother by the movement for uniform grammatical terminology in all languages, culminating in the published report of the Joint Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature. Whatever objections there may be to individual points in the report, discerning teachers will realize the necessity for agreement in terminology. Let us for once lay aside the objections to "steam-roller" methods and remember that sometimes such methods are necessary for a smooth road.

A much-neglected phase of syntax is word order. Heretofore we have said little about it and allowed our students to absorb it, as the English teachers are trying to make their pupils absorb correct English and large vocabularies. The result has been that students have rarely gained a feeling for it, and then only after years of study. The matter is of importance: First, because a knowledge of the fundamental principles makes the understanding of Latin much easier, since word order aids in indicating syntactical relations. Such knowledge is particularly important with the method that is becoming more and more common of reading the Latin in the Latin order. Secondly, because a knowledge of the principles of word order is necessary for oral teaching, which is becoming a more important feature. Thirdly, because word order is an important element in style, and an understanding of it is necessary for an appreciation of style. Fourthly, because English style has been greatly influenced by Latin rhetorical style. A great deal of research is necessary to establish more fully the principles of Latin order and the influence of it on English. Then a practical teacher must select the essentials and present them in simple form to the pupil.

Summing up at this point, the importance of the Latin of the future can readily be seen, since it will teach the more difficult and essential phases of English vocabulary, grammar, and style.

As the linguistic value has the right of way in the first year of the course, so the content value assumes importance in the later years. And yet it has a field even in the first year. The ideas and ideals, the institutions and constitution, the culture and *kultur* of the Romans must be impressed on the students in the Latin class.

What's that? Oh, it's that Mr. Spoilsport again. I thought that he had gone for good. He wants to know the use of all that "stuff," as he calls it. It is simply that our whole civilization is based on the Roman, and that we need to understand the Roman to understand our own; and further, such comparative study gives us that broad view of things which is truly culture. Unfortunately we cannot estimate this influence in exact figures, as we can estimate the Latin influence on the English language. Perhaps the future will provide statistics for us.

And here we may pause to say a word about the war. We say that we are fighting for the preservation of our civilization—some indeed have said that this war is one between the Latin and the Teutonic civilization. And yet there are those who urge us to devote all our energies during and after the war to material things only. Shall we destroy our civilization to win the war? We must both keep our civilization and win the war, or our victory will be a Pyrrhic victory. With all the pressure of the war and its needs, it is vital that we do not forget for what we are fighting.

Mr. Spoilsport says, however, that it is the function of the history teacher to deal with civilization and such things. Well, what is the condition of our history teaching? Is it perfectly satisfactory? Far from it. How is it being improved? By studying private as well as public life, by using pictures, by reading source material, all with the idea of making the work concrete, objective. Now we Latinists are teaching history through the use of source material better than that of the ancient-history teacher, because we have it in its original form and not in translation. Cicero's speeches in the Latin represent *his exact words*. The great Shakspeare saw clearly how impressive such realism can be, for he made Caesar say, not "You too, Brutus," but "Et tu, Brute." The impression of these three little Latin words has been simply tremendous. In the *Gallic War* we have thousands of Caesar's actual words. This remark suggests our own weakness. We have failed to play up the importance and interest of this fact. We must make the pupil identify the "et tu Brute" Caesar with the Caesar who had so much Gaul, and to do this we must tell the story of Caesar's life and show how the conquest of Gaul led to the

"et tu Brute." The substance of the works we read, their historical setting, the political importance of their authors, must be considered in connection with the Latin itself; and above all, the material must be related to our modern world and its problems. The chasm of two thousand years must be bridged. This engineering feat remains to be completed by the Latin of the future. Means must be devised to enable all teachers to make constant comparisons in all fields, in private life and in public life, in matters of peace and in matters of war, in things of the spirit and in things of the flesh. In reading Caesar, for example, we need to make the pupils realize first of all that Gaul is France, then that Caesar's battlefields are again in part the battlefields of today, that the Gallic tribes of Caesar's story have given their names to towns made known to all of us by this war, as Soissons and Reims, that Caesar's military methods and even his ordnance may be seen again in this war. In Cicero there is opened up to us the whole fascinating subject of Roman politics, with its illuminating similarities to American politics in its constitutional, economic, and social aspects. Here then there is much to be done in making available for all teachers what individuals are now doing.

Of the literary side little need be said. The close attention devoted to it in the past makes it unnecessary in the future to devote much thought to novelties of presentation, though undoubtedly some will be developed.

As the content value depends to a large extent on the reading selected, it is convenient at this point to discuss the works to be read in the Latin of the future. Cicero's writings and especially his political speeches must always remain a substantial part of the Latin course, not only for their linguistic value, but for the fruitful comparisons between ancient and modern politics which they suggest, and for the opportunity they give to get a view of the history and development of the Roman Republic. Caesar falls in the linguistic period of the pupil's study, and his retention in the course depends on linguistic considerations. It seems certain that the amount of Caesar to be read in the future will be considerably reduced. The time devoted to Virgil may be reduced to give room for some material of greater historical value. We need to introduce

material that will give a glimpse of the condition of the Roman Empire.

Beside developing from within, so to speak, Latin teaching has been and will continue to be influenced from without. For example, the general demand for efficiency has affected Latin in at least two ways. One is in bringing about standardization. Vocabulary, word formation, and syntax have been standardized by Lodge's *Vocabulary of High-School Latin*, Jenks's *Manual of Latin Word Formation*, and Byrne's *Syntax of High-School Latin*. There is more work to be done along these lines. A second effect is in measurements. One type of measurement aims to show the value of Latin, another to measure results in teaching with a view to improving the teaching. A great deal remains to be done along both lines. In the latter particularly efforts have been rather crude.

In answer to the demand for socialization of our courses of instruction we now have Latin clubs, Latin newspapers, Latin bulletin boards, Latin exhibits, Latin scrapbooks, Latin games, Latin plays, Roman banquets, and innumerable other agencies which connect the study of Latin with the student's activities and interests. We use pictures, reproductions, stereopticons, and now even moving pictures. The Latin of the future will make more and more use of them as they are developed. Already a number of valuable films are available. By far the most important from the standpoint of Latin teaching is "Julius Caesar." It is a biography of the dictator from his youth to his funeral. There are scenes in Gaul of special interest to the second-year students, and scenes in the Roman senate for the third-year students. There is surprisingly little inaccuracy. We get a good and vivid idea of Roman houses, streets and costumes, soldiers, senators, and slaves. The Romans are made to live for even the most unimaginative. No student can fail to read his Caesar and Cicero with greater interest after seeing this picture. The *Odyssey* has been produced in moving pictures, and no doubt the *Aeneid* too will soon be available.

The Latin of the future will profit by other inventions and devices which we cannot now foresee. And it will be influenced, as it has been, by the teaching of other subjects. A notable instance is the direct method, borrowed from the modern languages.

It still seems true, as it seemed several years ago, that the direct method will not become the usual or even a common method of teaching Latin. But it has already had a wholesome effect in reviving the use of a limited amount of oral work especially needed to quicken the dull routine of learning forms.

A reform in the educational world which seems bound to succeed is the 6-3-3 or similar reorganization of the public-school system. This will have its effects on Latin teaching. Languages are more easily learned by younger pupils, and Latin will be begun by many pupils in the seventh grade, as it is already in many schools. Furthermore seventh-grade Latin will take care of the English-grammar problem at the proper time. Teaching Latin to younger students will bring newer methods. Interest devices will be more necessary, closer correlation of Latin and English syntax will be imperative, emphasis on English derivative work will be inevitable, and oral work will find a greater scope. In other words the very changes which, as we have seen, confront Latin teaching in general will be effected earlier and to a greater degree in junior high school Latin. The significance of this fact is that Latin undoubtedly belongs in the junior high school. But there are problems presented by seventh-grade Latin which must be solved by the experience of the future. One of the greatest is the relation of the Latin course begun in the seventh grade to that begun in the ninth or tenth grade. Shall they be identical or at least similar, or shall they bear no relation to each other? The latter alternative means lack of articulation, which spells failure for the whole junior high school project. Yet we must have two different courses because of the difference in the development of the pupils. The junior high school beginning Latin course must be given more time than that in the senior high school and different methods must be used. But the pupils must be brought to the same point at the end of the course, and that means the use of identical or very similar textbooks. Some schools have already come to a realization of this through experience.

Such then are some of the probable features of the Latin of the future. Many will say that there is scarcely a new thought

in what I have said. The more this is said the better pleased I shall be, for that will simply indicate that the progressive teachers are that much more numerous. Mr. Spoilsport won't say it, I am sure. Yet it is vain to hope that he has been silenced. Perhaps, however, we may retire without further interruption from him by quoting at him the fine words of Mr. Mackail: "Modern life owes its highest ideals, directly or indirectly, to the inspiration of Greece; it owes its whole structure and existence to the creation of Rome. And so also with the two languages; for while Greek is a language of unequalled beauty, flexibility, and strangeness, Latin is, to us and all the inheritors of the Latin civilization, a second mother-tongue."¹

¹ *Lectures on Poetry*, p. 72.

SOME RECENT ETYMOLOGICAL BLUNDERS

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Voltaire's famous remark to the effect that etymology is a science where the vowels do not count at all and the consonants very little seems to have been taken by some contemporary botanists more seriously than the great satirist ever intended. There is an apparent disposition in the botanical world to regard the etymology of scientific names as a necessary evil, somewhat like taxation, and to consider the whole subject as lying outside of the field in which scientific method is supposed to prevail. Not only is there a deplorable lack of accuracy in the spelling and pronunciation of such names—more than one botanist of my acquaintance seeming to make it a special point of honor to pronounce all such names incorrectly—but there is a dearth of exact knowledge regarding the formation and significance of these terms that is well-nigh appalling. Since the readers of this journal perhaps do not keep a vigilant eye on what is going on in adjacent fields, it might interest them to see in what a cavalier manner the accepted rules of etymology are sometimes treated when they get away from home.

I have been amusing myself during odd moments this summer by looking over the explanations of generic names set forth in a botanical manual that recently emanated from one of our Far Western universities. To give a complete list of all the errors, wild guesses, and derivations apparently based on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle contained in its 450 pages would absorb the greater part of the space in this number of the *Journal*. Perhaps a single specimen will serve to show what liberties have been taken with the time-honored rules that are supposed to govern the formation of derivatives.

Under the word *portulaca*, the name given by Tournefort to the genus whose best-known representative in North America is the

common purslane or "pusley," we read as follows: "Said to be from Latin *porto*, 'I carry,' *lacca*, 'juice'; the plants are fleshy." "Said to be" is a phrase that covers a multitude of sins and relieves the authors of the full responsibility for this wondrous deliverance; but the fact that they have recorded the conjecture without adverse criticism evidently means that they saw in it no inherent impossibility. To the trained Latinist I of course owe an apology for entering into any discussion of the foregoing etymological horror, inasmuch as the utter absurdity of it stands out at the first glance; but since all botanists are not classicists, I trust I may be allowed to present the matter for the consideration of the former.

In the first place, there is no evidence at all that Tournefort constructed the word himself. While his own Latin was not always impeccable, he was sufficiently familiar with the classics to know that the word *portulaca* occurs both in Columella and Celsus, evidently applied to what we know as purslane: and he doubtless borrowed it, just as he did many other plant names, as a convenient and appropriate designation for the new genus. To regard it as his own creation seems therefore wholly untenable; and when a word was simply taken in its exact form from the Latin authors the best manuals usually consider it sufficient to state the fact of its classical origin.

Since this word does not appear to be unrelated to other Latin words and has none of the marks of a radical, it is perfectly legitimate to inquire into its possible etymology. This our authors have evidently undertaken to do; and in the process they have succeeded in breaking some of the most fundamental laws of word formation. These may be summarized as follows:

1. In a compound made up of a substantive and a verbal element the former almost invariably stands *first*.
2. The regular connecting vowel in such cases is *i*. *U* in such a capacity would be an anomaly not justified in anything but the most grotesque *sermo plebeius*.
3. The word *lacca* could not lose one of its root consonants; both *c*'s would have to appear in the compound.

Furthermore, the meaning of both components has been grossly misunderstood.

1. The word for "carry" in the sense intended here is not *porto* but *fero*.

2. The word *lacca*, while not unknown, cannot be shown to have any such meaning as "juice." It is used in Vegetius of a swelling on the legs of cattle, and in Apuleius as the name of a plant otherwise unknown; but perhaps our authors suffered a *lapsus calami* and wrote *lacca* for *lac*, which is used for the milky juice of plants: for example, *lac ficulneum*, Columella; *lac caprifisci*, Celsus. In that case we stumble against an error of fact rather than of words, for the plants of this genus, while abounding in watery juice, are never milky. If they were so, Tournefort was enough of a Latinist to have coined the word *Lactifera* to indicate the fact; but, as was observed above, he did *not* coin his name, but simply borrowed it from the Latin authors with whose works he was most familiar. What it really means perhaps can never be known with certainty, but there is at least nothing essentially improbable in Walde's conjecture¹ that it is from *portula*, diminutive of *porta* (used by Livy), referring to the transversely opening pod, the upper part lifting as a lid, and the suffix *-aca*, found also in *Pastinaca*, the name of the parsnip. Yet many a beginning student in botany, happily released in these days of "optional" courses from the tyranny of Latin, will believe to the end of his days that the above-mentioned fantastic and puerile etymology is accepted by the scientific world as final.

This word *lacca* seems in some way to have got on the nerves of our authors. When they come to the genus *Phytolacca* (containing the pokeweed), which at the best is no very high tribute to Tournefort's skill in word-formation, we find the following: "Greek *φυτόν*, 'plant,' Latin *lacca*, 'lacquer'; referring to the red juice in the berries."² Here the first member at least is correctly stated; but in the case of the second, Tournefort himself seems to have violated the fundamental rule that forbids the making of hybrids, and borrowed a word from the vernacular, the French *laque*,³ in

¹ *Lat. etym. Wörterbuch*, s.v. *portulaca*.

² The author's transliteration into Roman letters—a clumsy and inaccurate practice that I shall not attempt to imitate.

³ Gray's *Manual* incorrectly spells it *lac*.

the sense of our "lake," signifying pigment or paint (a root apparently of Persian origin), and Latinized it just enough to get it into combination.

That I have not taken advantage of a single slip, such as may befall the most careful writer, ought to be evident from the following selections, taken almost at random from other parts of the book referred to:

"*Philotria*. Greek φύλλον, 'leaf,' τρεῖς, 'three.'" (Totally impossible.)

"*Peramium*. Latin *per*, 'through,' *amium*, 'love'; on account of reputed medicinal qualities." (Our authors have here unearthed a word whose acquaintance the rest of us have yet to make!)

"*Populus*. Latin *populus*, 'the common people'; these were planted in public places by the Romans." (Every schoolboy *once* knew that *populus*, "poplar," has the *o* long.)

"*Humulus*. Diminutive of Latin *humus*, 'the ground'; because prostrate in the absence of support." (The root here is not Latin at all!)

"*Roripa*. Said to be from Celtic *ros*, 'dew,' *ripa*, 'a bank'; referring to the habitat of some species." (Odd that the two Latin words of the same form and meaning should be repeated *literatim* in Celtic!)

"*Cytisus*. From Cythrus, one of the Cyclades, where this or a related plant was first found." (I can find no such island—possibly Cythera is meant.)

"*Opuntia*. Grew in Greece near the town Opuntia." (*Opus* is the nominative form.)

"*Gayophytum*. Probably Greek γάιος, 'on land,' φυτόν, 'plant.'" (The first member here is clearly personal, in honor of Claude Gay, the botanist of Chile.)

"*Glehnia*. Probably Greek γλῆνος, a thing to stare at because it is so woolly." (Imagine a rough breathing in the *middle* of a Greek word! This too is clearly personal, and there is nothing specially amazing about the wooliness of this maritime genus.)

"*Malvastrum*. Malva + Greek ἀστρον, 'a star.' Why?" (This "Why?" seems quite in order. It is simply the contemptuous diminutive.)

"*Nephrophyllidium*. Greek νεφρός, 'the kidneys' [sic], φύλλον, 'a leaf,' ἰδιος, 'peculiar'; hence peculiar kidney-shaped leaf." (The last part strikes one as a bit idiotic! It is simply a diminutive ending.)

Occasionally no effort is made to indicate the derivation, when it could have been very easily conjectured, for example:

Lilaea, in honor of A. R. Delile.

Piperia, in honor of C. V. Piper.

Castanopsis, resembling *Castanea*, the chestnut.

Utricularia, from *utriculus*, a small bladder.

Pinguicula, diminutive of *pinguis*, "fat or greasy."

Sometimes our authors append the word "Origin?" indicating that the stream of imagination began to run low. In nearly every case they could have obtained the necessary data by consulting the original publication of the genus. After the bold flights quoted above, we find after the word *Sieversia* the timid note, "Probably in honor of someone," when the fact is perfectly evident and could have been easily confirmed.

Occasionally they launch out into Celtic, where I am wholly unable to follow them, for example:

"*Alisma*. Celtic *alis*, 'water.'" (But *άλισμα* is good Greek.)

"*Salix*. Celtic *sal*, 'near,' *lis*, 'water.'" (A good Latin word.)

"*Quercus*. Celtic *quer*, 'fine,' *cuez*, 'a tree,' because the sacred mistletoe grew upon it." (It is the classical Latin word.)

Once in a while there is a dazzling burst of genius like the following:

"*Smelowskia*. Evidently named for some Russian."

"*Naumburgia*. Probably in honor of a Mr. Naumburg."

"*Boschniakia*. Honor of some Russian, a Mr. Boschniak."

As long as the generic names were among those explained in Gray's *Manual* they seem to have had no trouble. Where the *Manual* was modest enough to admit its inability to explain the word, our authors seem to have rushed into the breach with some wild conjecture based on superficial resemblances, after the manner of the etymologies in Gellius, and offered them as fact. In the case of other genera, where the meaning could have been easily ascertained by consulting the original publication, they have owned

to a lack of thoroughness by the use of "Why?" Yet this purports to be a scientific work! It is a strange view of scientific method that admits its validity in one branch of knowledge and denies it in another. The classical languages rest on an absolutely scientific body of knowledge, and their phenomena are subject to laws as definite and well established as those of biology. Latin was for hundreds of years the language of botany as of every other science. The Latin names of plants, arbitrary as they may seem, are an absolute necessity if we are ever to attain a precise understanding of what plant is referred to in any discussion. Yet because some of our scientists have been brought up to believe that Latin is somehow associated with mediaeval scholasticism, they affect to disregard it, go so far as to sneer at it in conversation, and treat us to exhibitions such as I have tried to reproduce! It is as if the surgeon should declare that there was one of his tools that he did not care for; he would not learn how to use it and would permit it to become dull and rusty; and then some day he might be called on to use that very tool in a critical operation!

To display ignorance of scientific method in nomenclature is simply to display ignorance of scientific method in general. Every systematist in the course of his training could be brought to realize this, with very slight expenditure of time or effort. As a humble emissary from the botanical camp, might I suggest to our brothers in the classical field that if one among them would undertake the preparation of a brief and simple handbook of etymology, setting forth the rules that govern the formation of Greek and Latin derivatives, it would come very near meeting what our advertising experts are fond of calling a "long-felt want," and some botanical authors might as a result be spared life-long mortification?

THE CHOICE OF PARIS IN HOMER

BY JOHN A. SCOTT
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Homer has but one direct reference to the choice made by Paris of the most beautiful goddess, the choice which led to the rape of Helen and the Trojan War. This one brief reference is as follows:

Ω 29: Ἀλεξάνδρου ἕνεκ' αἴτης,
ὃς νείκεσσε θεάς, ὅτε οἱ μέσσαιλον ἴκοντο,
τὴν δ' ἦνυσ', ἥ οἱ πόρε μαχλοσύνην ἀλεγεινήν.

“Because of the folly of Alexander, who enraged the goddesses when they came to his innermost dwelling, and honored her who offered him direful allurements of lust.”

Editors have in general rejected these two verses for two reasons, first, the words *νείκεσσε* and *μαχλοσύνη* seem obscure, and second, Homer does not refer elsewhere to this choice. All of which goes back to the scholiast to this passage: *τὴν τε περὶ τοῦ κάλλους κρίσιν οὐκ οἶδεν. Πολλαχῇ γὰρ ἀν' ἐμνήσθη· καὶ τὸ νείκεσσε οὐκ ἔστι κρίναι, ἀλλ' ἐπιπλήξαι ἢ διαφέρεισθαι· καὶ ἡ μαχλοσύνη κοινῶς ἔστι γυναικὸς μανία· δέδωκε δ' αὐτῷ οὐ ταύτην, ἀλλὰ τὴν καλλίστην τῶν τότε Ἑλένην.* "He does not know of the choice else he would have frequently mentioned it, and the verb used does not mean to decide, but to chide or disagree, while the noun used refers generally to the passion of a woman. She did not give him this but gave him Helen, the fairest of those of her own time."

The argument that words have an obscure or doubtful meaning and therefore must be an interpolation seems to me to refute itself, for it is incredible that men could insert meaningless or exotic words into a poem already known, and then escape detection, or could induce men already familiar with the poem to accept their blundering addition. Errors by a copyist may create difficult words or constructions, but no forger is likely to draw attention to himself

by inserting strange and abnormal locutions. If words have an unusual meaning, that very fact would prove the original and creative poet, for the interpolator must be clear; the originator alone can indulge in the strange or the obscure.

If *μαχλοσύνη* had a clear and definite meaning in Hesiod, it must be given the same privilege in Homer, and I see no possible difficulty in translating this word here, "lustful indulgence." The objection that it is used generally of women is no objection at all, for it was a woman's lustful indulgence which was promised him.

The translation of these verses which I have made above takes each word in its normal meaning and there is no difficulty and no obscurity.

The criticism of the language is secondary and very weak, for the real objection is based on the fact that Homer does not elsewhere refer to this choice and so a single reference is under suspicion.

The simple chance that a thing is referred to but once is no reason for assuming that it could not be referred to at all, unless it is out of harmony with the setting of the poem. Many of the things most surely Homeric and a part of his age are never referred to, and also the most essential facts in the tradition on which the poems are based are sometimes assumed as known and never mentioned nor receive any allusion. The *Iliad* never mentions the mother of Helen nor the wife of Odysseus, and neither poem has a word for spiders, roses, or dew; yet all these things must have belonged to his age or the traditions of his age, and thus, though unmentioned, are thoroughly Homeric, known to the author of the *Iliad* as well as to the author of the *Odyssey*. This aspect of the subject has already been treated in detail (*Classical Journal*, XII, 119 ff., and *Classical Philology*, XIII, 53 ff.).

Were the essential facts of the choice of Paris already known to the poet's audience and does the setting of the poem demand some such a background, or is that choice out of harmony therewith? If the choice is assumed as known, then it is Homeric, even if mentioned only once, or even if it were not referred to at all.

The first book of the *Iliad* introduces Hera and Athena at once as eager partisans of the Greeks and bitter foes of the Trojans. No reason is given for this partiality; it is simply assumed as a thing

already familiar to the hearer. Zeus himself was the constant subject of the reproaches of his wife, for she suspected him of aiding the Trojans, and her dislike for Thetis was simply due to the fact that Achilles' anger was saving the lives of her foes. When Achilles threw off that anger and started on his work of slaughter, then both of these goddesses, Athena and Hera, were at his side to assist him.

They were determined that Helen should not be left as a boast of the Trojans, B 160, for Helen was the symbol of their own defeat. Hector chided Paris for collecting men in order to go to a foreign land and entice thence a comely woman, and he taunted him with the gifts which the goddess had given him, Γ 46. Paris is saved from death at the hands of Menelaus by the sudden intervention of Aphrodite, and the scene at the end of the third book shows that this goddess had planned the abduction of Helen; also that it was Paris rather than Helen who was the recipient of her favor. This favoritism is not explained; it is simply assumed as a thing already known to the hearers.

Near the opening of book four Zeus started to enrage Hera and Athena by mentioning the care with which Aphrodite guarded Paris, and he proposed a lasting truce, a thing so vehemently rejected by Hera that Zeus asked the reason for her anger, an anger so bitter that she would be willing "to eat all the Trojans raw." Hera would not give the reason, but in her reply she showed that it was not any love for the Greeks or sympathy for them which moved her, for she agreed to turn over to him for destruction the three cities dearest to her, Argos, Mycenae, and Sparta, if he would only permit her to work her will on the hated Trojans.

Athena and Hera then set to work to have the truce broken so that Troy and the Trojans might perish for their perjury.

The anger they felt for the Trojans was also directed against Aphrodite, and the mist was taken from the eyes of Diomedes for the express purpose of enabling him to wound that hated goddess, E 130. When this purpose had been fulfilled and poor wounded Aphrodite came to Zeus in tears they were indignant at Zeus for his apparent sympathy with her sorrows and sneeringly said of her, "Surely Aphrodite has been encouraging some one of the

Achaean dames to follow along with the Trojans, the men whom she so fondly loves," E 418. Clearly something was rankling in their minds.

Zeus repeatedly expressed his surprise at the malice of these two and seemed unable to grasp its origin, so that in Θ 448 he exclaimed, "You never grow weary of destroying the Trojans against whom you have conceived a venomous grudge."

This feeling was all one-sided as far as Aphrodite was concerned; she had no malice in her foolish heart, for when Hera wished to trick herself out so as to arouse the passions of Zeus that simple goddess adorned her so carefully with her own beauty and enticing charms that Hera was irresistible.

So vindictive was the anger of Hera that she would not permit Zeus to spare the life of Sarpedon, his own son.

The cruelty and deception by which Athena brought about the death of Hector could hardly be explained except by the fury of jealousy; and this fury follows Hector to the end; for even after his death and maltreatment Hera and Athena were indignant because of the mere suggestion that his corpse be spared the ignominy of being thrown to the dogs.

The reason for their anger being so bitter toward such an honorable warrior is this: Hector was the champion in the war brought on by the scorning of their charms and thus he was not hated for his own sake but for his cause. This is a neat confirmation of the theory advanced (*Classical Philology*, VIII, 160), that Paris was the original champion of the Trojans, but for moral reasons was unworthy to be a leader in a great epic, so that the poet was forced to create a new leader, a leader morally fitted to arouse sympathy for his cause. Hector thus plays the part in the *Iliad* that Paris did in tradition, and just this fact that Hector is substituting for Paris explains the treatment he received at the hands of the two goddesses, for a measure of the anger they felt for Paris must be spent on the one who assumed his place. I do not suppose that the part taken by Hector in the scenes of the *Iliad* was ever taken by Paris, for none of these scenes existed before Homer; but I do suppose that in tradition Paris was the leader of the Trojans, that the anger of Hera and Athena was kindled against him, also that

Homer created a new poem with that tradition as a background. The anger of Achilles was essentially the poet's own, the anger of Athena and Hera against the Trojan leader he found as a definite part of the existing tradition, so that when he created a new leader that anger was an entailment on that leadership.

The setting of the *Iliad* demands that Paris under the guidance of Aphrodite should have gone to Greece, a friendly land, should have enticed Helen with the aid of that goddess, also that Hera and Athena should have been aroused to the bitterest rage against the people of Paris and against Aphrodite; or in other words the setting of the *Iliad* requires the choice of Paris or something just like it, and thus the choice is thoroughly Homeric, whether it is mentioned but once or not mentioned at all. Without something resembling that choice there is no adequate reason for the hatred shown for Aphrodite and the Trojans by Hera and Athena, nor for the solicitude with which Paris is regarded by Aphrodite.

The Homeric audience knew the story of the choice of Paris, so that the poet could mention it or not according to his own poetic feeling.

Notes

[Contributions in the form of notes or discussions should be sent to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

ABIIT, EXCESSIT, EVASIT, ERUPIT

It is the fate of familiar quotations to be both misquoted and misunderstood. Quintilian twice misquotes the above (*Inst.* ix. 3. 46 and 77), writing *erupit, evasit*, but his misquotation rather suggests that he did not fall into the error of modern commentators, who regard it as a climax. Ciceronian diction is rather subtle, and one is by no means justified in taking every battery of synonyms as a climax. It is the connotation of each term that is important, especially for correct translation. Latin is not Esperanto and every word carries an implication. One must recall, for example, that *abi* or *abi modo* in Plautine usage means "Begone!" "Go away and stop bothering me!" Hence in our passage one may begin: "At last he has gone," or, "Thank Heavens, he has gone." As for *excessit*, this is a military term, as exemplified in Caes. *B.G.* i. 44: *Loco excedere non turpe existimare*. Hence we may say: "He has abandoned his guns," or even, were it not commonplace, "He has thrown up the sponge." To come to *evasit*, this does not imply stealthiness; quite the contrary. Cicero amplifies it below with the words *Palam iam cum hoste, nullo impediēte, bellum iustum geremus*. Hence we may say: "He has come out of ambush," or, "He has taken his stand in the open." The last, *erupit*, is harder, and might suggest *eruptionem fecit*, or the wounded lion bounding from his lair or, lastly, vomiting. Rather curiously it is chiefly the last idea, though somewhat coarse, that Cicero amplifies at the end of the chapter. *Erupit* therefore suggested to him *evomitus est*, as if Catiline's presence had caused violent nausea to the state. Hence to revert to Elizabethan English: "This vomit has been purged." However one may agree or disagree with these interpretations, one must note that Quintilian did not regard it as a climax and that Cicero amplifies each term in regular order within the same chapter, which does not point to a climax.

Other batteries of synonyms that are not climaxes will be found in Cat. iii. 16: *Omnia norat, omnium aditus tenebat; appellare, temperare, sollicitare poterat, audebat. . . . Nihil erat quod non ipse obiret, occurreret, vigilet, laboraret*. Better still is Milo iv. 10: *Est igitur haec, iudices, non scripta, sed nata lex, quam non didicimus, accepimus, legimus, verum ex natura ipsa arripimus, hausimus, expressimus, ad quam non docti, sed facti, non instituti, sed imbuti sumus*. Cicero was extremely proud of this passage as an example of Gorgianic rhythm (*Orator* xlix. 165). It will be noted that, as rhythm, Quintilian's *erupit, evasit* is quite the same as our *evasit, erupit*.

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General Comment

[Edited by Gilbert Campbell Scoggin, The University of Missouri.]

In *School and Society* for November 9, 1918, Professor Nutting calls attention to the fact that not all professed educational experts are sympathetic with the attempt to foist so many so-called vocational subjects upon our high schools. Many principals of schools are introducing these subjects with the belief that they are acting in accordance with a unanimous judgment, whereas Dr. Snedden thinks that a broad cultural course should precede training in any special vocation. Doubtless most other experts would agree with this opinion; but so much attention has been laid upon the vocational phase that the rank and file have been led to believe that the cultural side has been wholly discredited. At the same time Dr. Snedden doubts that the classics have a place even for cultural purposes in the high school, his doubt being based on the fact that so few students pursue Greek to a point where they secure mastery over the subject. While accepting this fact with reference to Greek, Professor Nutting argues for Latin, pointing out its cumulative advantages, such as the development of the language sense, the securing of a broad foundation for the Romance languages, its peculiar cultural value, and its training in the habits of application. It is certainly doubtful that any of the new subjects can offer so many different advantages. Even a short course in Latin is obviously of great worth. Thus Professor A. F. Lange, Director of the School of Education of the University of California, says: "Latin is an instrument through which pupils may learn to run their mental motors with accuracy and speed in more different ways, through more human situations, than is possible at present through any other available instrumentality; and it may be made the study *par excellence* for the executive type of mind." Dr. Snedden brings also the old charge that translations are often used by students, ignoring the fact that they are used by students of modern languages as well. The greater emphasis laid upon "unseens" in examination would go far toward removing complete reliance upon such a prop. Where the teacher is lax and the pupil lazy much evil may result from mental atrophy resulting from a slavish dependence on translation. It is a menace before the elements of a language are mastered. This question of translations is a very difficult one and the history of classical studies in our own country shows a curious wavering between extremes. There was a period when, under the influence of the Hamiltonian theory, interlinear translations were widely recommended and used. The following testimony from a successful schoolmaster, a man of recognized scholarship in his own day, will probably seem curious to most teachers of the classics. Dr. Samuel Parr, close friend of Porson and a master at Harrow, speaking of Martyn's well-known translations, says: "I learnt the *Eclogues* of Virgil from this very book, under my

revered instructor Dr. Thackeray, Master of Harrow School; and like other boys, I took it up with me to lesson. When a schoolmaster, I recommended this work to my scholars, as I also did the *Georgics* by Martyn; and I not only allowed but advised them to bring these books to lesson. The notes must have assisted and the English translation on the sides could protect no boy from my searching questions." I have quoted this to show how difficult it is to secure unanimity of opinion even in case of a question which at first sight may seem to admit of only one answer.

It cannot be repeated too often that the Rhodes Scholarships should be better known in the schools and colleges of this country. Much too little is done in the way of bringing them to the attention of pupils in the high schools and preparatory schools where foundations are laid. Such "advertising" as they have received has in large measure come from those who are hostile to the theory of Oxford training, based as it is upon a broad classical foundation. Some American educators have urged that the Oxford requirements be much modified in case of our Rhodes scholars, thereby attempting to remove the necessity of conforming to the educational system that Rhodes wished them to enjoy. Thus far comparatively little opposition has been made to the Latin requirement, but in case of Greek much hostility has been shown. This opposition has already been met more than half way, unwisely I feel sure, by the arrangement which provides that the candidate, after appointment to the scholarship, may make up the moderate Greek requirement.

Nothing can be more ridiculous than the appointment of a student who knows no Greek. Such an appointee can rarely put himself in a position to profit by the further study of Greek at Oxford. Even with the best American training in this subject he will find himself at considerable disadvantage in competition with the best scholars who yearly come up from the great public schools. But a very insidious effect of this compounding with the "barbarians" is the obvious suggestion to the candidates and to the appointee that Greek is of very slight importance and that this requirement may be met in this perfunctory manner. This of course is an attack against the whole system which Rhodes favored. He selected Oxford after a careful survey of the type of education fostered by the newer English universities, and Oxford was selected because it stood for just such things as our educators would remove.

The present international situation is fraught with peculiar dangers. The close, friendly association of England with our country during the war may lead to an overgenerous inclination to admit Rhodes scholars on their own terms, rather than to hold them strictly to the terms which she imposes upon inhabitants of Britain. No student should be appointed to a scholarship unless he is prepared to profit by the best that Oxford has to offer. If this type of training is not desired then the student should go elsewhere, and at the same time we should not forget that Rhodes purposely refrained from putting the choice of university in the power of his appointee. For advanced technical and scientific training a student does not need to leave this country.

It is the broad general training—universality, as Bacon aptly calls it—which should precede devotion to any special branch of knowledge that is so far to seek in our own educational system. This is the lesson that we should learn from Oxford. It is to be hoped that those who govern the destinies of Oxford and all it stands for will not be unduly influenced by any clamorous opposition to the classical requirements that may come from this side.

If there be any who have sincere doubts about the advantage to be derived by an American's residence in Oxford, such doubts should be removed by referring to any issue of the *American Oxonian*, the official publication of the former scholars on Rhodes's foundation. The intelligent, appreciative, and well-written contributions in that journal easily place it at the intellectual head of all our alumni magazines. Men whose interests are primarily in science generously acknowledge in this journal the great advantages they have received at Oxford. The dominant note is always breadth and thoroughness. If expert testimony is sought concerning the real value of such training, those who have enjoyed it should be allowed to cast the deciding vote.

Evidently it was the desire of Rhodes that his scholars should pursue the course leading to the A.B. degree. If a degree corresponding roughly to the Ph.D. should be introduced to satisfy an American demand, it is difficult to see what special advantage can come from studying at Oxford. Adequate facilities for this degree are available here at home. The introduction of such a degree carries hidden dangers for Oxford itself. The presence of a large number of students who, without a preceding broad foundation, are wholly bent upon pursuing some specialty, will be a constant menace to Oxford. Opportunity for highly specialized work is already available there for those capable of seizing it. The great weakness in our whole system is premature specialization and it is to England and France that we must look for suggestions of reform. Simon Newcomb said that he was never able to confine himself to astronomy to that exclusiveness which was necessary for becoming a specialist. Yet his name will always stand high in the annals of astronomy and at the same time he will be remembered in other fields of knowledge.

What are the features of Oxford training that have most impressed capable Rhodes scholars from this country? They may best be seen in a recent volume of essays by an old Rhodes man. In *The Oxford Stamp* Professor F. A. Aydellotte, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, puts clearly and emphatically some of the things that are most striking to the American student on coming into residence. Among the points emphasized are sport, social life, intellectual conversation, and leisure. In America we are apt to think that ceaseless and feverish activity is indicative of mental accomplishment, whereas what we most need is an atmosphere of leisure for mental development. With all our hurry there is too much coddling of students who are thrown too little upon their own resources and responsibility. At Oxford the student works for himself and not for his tutor. There is less pretense in program and more individual effort. The student studies subjects and does not take courses.

Book Reviews

The Year's Work in Classical Studies, 1917. Edited by STEPHEN GASELEE. London: John Murray. Pp. 128. 2s. 6d., net.

This publication is not simply one of interest to all classical scholars, but is absolutely essential for everyone who would be well informed in his particular field. While not all of us can be specialists in all the subjects covered by this volume, yet we must be interested in all of them and deeply concerned with some.

A notice in the *Journal* of the corresponding volume for 1914 expressed some doubt of the publisher's ability to continue the publication during the war. Merely to call attention to the fact of continuance is a comment of great importance to classical scholarship. To be sure, the size of the volume is considerably reduced. For 1914 the reviews of the various fields of activity covered required 187 pages. In 1909, for instance, a year when war was thought by many of us to be impossible, the volume contained 176 pages. The present volume, with its 128 pages, compares quite favorably with the previous issues.

In his preface the editor well says: "Difficulties in the production of the *Year's Work* have not decreased: contributors are more and more absorbed by tasks connected with the prosecution of the war, and the material to be summarised is both less in quantity and increasingly inaccessible." Another fact in this connection is that it has been found impossible to cover all the fields every year. For example, for the year 1917 there is no article on "Modern Greek in Relation to Ancient Greek" by Professor Thumb, or by any other scholar. (The reader may remember that Professor Thumb's last paper on this subject reached the editor on August 1, 1914!)

The subjects treated in the volume for 1917 are as follows:

- I. Italian Archaeology and Excavation, by A. W. Van Buren.
- II. Numismatics, by George Macdonald.
- III. Papyri, by B. P. Grenfell.
- IV. Grammar and Metric, by E. A. Sonnenschein.
- V. Comparative Philology, by P. Giles.
- VI. Roman History, by F. Haverfield.
- VII. Greek Religion and Mythology, by Jane E. Harrison.
- VIII. Roman Religion and Mythology, by W. Warde Fowler.
- IX. Greek Palaeography, by T. W. Allen.
- X. Latin Palaeography and Textual Criticism, by A. C. Clark.
- XI. Latin Literature, by R. B. Appleton.

To give a "review" of these reviews would be an easy task, but it is quite unnecessary. Each teacher, even if his main interest does not extend beyond

Caesar and Nepos, should secure for himself a copy of the little book. Of necessity, since we are all human, the reviews cannot be complete or the comments of such a nature that we can agree with all of them. Books and articles by American scholars are given a fair amount of space and of praise.

The articles are for the most part very short, and the reason for this is well expressed by Mr. Van Buren in the opening paragraph of his review, which forms one of the longer papers: "The year's harvest in this field has been considerable, though the labourers have indeed been few. The energies of many fellow-workers have been pre-empted by the war. It is to be hoped that most of them eventually will be restored to historical science, which will be prosecuted with different feelings after these stern years: some of our colleagues, alas! can never return."

Professor Haverfield summarizes in three pages the work done in Roman history. This does not mean that no important work had been done in this field during the year 1917, for the reviewer has discovered some. In his concluding paragraph Professor Haverfield refers to the troubles that beset him and repeats in a way what some of the other writers have said in their reviews. "I should like to have added an account of various short articles on Roman history topics published during the past year. But the difficulty of discovering what has been published would make such a list of little value at present. I can only refer vaguely to certain American scholars who have kept up work and have published it." Some of the other articles are only four or five pages long, but all are readable, instructive, and worth while.

M. N. W.

A General Index to the Classical Journal, Volumes I-XIII

In the first thirteen volumes of the *Classical Journal* a vast amount of material of permanent value to teachers and other classical scholars has been published. This material has now become so extensive that its ready use is seriously hampered by lack of analysis and classification. The Classical Association at its last meeting accordingly, recognizing this impairment of the full and ready use of the *Journal*, authorized the publication of a general index. This has been compiled, is now in press, and its early publication by the University of Chicago Press may be expected.

The *Index* will be in the same size and style as the *Journal* and will be a most welcome addition to these volumes. Its price has been fixed at fifty cents for members of the Classical Associations of the Middle West and South, New England, Pacific States, and Atlantic States and Maryland, and seventy-five cents for non-members.

The Classical Association of the Middle West and South is publishing this *Index* at its own charges, and desires to recover only the cost of publication. All members are urged to assist in this by prompt subscription for a copy. Following is a subscription form which should be detached and mailed as directed.

1919

F. J. Miller, Editor, *Classical Journal*

The University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois

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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

VOLUME XIV

MARCH 1919

NUMBER 6

Editorial

THE AMERICAN ACADEMY AND THE CLASSICS

At the annual meeting of the American Academy of Arts and Letters held in the Century Club on December 15, Professor Paul Shorey of the University of Chicago was elected to its membership to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Andrew D. White.

Very appropriately in connection with the election of this noted classicist an indorsement of the classics and a suggestion that American secondary schools and colleges place more emphasis on their study were embodied in a resolution adopted by the Academy. The resolution was as follows:

At a time when the habit of change threatens to unsettle all convictions and re-estimate all values, when war has concentrated the intelligence of the world on mastering the secrets of power latent in the physical forces of nature, when the readjustments of reconstruction direct attention to the practical needs of the importunate present, the American Academy wishes to record its abiding faith in those intellectual traditions and spiritual aspirations of humanity which in their sum constitute "the things that are more excellent." Literature, including not only the best reports of the current life and the passing hour, but the selected treasures of the European centuries from Homer to Tennyson, is simply the recorded memory of civilized mankind, the chief thing that distinguishes mankind from creatures that live only in the consciousness of the moment. By reasons of conditions not likely to recur, the noble literatures of Greece and Rome possess liberal and special excellencies not easily reproduced, and a peculiar power to stimulate, enlarge, and liberate the awakening intelligence of studious youth. They have a further and hardly less weighty significance as the source of inspiration and the indispensable key to the full understanding of nearly all of the best books of the modern world.

There may have been times when excessive emphasis of these truisms forced the study of the classical languages upon reluctant or unfitted minds to

the retarding of educational progress and the neglect of other not less essential studies. Those days are passed and their controversies concern us no more. It is no longer a question of exclusive predominance of the classics in education, but of their suppression. The study of the classics is not an obstacle, but an aid to the fostering and prosecution of those scientific inquiries upon which modern civilization depends.

With no desire to revive obsolete controversies, and without attempting to anticipate the details of a curriculum, the Academy believes that, in a broad view of present conditions, thoughtful Americans ought to use their influence to encourage rather than to discourage (1) the basic study of a substantial amount of Latin, and wherever practical, of Greek, in our secondary schools; (2) the cultural study of Greek and especially of Latin in our colleges; (3) the scientific study of classical antiquity in the graduate schools of our universities. The triumph of the opposite policies will lower the intellectual and aesthetic standards of our secondary schools and the average culture of the American people, and, in the absence of any controlling sense of linguistic laws and historic derivations, will debase their written and spoken English. It will convert into a mere technical or vocational school the liberalizing and elevating American college, which, however imperfectly, has trained the statesmen, the writers, and the leaders of opinion who have made the America we know and love. It will destroy the young and flourishing school of productive American scholarship just as it is emancipating itself from the old provincialism and from the old dependence on Germany, and is preparing to take its true place in the fellowship of scholars throughout the world.

THE PREPARATION OF THE BOARD'S LATIN PAPERS

The extreme care, aiming to secure perfect justice to candidates, schools, and colleges, with which the Latin answer books are read each year has often been described in the *Journal*. Now the chief examiner, Professor McCrea, and the other examiners have expressed the wish that teachers, both in schools and in colleges, may be told exactly how the question papers are prepared. While the following account will apply in particular to the ordinary Latin papers, yet I am sure that in general it applies also to the comprehensive Latin papers and to all the various papers prepared for the Board.

There are four Latin examiners, two representing the schools and two the colleges. Early in the fall the several papers to be prepared are divided among the examiners, for the papers in their completed form must be in the hands of the secretary by December 1. It is necessary for the examiners to have in mind all the papers that have ever been given by the Board and to see that the character

of the new papers differs only slightly, if any, from that of previous papers. Teachers do not need to be told that the greatest difficulty arises in the selection of passages for sight translation and in setting proper passages for translation into Latin. In choosing a suitable sight passage it is often necessary to read whole volumes of prose or verse. The subject-matter must be a clearly told story, more or less familiar to the average candidate, and it must contain few words or constructions that require comment. The English passages to be turned into Latin must also be connected stories, and every word must be well known. The sentences should call for a suitable variety of genitives, datives, subjunctives, infinitives, etc., yet the constructions required must not be too subtle.

After the first drafts of the papers have been completed, the examiners meet at Columbia University, generally on the Saturday after Thanksgiving. These meetings begin at 9:30 A.M. and continue until the task is done, sometimes until 2:00 A.M. on Sunday morning! This year the meeting adjourned at 10:30 P.M., and it was busy work from start to finish. We did not settle the affairs of the nations or even the disposition of the Kaiser. Every passage for translation, either prepared or at sight, and every question on every paper was scrutinized and discussed with the greatest care. For assistance here all the editions used by the schools and all the vocabularies and lexicons were brought into service. An earnest endeavor was made to avoid every possibility of ambiguity in the questions and to see that the candidates should be expected, from the books used by them, to give the answers with almost mathematical precision.

Changes of every variety were made in the course of the revision of the papers, even in the substitution of different passages for translation. At the end of the session the examiners expressed the belief that the papers to be given next June are as nearly perfect as anything human can be. However, there is still one more chance for revision, since all papers must be subjected to the criticisms of the Committee of Review. The meeting of this committee is attended by the chief examiner, who may be obliged to justify every detail of every paper. If such justification is impossible, further changes must be made.

M. N. W.

THE GENERAL INDEX

By the time this number of the *Journal* reaches the reader the *General Index* to the first thirteen volumes will be published and ready for delivery. It will contain thirty-nine double-column pages, twelve of which are given to the index of contributors and twenty-seven to the index of subjects. It is interesting to note that the list of contributors contains three hundred and sixty-seven names, an array of the classical leaders in our schools and colleges during the last fifteen years and more. The subject index presents the output from these numerous workshops classified according to their subject-matter and thus made most accessible to those who would make use of them.

Those who have followed the *Journal* from year to year know that it is a faithful reflection of the thought, work, and happenings of the classical world for each year, and they find in its thirteen volumes a rich storehouse of knowledge and wisdom. The *General Index* furnishes the indispensable key to this storehouse.

As stated in the February number of the *Journal*, the *Index* is being published by the Association at its own charges and offered at cost price to the members. Members are accordingly urged to send in their subscriptions promptly, that the Association may be able to meet this extraordinary expense without encroaching upon its ordinary income.

THE ATLANTA MEETING IN PROSPECT

For the fifth time in its fourteen years' history, involving fifteen annual meetings, the Association meets in a southern city. In former years we have met twice in Nashville, once in New Orleans, and once in Louisville. In the north, the Association has met four times in Chicago, twice in St. Louis, and once each in Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Iowa City, and Omaha.

Owing to the immense spread of our territory, no city is so central or accessible as to make it possible for more than a small percentage of our members ever to attend any one meeting. Hence we must always look to the home section in which the meeting is held to furnish the greater part of the attendance at each annual meeting. And for those who are fortunate enough to find it possible

to attend the meetings at a distance from their own homes the occasion is especially enjoyable because of the opportunity to meet friends and co-workers in more distant fields. As far as the papers are concerned, the *Journal* makes it possible for the most distant member to read them; but the personal fellowship which the meetings provide can be had only at the price (too often, alas! prohibitive) of actual attendance.

The committee has labored under unusual difficulties this year in the construction of the annual program. We are glad to note that the number of papers is to be considerably less than usual, in order to allow proper time for discussion. This will be a most welcome innovation. Two special features of the program will be, first, Dean West's presentation of the plans for the American Classical League, followed by discussion and action upon the proposal; and second, a group of papers on some old-time southern schoolmasters, which is sure to prove of great interest. Some of the papers which will be presented in addition are as follows:

- "A Talk on the Roman Method of Pronouncing Latin," MILTON W. HUMPHREYS, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.
- "Literary Phrasing in Numerical Expressions," CHARLES E. LITTLE, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tenn.
- "The Sycophant-Parasite," J. O. LOFBERG, University of Texas, Austin, Tex.
- "Martial, the Poet," E. L. GREEN, University of South Carolina, Columbia, S.C.
- "Jefferson, the Classicist," THOMAS FITZHUGH, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.
- "Colonel William Bingham as a Latin Teacher—an Appreciation," W. R. WEBB, Webb School, Bell Buckle, Tenn.
- "Life and Monuments on the Roman Campagna" (illustrated), E. S. McCARTNEY, University of Texas, Austin, Tex.
- "Literary References and Allusions in Petronius," R. B. STEELE, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.
- "The Element of the Burlesque in Homer's *Iliad*," CLYDE PHARR, Southwestern Presbyterian University, Clarksville, Tenn.
- "The Incomplete Expression of the *Anima Mundi* Doctrine in the Sixth *Aeneid*," ROBERT S. RADFORD, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.
- "Roman Moon Lore," EUGENE TAVENNER, State Normal School, Murfreesboro, Tenn.
- A Conference on Methods of Latin-Teaching in High Schools and Normal Schools. Under the direction of J. B. GAME, Florida State College for Women, Tallahassee, Fla.

Several other papers are to be added to this list, but exact titles are not yet available. Among them is an illustrated lecture by Dr. Charles Upson Clark, of the American Academy in Rome.

PROGRAM OF THE FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND, TO BE HELD
AT WHEATON COLLEGE, NORTON, MASSACHUSETTS,
MARCH 28 AND 29, 1919.

FRIDAY MORNING (10:30)

Welcome, by PRESIDENT SAMUEL V. COLE, of Wheaton College, with Response
by PROFESSOR GEORGE E. HOWES, president of the Association.

"Indirect Discourse and the Subjunctive of Attraction," MR. BERNARD M.
ALLEN, Phillips Academy, Andover.

"The One and the Many," DR. JOSIAH BRIDGE, Westminster School.

"The Fate of Achilles in the *Iliad* and the Fate of Odysseus in the *Odyssey*:
A Unitarian Argument," PROFESSOR SAMUEL E. BASSETT, University of
Vermont.

Reports and business, including the election of officers.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON

"The Second Phase of the Battle of Cunaxa," PROFESSOR JOSEPH W. HEWITT,
Wesleyan University.

"An English Verse Translation of Certain Scenes in the *Miles Gloriosus* of
Plautus, with an Introductory Note and Using Some of the Original
Meters," PROFESSOR IRENE NYE, Connecticut College for Women.

Greetings from the Classical Association of the Atlantic States, PROFESSOR
CHARLES KNAPP, Columbia University.

"Antaeus," MR. HORACE M. POYNTER, Phillips Academy, Andover.

FRIDAY EVENING

Organ recital in the college chapel, PROFESSOR H. G. TUCKER, Wheaton
College.

Reception to the Association and its guests at the President's house, by
PRESIDENT and MRS. COLE.

SATURDAY MORNING (9:30)

"Children in Roman Life and Literature" (illustrated), PROFESSOR ADELINE
BELLE HAWES, Wellesley College.

"Latin Examinations as Tests of Intelligence," PROFESSOR NELSON G.
MC CREA, Columbia University.

"Recognition Scenes Old and New: An Enduring Fashion in Thrills," PRO-
FESSOR MARY GILMORE WILLIAMS, Mount Holyoke College.

"The Proposed American Classical League," DEAN ANDREW F. WEST, Prince-
ton University.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON

"An Experiment in Teaching Latin for the Sake of English," MISS MARY C.
ROBINSON, Bangor High School.

"An Ancient Contemporary, or the Modern Element in the Poems of Vergil,"
PRESIDENT SAMUEL V. COLE, Wheaton College.

PUNS AND PLAYS ON PROPER NAMES

BY EUGENE S. MCCARTNEY
University of Texas, Austin, Texas

In 1897 there appeared in the *Harvard Studies* (VIII, 103-84) an article by Professor Chase called "The Origin of Roman Praenomina." Since that time the literature on the subject of names has been augmented by several additions which run the gamut from the popular article to the scholarly tome.¹ Each writer has approached the subject from a different avenue, but there are still some paths untrodden. It is the aim of the present paper to investigate one of these bypaths, "Puns and Plays on Proper Names." It is hoped that the paper will not prove to be merely a compilation of witticisms but will throw some light on Roman mental processes and show at what Romans laughed.

The ancestors of the Romans, on abandoning the Indo-European system of compound names, adopted prosaic substitutes. These were suggested by personal appearance, traits, defects, occupations, etc.,² and hence were in origin more or less of the character of nicknames. Even the royal family could not escape this national tendency, for example, Caligula, Severus, Pius, Pertinax. It is not strange that a nation which poked fun at personal deformities³ should feel no delicacy about punning on names with obvious connotations. "Etiam interpretatio nominis habet acumen, cum ad ridiculum convertas, quam ob rem ita quis vocetur" (Cic. *De orat.* ii. 63. 257).

Dr. Johnson went so far as to say that a man who will make a pun will pick a pocket. Among Roman writers we find names given

¹ Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*; Colbourn, "What's in a Name?" *Class. Weekly*, VI, 66-69; Dean, *A Study of the Cognomina of Soldiers in the Roman Legions*; R. B. Steele, "Roman Personal Names," *Class. Weekly*, XI, 113-18.

² See Chase, *op. cit.*

³ "Est etiam deformitatis et corporis vitiorum satis bella materies ad iocandum" (Cic. *De orat.* ii. 59. 239). That Cicero was not merely theorizing is shown by his coarse personal abuse of Vatinius and Piso.

to certain characters with the obvious intention of punning upon them.¹ *Redende Nomen* are common too. Like wine, the play upon the name Rex apparently grew better as it seasoned. We find it on the lips of Cicero (*Att.* i. 16. 10), Caesar (Suet. 79. 2), and Horace (*Sat.* 1. 7). Cicero made at least fifteen assaults upon the name Verres. (Perhaps his failure to deliver all the Verrine speeches saved him from an outraged public.) The same quest after a play is manifest on sepulchral inscriptions, where it is clearly regarded as an embellishment. It required great restraint for the bereaved to mention the *Parcae* on an epitaph without stating that they did not spare. The writer has found over twenty inscriptions punning on the names Felix, Felicula, Felicitas.

This constant reiteration reminds one of the Italian cicerone. When he unloads a joke for the thousandth and first time, yet with all the spontaneity of an initial attempt, one is inclined to think that this ability is inherited, and that the sins of the fathers have been visited upon the children beyond the third and fourth generation.

The pun most familiar to high-school students, but never appreciated, with or without explanation, is the one on *ad equum rescribere* by a certain soldier of Caesar's Tenth Legion (*B.G.* i. 42). Next in order must come the double-barreled *ius Verrinum* (*Verr.* i. 46. 121), the cleverest of Cicero's many attempts to play on the name Verres. For convenience, the writer has made several classifications of word plays, beginning with equivoques.

EQUIVOQUES

Where a word, like the tongue of a jackdaw, speaks twice as much by being split.—Pope.

Puns of this type are the most concise, since a word is used with a *double entendre*, or is repeated with a different signification. At Rome absence was not conducive to successful electioneering: "Admonuisti etiam, quod in Creta [i.e., toga cretata] fuisses, dictum aliquod in petitionem tuam dici potuisse" (*Cic. Planc.* 34. 85). Making the last first was not confined to biblical parables:

¹ This is very true of Plautus, e.g., *Peniculus* (*Men.* 77); *Scortum* (*Capt.* 69 ff.); *Sceledrus* (*Mil.* 289, 330, 494); *Tranio* (*Most.* 5, 825, 903, 984; see Fay, *Most.*, p. 64); *Truculentus* (*Truc.* 265, 266, 674); *Gelasimus* (*Stich.* 174).

"Respondebo igitur Postumo primum" (Cic. *Mur.* 25. 57). Pompey's greatness was twofold: "Nostra miseria tu es Magnus" (Cic. *Att.* ii. 19. 3; cf. Val. Max. vi. 2. 9). Not even the tombstone is sacred to the punster: "Solvit vota sua laetus cum coniuge Cara" (*Anthol.* 317); "Agnosces nomen coniugis Gratae meae" (Chol., 142).¹

Two puns in one sentence are not a unique occurrence: "In his inventae sunt quinque imagunculae matronarum in quibus una sororis amici tui hominis *bruti* qui hoc utatur et illius *lepidi* qui haec tam neglegenter ferat" (Cic. *Att.* vi. 1. 25; cf. *Att.* xiv. 14. 2).² After citing an illustration of the extraordinary frugality of Lucius Piso during his praetorship in Spain, Cicero remarks (*Verr.* iv. 25. 57): "Ridiculum est me nunc de Verre [i.e., the hog] dicere, quum de Pisone Frugi [i.e., the frugal] dixerim."

The use of the pun as a means of economy of effort was an idea worthy of the fertile brain of the rake Trimalchio, who gave the name Carpus to his carver: "Ita quotiescumque dixit 'Carpe,' eodem verbo vocat et imperat" (Petr. 36 *ad fin.*).³ "Suavis autem

¹ Abbreviations used in giving references: *Anthol.* = Buecheler, *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*; Chol. = Cholodniak, *Carmina Sepulcralia Latina*; Eng. = Engstroem, *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*.

² Cf. *Hamlet* (Act III, scene 2, lines 97-99).

"*Polonius*: I did enact Julius Caesar: I was killed i' the Capitol; Brutus killed me.

"*Hamlet*: It was a brute part of him to kill so capital a calf there."

³ There are many equivoques in Latin: Aquila (Cic. *Phil.* xii. 8. 20); Asellus (Cic. *De orat.* ii. 64. 258); Balbus (Cic. *Fam.* ix. 19. 1-2); Boius est, boiam terit (Plaut. *Capt.* 888); Bona, i.e., Bona Dea (Cic. *Har. resp.* 37); Caecilianam fabulam, play on name of poet and gens (Cic. *Att.* i. 16. 15); Candida (*CIL*, iv, 1520); Corintharius (Suet. *Aug.* 70. 2); Felix (Chol., 174); Germanus (Cic. *Phil.* xi. 6. 14); germani (Vell. Pat. ii. 67. 4); gallus (Cic. *Pis.* 67); Galli (Suet. *Nero* 45. 2); ius Hirtianum (Cic. *Fam.* ix. 18); *Kôpa*, playing on Cora (Plaut. *Capt.* 881); Laudiceni (Plin. *Ep.* ii. 14. 5); Libertas (Cic. *Dom.* 42. 110); Liber (Plaut. *Capt.* 557-58; *Cist.* 127-28; Petr. 41); Ligurino, play on P. Aelius Ligur and Ligurian (Cic. *Att.* v. 20. 6); Nigra (*CIL*, iv, 6892; see Eng., p. 92); Phoenicium, poenicio corio (Plaut. *Pseud.* 229); Pistorenses (Plaut. *Capt.* 160); Prima (Chol., 130, 214); pulcher (Catull. 79); quadrantaria permutatione (Cic. *Cacl.* 26. 62; Quadrantaria was a nickname, as we know from Plut. *Cic.* 29); Restituta (Chol., 1201a); Servius Tullius (Quint. ix. 3. 21); Rex (Cic. *Att.* i. 16. 10; Hor. *Sat.* 1. 7; Suet. *Jul. Caes.* 79. 2); Tirones (Cic. *Phil.* xii. 6. 14); triculentus (Plaut. *Truc.* 265, 266, 674); Umbra (Plaut. *Most.* 769-70); ius Verrinum (Cic. *Verr.* i. 46. 121); Veneri et Cupidini (Cic. *Verr.* iv. 55. 123); Vindex (Suet. *Nero* 45. 2).

est et vehementer saepe utilis iocus et facetiae" (Cic. *De orat.* ii. 54. 216).

The art of punning was included in the equipment of the wily Ulysses. Perhaps the most famous pun in Greek literature is that on *οὔτις* and *οὗ τις*, by means of which Ulysses managed to effect his escape from Cyclops (*Odys.* ix. 366-414).¹ A name capable of being punned upon was at times a great misfortune: Κόνων Θρασύβουλον θρασύβουλον ἐκάλει, καὶ Ἡρόδικος Θρασύμαχον ἀεὶ θρασύμαχος εἶ, καὶ Πῶλον ἀεὶ σὺ πῶλος εἶ, καὶ Δράκοντα τὸν νομοθέτην, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἀνθρώπου οἱ νόμοι, ἀλλὰ δράκοντος (Arist. *Rhet.* ii. 23. 28). Even Christ resorted to punning: σὺ εἶ Πέτρος, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν (Matt. 16:18).²

There are some wonderful plays of this character in English. The court jester of Charles the First is said to have made the punning grace, "Great praise be to God and little Laud to the Devil," for which he was dismissed by the archbishop. Another famous pun is that upon *The Beggar's Opera*, which "made Gay rich and Rich gay."³

PARONOMASIA

Quod mutatis verbis salem amittit, in verbis habet leporem omnem.—

Cic. *De orat.* ii. 62. 252.

The Romans loved the clashing of word on word as well as of sword on sword. They were fond of plays which depended for their effect upon similarity or identity of sound at the beginning, middle, or end of words, whether they were etymologically related or not.

¹ Cf. Eur. *Cycl.*, 549, 672 ff.; Aristoph. *Vesp.* 184 ff.

² Cf. pun on Σπάρτη and σπάρτη (Aristoph. *Aves* 813-16); Τρυφερά τρυφερά (*Anticthol. Pal* v. 153. 2); πάντα Λέοντι and Πανταλέοντι (Quint. 7. 9. 6).

Aristophanes is, of course, fond of word plays; e.g., Διοπέλης (*Vesp.* 380); Νικόβουλος (*Eq.* 615); Λυσιμάχης (*Pax* 992; *Lysist.* 554); Τραγασαῖα (*Achar.* 808). Proper names are suggested by the following words: ἄμυνίαις (*Eq.* 570). This is a sarcastic reference to the Ἀμυνίας of *Nub.* 692; λυσανίας (*Nub.* 1162). Somewhat similar is πανσανίας in Sophocles (*Frag.* 887, Jebb).

³ Cf. also, "Old Gaunt indeed and gaunt in being old" (*Richard II*, Act II, scene 1, line 73). A well-known clever pun is the following:

"Said a great and sensational preacher
To a hen, 'You're a beautiful creature.'
And the hen, just for that,
Laid an egg in his hat,
And thus did the hen reward Beecher."

Aquilius was the proper person to consult about *aqua* (Cic. *Balb.* 20. 45). Everyone experienced *damnum* in Epidamno (Plaut. *Men.* 267). An effective military figure is seen in *Ballionem exballisto* (Plaut. *Pseud.* 585). Cicero uses the word *plebicola* in ironical allusion to Publicola (Cic. *Sest.* 52. 110). *Tiberium in Tiberim* was lèse majesté against the dead emperor (Suet. *Tib.* 75). Victoria outlived her "man," *virum vicit* (*Anthol.* 1142). Friends are invoked to honor Florus with *flores* (*Anthol.* 1594). Narcissus of the flowery name perished in the flower of his youth, *flore iuventutis* (Burmman, 4. 102). Pulcher, the cognomen of P. Clodius, provided a tempting target for shafts of witticism: "sed credo postquam speculum tibi adlatum est longe te a pulchris abesse sensisti" (Cic. *In Clod. Frag.* 25). To him the sarcastic *pulchellus* is often applied (Cic. *Att.* i. 16. 10; ii. 1. 4, 18. 3, 22. 1).¹

That a name capable of being punned upon should be an asset seems impossible of belief, yet such a circumstance won Regilianus a kingdom:

Mirabile fortasse videatur, si quae origo imperii eius fuerit declaretur. Capitali enim ioco regna promeruit. Nam cum milites cum eo quidam cenarent, exstitit vicarius tribuni, qui diceret: "Regiliani nomen unde credimus dictum?" Alius continuo: "Credimus quod a regno." Tum is qui aderat scholasticus coepit quasi grammaticaliter declinare et dicere: "Rex regis regi

¹ Cf. also *alienissimus* in allusion to Alienus (Cic. *Div. in Caec.* 15. 50); Archimedes-dempturum (Plaut. *Bacch.* 284-85); Avidius-avidus (*Hist. Aug.*, Avid. Cass. 1. 7); Calvinus plays on *calvus* by implication (Suet. *Vesp.* 23. 4; see Rolfe, *Suet.* ii. A 318, note b, Loeb Classical Library); Charinus-χαρινος (Plaut. *Pseud.* 712); Charinus-careo (Plaut. *Pseud.* 736); Crucisalum-Chrysalo (Plaut. *Bacch.* 362); Dolon-dolo (Ovid *Her.* i. 39-40); Felicis-infelicissimi (*CIL*, IX, 1724); Felicitati-infelicissima (*CIL*, IX, 1740); Fortuna-infelices (*CIL*, IV, 29201); Laco, probably play on *lucus* and *λακκος*, "tank" (Cic. *Phil.* ii. 41. 106); Lucilla-lucrum (*CIL*, IV, 1948); Lucina-lux (*Anthol.* 436); Lucina-lumen (Eng., 153); Lucius-luce-luci (*Anthol.* 516); Lyde-ludo (Plaut. *Bacch.* 129); Molo-molis (Cic. *Att.* ii. 1. 9); parva-Parca (Hor. *C.* ii. 16. 37-39); Phronesium-phronesis (Plaut. *Truc.* 78a); Poeni-poena (Cic. *Verr.* iii. 6. 12); Poeni-poenas (Plaut. *Cist.* 202); Pollex-index (Cic. *Att.* xiii. 46. 1); Primula-prima (*Anthol.* 1614); *quadrare*, in allusion to Quadrantaria (Cic. *Cacl.* 6. 69); Saturio-essurio (Plaut. *Pers.* 101-3); Sceledrus-scelus (Plaut. *Mil.* 289; cf. 330, 494); Sosia-socium (Plaut. *Amph.* 383-84); Treviri-tresviri (Cic. *Fam.* vii. 13. 2); Vatinius-vaticinando (Cic. *Val.* 2. 6); Venus-venerieis (*sic*) rebus (*Anthol.* 181); Venus-venusta (Plaut. *Most.* 161); Verres-vertit (Cic. *Div. in Caec.* 17. 57); Verres-everti and eversus (*Verr.* ii. 22. 54); Verres-aversor (*Verr.* v. 58. 152); Verres-Verria (*Verr.* ii. 21. 52 *ad fin.*); Verres-everriculum (*Verr.* iv. 24. 53); verretet Verres (Cic. *Fragm.* ap. Quint. vi. 3. 55); Dum sum Vitalis et vivo (*CIL*, VIII, 1027; cf. *vita vitalis*, Cic. *Lael.* 6. 22).

Regilianus." Milites, ut est hominum genus pronum ad ea, quae cogitant: "*Ergo potest rex esse?*" Item alius: "*Ergo potest nos regere?*" Item alius: "Deus tibi regis nomen posuit." Quid multa? His dictis, cum alia die mane processisset, a principis imperator est salutatus [Treb. Pol. *Trig. Tyr.* 10. 3.]

The Greek ear was as fond of *jeux de mots* as was the Roman. We find them in the most formal literature, although their presence in serious works is due largely to the feeling that there is a close connection between one's name and one's fate. Bacchylides (6. 1-3) thus commemorates a victor in a foot race: *Δάχων λάχε φέρτατον πῶδεσσι κύδος*. Aeschylus juggles with *πανδίκως* and *Δίκη* (*Sept.* 657-58). Παισανίου παυσάμενον (Plato *Symp.* 185 C), "Pausanias pausing," is one of the few puns that can be readily translated into English. Demosthenes too yields to temptation as we see in *σοφῷ Σοφοκλεῖ* (19. 248). This reminds one of the parasites described by Pliny (*Ep.* ii. 14. 5), who were accustomed to go from court to court and to shout applause, *σαφῶς καλεῖν*, thus earning the name *Σοφοκλεῖς*.¹

Simonides (168) catered to the taste for a nonsensical jingle:

*Σῶσος καὶ Σωσώ, σῶτερ, σοὶ τόνδ' ἀνέθηκαν
Σῶσος μὲν σωθεῖς, Σωσώ δ' ὅτι Σῶσος ἐσώθη.*

The Greeks were fascinated by the mysteries of the winged word. One manifestation of this is the etymological pun. A few instances may be cited from Euripides, who was known as the *τραγικός ἐτυμολόγος*: "Δολων from δόλος (*Rhes.* 158), 'Ατρεὺς from ἀτρεστος (*Iph. in Aulide* 321), Πενθεὺς from πένθος (*Bacch.* 367), 'Αφροδίτη from ἀφροσύνη (*Tro.* 989), 'Ελένη from ελεῖν (*Tro.* 891), "Ἴων from ἰέναι (*Ion.* 661, 802, etc.), Καπανεὺς from καπνός (*Suppl.* 496), Ζῆθος from ζητεῖν (*Frag.* 179), 'Αμφίων from ἀμφιέναι (*Frag.* 180), Δανάη from δηναῖος (*Frag.* 317, vs. 20), Βοιωτὸς from βοῦς (*Frag.* 485), Μελέαγρος from μελέα ἄγρος (*Frag.* 525)."²

A pun may be hinted at rather than expressed; for example, "Αἰδης πλουτίζεται (Soph. *O.T.* 30). Here Πλούτων suggests

¹ Other plays: ὑπὸ τοῦ γέλωτος εἰς Γέλαν ἀφίξομαι (Aristoph. *Frag.* 1, p. 546 K); Γέλας-Καταγέλας (Aristoph. *Achar.* 606; Athen. 314 F); εὐροον Εὐρώταν (Eur. *Hec.* 649); Δοξίας (playing on λοξός and εὐθιγῆτος: Pind. *Pyth.* 3. 28); Παλιῶν (playing on πάλιν Aesch. *Frag.* 5, Nauck). Likewise, μήδεσιν suggests Medea (Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 27) and σκύλαξ hints at Scylla (Aesch. *Cho.* 612).

² Paley, *Introd. to Eur.* I, p. xxx. Cf. also Θόας from θοός (Eur. *Iph. in Tauris* 32); 'Ελένη and εἰλε (*Hec.* 442).

itself as an equivalent of Ἀϊδης. Mockery and parody are combined in Aristophanes' *Pax* (1293), where Λάμαχος is described as ἀνδρὸς βουλομάχου καὶ κλαυσιμάχου τινὸς υἱός. Definitional plays occur at times. In the *Iliad* (ii. 702) Homer clearly has the etymology of Protesilaus in mind when he represents him as νηὸς ἀποθρώσκοντα πολὺν πρῶτιστον Ἀχαιῶν.¹ The same thing is true of Δημόδοκος, λαοῖσι τετιμένος (*Odyss.* xiii. 28).²

Shakespeare's audience was fond of puns, however poor or obvious; for example, Brutus and brute (*Hamlet*, Act III, Scene ii, lines 97-99); lucas and louses (*Merry Wives of Windsor*, Act. I, scene 1); Rome and room (*Richard II*, Act II, scene 1, line 73); Rome and roam (*I Henry VI*, Act III, scene 1, line 51).³

NAMES APPROPRIATE

O how that name befits thy composition.—*Richard II.*

There is a much-used type of word play in which the appropriateness of the name is indicated, or a wish or prayer is expressed that the literal meaning of the name may be fulfilled. Among the common people of ancient Italy it was in great favor for metrical inscriptions:

Candida praesenti tegitur matrona sepulcro

Moribus ingenio et gravitate *nilens*.—*Anthol.* 1390.

Meritis pariterque et nomine Celsa.—*Anthol.* 700.

Corpore mente animo pariterque et nomine Felix.—*Anthol. Suppl.* 1. 61.

Sed te nunc, Pietas, venerorque precorque

ut bene pro meritis hilares Hilaram.—*Anthol.* 963.

Hoc lapide tegitur Aurelia Pia piissima coniunx.—*Chol.*, 21.

Nomine Pulcheria fuit, sed nomine formam

signavit mentemq. simul vitamq. decentem.—*Anthol.* 710.

Turtura nomen abis, set turtur vera fuisti

cui coniux moriens non fuit alter amor.—*Eng.*, 358.⁴

¹ Protesilaus means literally, "qui praecurrit populum"; see Fay, *Classical Quarterly*, VIII, 59.

² Demodocus = δῆμος + Gk. cognate of *decus*.

³ The writer is aware, of course, that the pronunciation of some of these words has changed.

⁴ Other plays of this character are Calliste (*Anthol.* 1035); Clearchus (*Anthol.* 235); Clemens (Burmans, 4. 105); Dextrianus (*Anthol.* 769); Felix (*Anthol.* 661, 671, 1271; *Eng.*, 51; *CIL*, IV, 6815); Floridus (*Anthol.* 686); Hedistes (*Anthol.* 1046); Kara (*Chol.*, 734); Petrus (*Anthol.* 312); Proba (Burmans, 4. 136); Vitalis (*Anthol.* 1801).

The last epitaph is a gem, since the turtledove is a conspicuous example of conjugal fidelity in the animal kingdom.

The name of Iuba was appropriate, since he was *bene capillatus* (Cic. *Leg. agr.* 2. 59). Likewise it was fitting for Iuventius to be supported by an *adulescens* (Cic. *Planc.* 24. 58). *Parca non mendax* (Hor. *C.* ii. 16. 39) is sometimes interpreted as "Parca not belying her name," but it is best taken as an equivalent of *Parca tenax veri* (Pers. *Sat.* 5. 48).

In Greek the most conspicuous illustration of the suitability of a name is Helen: *τίς ποτ' ὠνόμαζεν ὦδ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν ἐτητύμως· μή τις ὄντιν' οὐχ ὀρώμεν προνοίαισι τοῦ πεπρωμένον γλῶσσαν ἐν τύχῃ νέμων; τὰν δορίγαμβρον ἀμφινεικῇ θ' Ἑλέναν; ἐπεὶ πρεπόντως Ἑλένας, Ἑλανδρος, ἑλέπτολις* (Aesch. *Agamem.* 681-89).

Eteocles and Polynices met fates conforming to their names: *οἱ δῆτ' ὀρθῶς κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν* (i.e., *ἐτεῶς κληζόμενος*) *καὶ πολυνεικεῖς ὦλοντ' ἀσεβείᾳ διανοίᾳ* (Aesch. *Sept.* 814-16; cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 636).¹

St. Paul plays on the name of Onesimus (*δνησις*, "profit"), who, after being *ἄχρηστος*, thus belying his name, finally lived up to it and became useful, *εὐχρηστος* (Phil., chap. 11). Another example is found in Genesis (27:36): "Is he not rightly named Jacob [supplanter]? For he has supplanted me these two times."

NAMES INAPPROPRIATE

Sed scitis esse notissimum ridiculi genus, cum aliud exspectamus, aliud dicitur.—Cic. *De orat.* ii. 62. 254.

It frequently happens that the character or fate of a person is the very antithesis of that indicated by the name. A mordant pun of this type was made at the expense of a Latin historian by Tertullian (*Apol.* 16): "Cornelius Tacitus, sane ille mendaciorum loquacissimus." Upon a wall at Pompeii some wag wrote: "Verus hic ubi stat, nihil veri" (*CIL*, IV, 1662). Cicero connects the name Caesar with *caedere*: "C. Caesarem, *milem* hominem et *a caede abhorrentem*" (*Sest.* 63. 132).

A rich field for such plays is found in sepulchral inscriptions, in which is recorded the contrast between the hopes and the fate of the deceased:

¹ See also *Ἀρήτη* (*Odys.* vii. 54); *Ὀδυσσεύς* (*Odys.* xix. 409); *Ἐραφος* (Aesch. *Suppl.* 45. 286, Tucker; Aesch. *Prom.* 850-51); *Βόσπορος* (Aesch. *Prom.* 733-34); *Σιδηρώ* (Soph. *Frag.* 658, Jebb).

Hunc Antho [= flos] tumulum male deflorentibus annis
 pro pietate pari composuere suo.—*Anthol.* 1059.
 Crescens hic ego sum: fueram spes magna parentum,
 quod non adcrevi, nomen inane fuit.—*Anthol.* 1196.
 Cunctis fila parant Parcae nec parcitur ullis.—*Anthol.* 627.¹
 Hic situs est infans Victor desertus ab annis,
 Invidere viro tunc nomina ferre decenter.—*Anthol.* 458.²

The punnigram of Felix and Felicitas doubtless greatly consoled them in their bereavement: *Ael. Feliciori Fabacio Felix et Felicitas parentes infelices* (*CIL*, X, 2004).

In the Seven against Thebes (523–24) Parthenopaeus is represented as belying his name:

ὃ δ' ὤμῳ, οὔτι παρθένων ἐπώνυμον
 φρόνημα, γοργὸν δ' ὄμῳ ἔχων, προσίσταται.

Other instances may be cited: *ψευδωνύμῳ σε δαίμονες Προμηθεά καλοῦσιν· αὐτὸν γάρ σε δεῖ Προμηθέως, ὅτῳ τρὸς τῆσδ' ἐκκυλισθήσῃ τέχνης* (Aesch. *Prom.* 85–87); *Ἀνάσχετος οὐκ ἀνάσχετος* (Arist. *Rhet.* iii. 11. 8).

GREEK NAMES TRANSLATED

At times we find names of Greek origin practically translated:³

Hic tumultatus iacit homo, qui dum vixit habebat
 magnam Callinomi <καλόν+ὄνομα> vocitatus nomine famam.—Chol., 278.

¹ Cf. also Parca tenax (Chol., 468); male Parcarum . . . sororum (*Anthol.* 428); non Parca parcit (*Anthol.* 221); non . . . pepercit Parca (Chol., 169); ante diem ruperunt stemina [= non pepercerunt] Parcae (Eng., 153); Parca aetatis nostrae praeripuit colu, i.e., non pepercit (*Anthol.* 1144).

² Cf. also Felicia-infelix (*CIL*, IX, 2140); Felicianus-infelicissimus (*CIL*, X, 365); Felicitas-infelix (*Anthol.* 682); Felicitati infelicissimae (*CIL*, IV, 14799); Felicia-misera (*Anthol.* 1064); Felicula infelix (*CIL*, IX, 1468); Felix-miselle (*Anthol.* 1328); Felix de nomine tantum (Eng., 153); Fortuna infelices (*CIL*, VI, 29201); Fortunata infelicissima (*CIL*, VI, 15352; VI, 29654); Fortunatus-infelix (*CIL*, X, 5555); Gelasimus-Catagelasimus (Plaut. *Stich.* 630); Hilaritas-dolor luctusque (Eng., 213); Phrygi (frugi)-edacem (Cic. *Flacc.* 41); Scatonem (scatere) illum, hominem sua virtute egentem (Cic. *Dom.* 116).

³ In a passage in *Paradise Lost* (II, 577–83), Milton virtually translates Greek names:

“Abhorred Styx, the flood of deadly hate;
 Sad Acheron of sorrow black and deep;
 Cocytus, named of lamentation loud
 Heard on the rueful stream; fierce Phlegeton,
 Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage.
 Far off from these, a slow and silent stream,
 Lethe, the river of oblivion rolls”

Nobilis Eugenia <εὖ+γένος> praeclari sanguinis ortu,
 quae meritis vivit, hic tumultata iacit.—*Anthol.* 1447.
 Hoc iacet in tumulo secura Glyconis <γλύκων> honesto.
 Dulcis nomine erat, anima quoque dulcior usque.—*Anthol.* 495.
 Stephane <στέφανος>, vitae nostrae dum vivis decus,
 vere choronam te accepi et mox peridi.—*Anthol.* 92.
 Verum Thrasyllus <θρασύς> praeceps alioquin et de ipso nomine temerarius.
 —Apul. *Met.* 8. 8.

As there is no Latin word for rhodanthion, the writer had to content himself with the statement that "Rhodanthion nomine floris erat" (*Anthol.* 1142).

LITERAL MEANING OF NAME DEVELOPED

Ingeniosi enim videtur vim verbi in aliud atque ceteri accipiant posse ducere.—Cic. *De orat.* ii. 62. 254.

At times, when the literal meaning of a word is suggested to a writer or speaker, he decides to "carry on," and to develop the idea thus connoted. This happens very frequently in the case of animal names, of which there are so many in Latin. A clever witticism was suggested by the sight of a group of companions with bird names: "Sedebat ad sinistram ei Cornelius Merula <blackbird>, consulari familia ortus, et Tircellius Pavo <peacock> Reatinus, ad dextram Minucius Pica <magpie> et M. Petronius Passer <sparrow>. Ad quem cum accessisemus, Axius Appio subridens, 'Recipis nos,' inquit, 'in tuum ornithona, ubi sedes inter aves?'" (Varro *Res. rust.* iii. 2. 2).

At the death of Diodotus the rhetorician, Metellus Pius made an allusion to Corax, the founder of the school of rhetoric, by setting up a stone crow. Cicero, having in mind perhaps some flapping gesticulations of Metellus, said that it was a fitting thing to do, since Corax had taught him to fly, not to speak (Plut. *Mor.* 205A). In another place Cicero writes: "Quare coracem istum vestrum patiamur nos quidem pullos suos excludere in nido, qui evolent clamatores odiosi ac molesti" (*De orat.* iii. 21. 81). A disgusted jury dismissed the suit of Tisias against Corax with the contemptuous proverb, *κακοῦ κόρακος κακὸν ῥῶν*.¹ Perhaps the Mr. Crow's of antiquity suffered as much from the ubiquitous punster as anybody.

¹ Spengel, *Artium scriptores*, p. 26.

The name Caninius suggested to Cicero the notion of a watch-dog: "Nihil tamen eo consule mali factum est; fuit enim mirifica vigilantia, qui suo toto consulatu somnum non viderit" (*Fam.* vii. 30. 1). When the last letters of the name Verrutium were lost in a smudge, the orator compared them to the tail of a pig sunk in mud: "Videtis Verrutium? Videtis primas literas integras? Videtis extremam partem nominis, caudam illam verrinam tamquam in luto esse in litura?" (*Verr.* ii. 78. 191). Porcius naturally connotes greediness: "Porcius infra, ridiculus totas simul absorbere placentas" (*Hor. Sat.* ii. 8. 23-24).

Nero's musical attainments were duly advertised: "Ascriptum et columnis, etiam Gallos <Gauls and cocks> eum cantando <singing and crowing> excitasse" (*Suet. Nero* 45. 2). A complex pun is seen in Cicero's designation of Minotaur for certain colleagues in the praetorship, Calvisius and Taurus (*Fam.* xii. 25. 1). The reason for the last half of the epithet is obvious. The first half was pertinent, since, as Cicero elsewhere tells us (*Fam.* x. 26. 3), Calvisius was *homo magni iudicii*, therein resembling Minos. When a certain Caecilius, who was suspected of Judaism, wished to undertake the prosecution of Verres, Cicero asked, *τί 'Ιουδαίω πρὸς χοῖρον*; (*Plut. Cic.* 7).¹

The word *ῥωσικόν* led Athenaeus to say that Rhosian ware was *εὐανθέστατον* (6. 229C). Simonides (13) carries out a figure suggested by an animal name: *ἐπέξαθ' ὁ Κριὸς οὐκ ἀεικέως ἐλθὼν ἐς εὐδενδρον ἀγλαὸν Διὸς τέμενος*. Compare *Λύκει' ἀναξ, λύκειος γενοῦ* (*Aesch. Sept.* 131).

¹ Cf. also *Aper* (*Anthol.* 441); *odor Aproni taeterrimus* (*Cic. Verr.* iii. 9. 23); *Aproniani convivi* (*Verr.* iii. 11. 28); *Apronianum lucellum* (*Verr.* iii. 30. 72); *Apronium-Verrem alterum* (*Verr.* iii. 36. 84); *Apronius in agris* (*Verr.* iii. 46. 109); *Argentea* and *Silver Age* (*Burmman*, 4. 140); *nobilem sui generis, Asinium Dentonem* (*Cic. Att.* v. 20. 4; see *Tyrrell and Purser, The Correspondence of Cicero*, III, 116); *Bivium-de via decessisse* (*Cic. Cluent.* 59. 163); *Catule, quid latras?* (given in indirect form, *Cic. De orat.* ii. 54. 220); *florentem Crhysanti famam* (*Anthol.* 327); *Ligarii* (=ligare)-retinendi (*Cic. Lig.* 11. 33); *Nummum divisorem* (*Cic. De orat.* ii. 63. 257); *Plancus* (cf. *plangere*)-in *plorando* (*Cic. Planc.* 14. 34); *Rosa florivit* (*Anthol.* 216); *Sacerdos* failed to act the priest and kill a worthless *verres* (*Verr.* i. 46. 121); *Servius vixit ad aliorum arbitrium, non ad suum* (*Cic. Mur.* 9. 19); *Tertia-prima* (*Chol.*, 146); *Tranjo* (=picus)-exi nido (*Plaut. Most.* 5); *Verres* and *Erymanthian boar* (*Verr.* iv. 43. 95); *Verres-in luto volutatum* (*Verr.* iv. 24. 53); *Verres-Apronius-sui similes-sui simillimum* (*Verr.* iii. 9. 22); *Vetustilla* (*Mart.* 3. 93).

One illustration may be quoted from English:

How sweet and lovely dost thou make the shame,
Which like a canker in the fragrant Rose
Dost spot the beautie of thy budding name.¹

HYBRID PUNS

A little Latin and less Greek.

There are several bilingual puns recorded in Latin literature, for example, "Legati sunt Q. Metellus Creticus et L. Flaccus et τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ φακῇ μύρον, Lentulus Clodiani filius" (Cic. *Att.* i. 19. 2). The Greek is evidently a proverb with the idea of "pearls before swine." The name Lentulus is played upon by φακῇ, "lens." Tyrrell explains the joke as follows: "There is no use in pouring unguents on lentils, and this important commission is thrown away on such an one as Lentulus."

One of Crassus' sons, who so closely resembled a certain Axius as to throw some suspicion on his mother's honor, made a successful speech in the senate. On being asked how he liked it, Cicero replied in Greek, "Ἀξίος Κράσσου (Plut. *Cic.* 25 *ad fin.*).

When Tibullus wished to camouflage the name of his first love, Plania, he coined the word Delia from δηλος. At the celebrated banquet of Trimalchio a clever slave "took off" now Lyaeus, now Euhius. Turning to him, the master said: "Dionyse, liber esto" (Petr. 41).²

DISTORTION OF NAMES

And if his name be George, I'll call him Peter.—*King John*.

The humor of miscalling and distortion, of which Americans are so fond, appealed to the ancients also. Roman soldiers made a threefold assault upon the character of Tiberius Claudius Nero by calling him Biberius Caldus Mero³ (Suet. *Tib.* 42; cf. Aur. Vict.

¹ Shakespeare, Sonnet 95, lines 1-3.

² Cf. also Acontius-ἀκόντιον, ἀκοντίξω (Ovid *Her.* 21. 209); illud nomen aureum Chrysogoni (Cic. *S. Rosc.* 43. 124); Dicaearchus-δικαίραρχοι (Cic. *Att.* ii. 12. 4); Dicaea-δικαίος (Plaut. *Pers.* 438); Hippias (Cic. *Phil.* ii. 25. 62); Lysidicus (Λύσις + δίκη)-omnia iura dissolvit (Cic. *Phil.* xi. 6. 14); Philomela ac Progne-hirundines (Plaut. *Rud.* 604); Toxilus-venefice (Plaut. *Pers.* 277-78); Tranio (τερpalves "pierces"; see Fay, *Mostellaria*, p. 64, and notes to 5, 65, 825, 827, 903).

³ In reply to taunts hurled across No Man's Land, the Canadians used to ask about the health of the "Clown Prince," of old "Von Woodenburg," of old "One O'clock," or "One Bumstofi."

Epit. 2. 2). Cato, vexed at the fickleness or inconstancy of Nobilior, called him Mobilior (Cic. *De orat.* ii. 63. 256). On one occasion Mestrius Florus told Vespasian that *plaustra* rather than *plostra* was the correct pronunciation. The next day the Emperor squared accounts by saluting him as Flaurus (Suet. *Vesp.* 22). Before Vespasian's elevation to power one of Nero's ushers told him to go to Morbovia (Suet. *Vesp.* 14). The name Morbovia was coined on the analogy of such names as Gergovia, Segovia, etc.¹

THE TAUTOLOGICAL PLAY

Eandem rem dicit, commutatis verbis (with apologies to Cic. *Arch.* 8. 18).

In the tautological play an adjective contains a notion already present in the proper name but obscured by the foreign pedigree of the noun. This is perhaps the most subtle as well as the most artistic use of word play. Vergil resorts to it on several occasions: for example, *pluviasque Hyadas* (i. 744; cf. *ἕειν*, "to rain"), *Plemmyrium undosum* (3. 693; cf. *ῥέπειν*, "to flow"); *stagnantis Heloi* (3. 698; cf. *ἑλος*, "the marshy place"), *arduus Acragas* (3. 703; cf. *ἄκρος*, "height").

We are told that the word Carthage signifies *Civitas Nova* (Sol. 27. 10). Vergil was undoubtedly playing on the etymology of the name in the expression *novae Carthaginiis* (i. 298, 366).

A good example with a common noun occurs in Shakespeare (*Love's Labour's Lost*, Act I, scene 1, lines 243-45): "So it is, besieged with sable-coloured melancholy, I did commend the black oppressing humour" He knew, of course, that *melan* meant "black."

OMENS AND EUPHEMISMS

What's in a name?

Omens derived from proper names and euphemistic proper names are really forms of word play. Some of Cicero's comments on the omens of names deserve quotation:

Itemque in lustranda colonia ab eo, qui eam deduceret, et cum imperator exercitum, censor populum lustraret, bonis nominibus, qui hostias ducerent,

¹ Cf. also Labienus-Rabies (Sen. *Contr.* 10. 5); Theomnastus-Theoractus (Cic. *Verr.* iv. 66. 148).

elgebantur. Quod idem in dilectu consules observant ut primus miles fiat bono nomine. Quae quidem a te scis et consule et imperatore summa cum religione esse servata. Praerogativam etiam maiores omen iustorum comitiorum esse voluerunt [*Div.* i. 45. 102-3].

The same thing was done in court. Cicero thus addresses a certain Valerius (cf. *valere*) who was put on the stand by the opposition: "Quodsi te omen nominis vestri forte duxit, nos tamen id more maiorum, quia faustum putamus, non ad perniciem, verum ad salutem interpretamur" (*Scaur.* 30).

Doubly ill-omened was the name of Atrius UMBER, "nominis etiam abominandi dux" (*Liv.* xxviii. 28. 4), whom the soldiers refused to follow. De Quincey calls it a "pleonasm of darkness." An illustration of a good omen is seen in Livy's description of an expedition to Africa: "Scipio, quod esset proximum promunturium, percunctatus cum Pulchri promunturium id vocari audisset, 'Placet omen,' inquit, 'huc dirigite naves.' Eo classis decurrit, copiaeque omnes in terram expositae sunt" (*Lib.* xxix. 27. 12-13).

A lucky omen is recorded of Augustus: "Apud Actium descendenti in aciem asellus cum asinario occurrit: homini Eutychus <Fortunatus>, bestiae Nicon <Vincens> erat nomen; utriusque simulacrum aeneum victor posuit in templo, in quod castrorum suorum locum vertit" (*Suet. Aug.* 96. 2).

Failure to heed an omen often brought fatal results: "Adnotatu dignum illud quoque omen, sub quo Petilius consul in Liguria bellum gerens occiderit: nam cum montem, cui Leto cognomen erat, oppugnaret interque adhortationem militum dixisset, 'Hodie ego Letum utique capiam,' inconsideratius proeliando fortuitum iactum vocis leto suo confirmavit" (*Val. Max.* i. 5. 9).¹

The Greeks too believed that there was some mysterious connection between the name and the fate of a person. At one period

¹ Compare the following omens: Basilides (*Suet. Vesp.* 7); Beneventum (*Plin. H.N.* 3. 105; *Procop.* i. 15. 4); Cauneas (*Cic. Div.* ii. 40. 84); Chelidon (*Cic. Verr.* i. 40. 104); Epidamnus (*Plaut. Men.* 263-64; *Plin. N.H.* 3. 145; see also Keller, *Lateinische Volksetymologie*, pp. 232-36); Felicula (*CIL*, IV, 4477); Gaia Caecilia (*Fest.*, p. 95); Καροβασιλεια (*Val. Max.* i. 5. 6); Persa periit (*Cic. Div.* i. 46. 103; cf. *Val. Max.* i. 5. 3); Saxa (*Cic. Phil.* xi. 5. 12); Segesta (*Fest.*, p. 340M); Stephanus (*Anthol.* 92); Verres (*Cic. Verr.* ii. 6. 18; ii. 7. 19). See also Keller, *op. cit.*, 17, 235; Tyrrell, *Miles Gloriosus*, note on *Lucr.* 842.

they thought that words represented the true inwardness or essence of things. It is not strange, therefore, that the meaning attaching to names played an important part in their life. The best illustration of the Greek feeling is seen in Aeschylus' comments on the name Helen, which have been quoted elsewhere.

An instance almost equally illuminating occurs in the *Ajax* of Sophocles (430-33), in which Ajax laments the suitability of his name to his fate:

αἰαῖ· τίς ἂν ποτ' ὦθ' ὦδ' ἐπώνυμον
τοῦμὸν ξηνοίσειεν ὄνομα τοῖς ἐμοῖς κακοῖς;
νῦν γὰρ πάρεστι καὶ δις αἰάζειν ἐμοὶ
καὶ τρίς· τοιούτοις γὰρ κακοῖς ἐντυγχάνω.

The epigram of Ausonius (20) on bibulous old Meroe is more Greek in feeling than Roman:

Qui primus, Meroe, nomen tibi condidit, ille
Thesidae nomen condidit Hippolyto¹
nam divinare est, nomen componere quod sit
fortunae et morum vel necis indicium
Protesilae,² tibi nomen sic fata dederunt,
victima quod Troiae prima futurus eras,
Idmona³ quod vatem, medicum quod Iapyga⁴ dicunt.
discendas artes nomina praeveniunt
et tu sic Meroe: non quod sis atra colore
ut quae Miliaca nascitur in Meroe.
infusum sed quod vinum non diluis undis
potare inmixtum sueta merumque merum.

Even at the dawn of Greek literature names were exercising a controlling influence over one's fate, as we see in the case of Ulysses: πολλοῖσιν γὰρ ἐγὼ γε ὀδυσσάμενος τόδ' ἰκάνω . . . τῷ δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ὄνομ' ἔστω ἐπώνυμον (*Odys.* xix. 407-9; cf. i. 62; v. 340; xix. 275-76). Aeneas had no chance to become master of his destiny: τῷ δὲ καὶ Αἰνείας ὄνομ' ἔσσεται, οὐνεκα μ' αἰνὸν ἔσχεν ἄχος (*Hymn to Aphr.* 198). The omen of a name may result in a blessing as well as an evil. In a fragment of Pindar Hieron is addressed as follows: ζαθέων ἱερῶν ὁμώνυμε πάτερ.⁵

¹ Hippolytus <ἵππος+λύεσθαι; Protesilaus <πρωτός+λαός; Idmon <εἶδω, "to know"; Iapyx <ἰᾶσθαι, "to heal."

² Cf. also Ἀφροδίτη and Περθεὺς (*Arist. Rhet.* ii. 23. 28); χαῖρε (*Strabo* 5. p. 220 Casaubon).

The Greek etymological puns quoted elsewhere might be classified here, since they are really omens conveyed by words. It is this character as omens that makes these plays seem not unworthy of grave poetry. The Greeks would not have agreed with Faust that "Name ist Schall und Rauch," or with Juliet that a rose by any other name would smell as sweet. "Naming thy name [Rose] blesses an ill report,"¹ would have been more in accordance with the Greek feeling.

Euphemistic changes, such as Maleventum to Beneventum, Fata to Parcae, Nequinum to Narnia, Ἀξείρος to Εὐξείρος, Ἐρινύες to Εὐμενίδες, are by no means rare. It may be noted too that the Portuguese changed the name of the Cape of Storms to Cape of Good Hope, and that the name Servia now appears as Serbia.

In this paper some three hundred and thirty puns and plays have been quoted or listed. Of these about seventy-five were made by Cicero. As a young man fighting Verres he became addicted to punning, and he was still punning away in the *Philippics*. Were the orations his only surviving works, one might suspect that he was catering to his audience; his letters, however, to the cultured Atticus bristle with word play, and there can be little doubt that he punned as regularly as the sun rose. As is the case with all inveterate punsters, the merit of his efforts was not sustained; not infrequently his witticisms are mere *tours de force*. The fact that a joke was far-fetched and cheap did not prevent its repetition, as we see in the case of Verres and Apronius.

Plays like some of those that Cicero and his fellow-countrymen made would not elicit a smile from us; in fact, the perpetrators would get scant toleration. Puns upon proper names are especially tactless. A great writer or speaker resorts to them only occasionally, and then with an apologetic air. A lawyer who persistently made poor puns at a trial today would probably be rebuked for contempt of court. Styles and fashions in humor change, even if they do not improve.

¹ Shakespeare, Sonnet 95, line 8.

THE MYTH OF IO VIEWED IN THE LIGHT OF THE EAST ARYAN CONCEPTION OF THE EARTH¹

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Some scholars have held that the mythical geography of the East Aryans was of earlier origin than that of the West Aryans. The opinion is of course open to question, but, whether it is correct or not, all must agree that a careful study of the early geographical ideas of the Asiatic branches of the Aryan family is a legitimate and a most promising method of gaining a correct insight into those of the European branches, and especially those of a branch so late in losing its prehistoric contact with Asia as were the tribes of Hellas. Unfortunately the method has not been employed as often or as thoroughly as it should have been. While disclaiming professionally trained competence for the task, the present writer desires to investigate in a brief paper the interesting question: What light, if any, can the mythical geography of the East Aryans throw upon the wanderings of Io as described by Aeschylus in his *Prometheus Bound*, and upon the geographic ideas of prehistoric Greeks?

Two considerations show that the proposed question is one of no little importance. First, the myth was more than a Hellenic one. The date and place of its origin remain to this day a mystery. Herodotus, for decades a contemporary of Aeschylus, informs us that the tale of Inachos and his daughter Io and of her storied passage from Europe to Egypt was, with varying explanations, handed down among the Persians and even among the Semitic Phoenicians. It was, therefore, not only an international possession but also in all probability an intercontinental heritage from pre-Hellenic ages.

¹ Copyright, William F. Warren, 1919.

The second consideration is the fact that all interpretations of the myth thus far attempted by modern scholars are, in geographical respects, confessed failures. Bunbury, surveying the stages of Io's journey as indicated in the play, concludes by pronouncing the whole list of places a "confused and unintelligible jumble of names and ideas." This judgment is not antiquated, for the two editors of a recent edition of the Greek text in their commentary again and again accuse the poet of geographic errors and paradoxes, deliberately adding: "Aeschylus' geography is so chaotic that we can scarcely be surprised at any misplacement, or condemn any vagary as really beyond his capacity." It should comfort us to know from these and numberless similar testimonies that whatever the outcome of the present investigation it cannot leave the immortal dramatist worse off in reputation for intelligibility and self-consistency than he already is.

Inasmuch as the wanderings we are about to study extend to each of the three continents known to the ancient Greeks, namely Europe, Asia, and Libya, it is reasonable to expect that a correct apprehension of the total journey will throw an important light on their conception of the earth as a whole. Before investigating the data presented in the drama, however, the student will do well to guard himself against prejudging and misjudging the mental powers and attainments of prehistoric observers of nature and natural phenomena. Especially should he give heed to the testimony of our best astronomers as to such matters as the undatable antiquity and high intellectual significance of the zodiac, with its well-defined parallels of celestial latitude and its star-marked twelvefold subdivision. We should further remember that unknown and undatable observers of the heavens discovered in prehistoric ages tiny Mercury, the least, most elusive, and sun-hidden planet of the solar system; also discovered that whether glimpsed before or behind the sun it was one and the same body. Especially should we take to heart the well-weighed words of Simon Newcomb in his Lowell Lectures: "There is no time within the scope of history when it was not known that the earth is a sphere, and that the direction *down*, at all points, is toward the same point at the Earth's centre." With such facts

and testimonies as these in mind then, let us proceed with our investigation.

In our Northern Hemisphere the rudest tribes cannot fail to observe the never-setting circumpolar stars and the center about which they are solemnly and unaccountably moving. Naturally they conceive of the North Pole as the true summit of the earth. They observe that in proportion as one approaches that point the obliqueness of the orbits of the heavenly bodies diminishes, showing that at the point itself the celestial pole, the center and harmonizer of the stellar movements of the universe, would be in its proper place in the zenith. For this and other reasons the oldest known nations all considered the North a peculiarly sacred quarter, and they faced in that direction when addressing the god or gods of heaven. All conceived of the earth as culminating at the Pole in a stupendous mountain which reached into and even above the clouds, and which was overtabernacled by a peculiar celestial light (the aurora borealis). This culminating mount they described as "the highest of all mountains," sometimes as "the mother and support of all mountains." From its very top flowed a wondrous river, from whose four divergent branches and their countless subdivisions the rivers and lakes of the whole earth received their waters. Being at the Pole, this world-mountain was correctly conceived of as central to all celestial motions, the sun, moon, and stars moving daily around it in *horizontal* orbits. The polestar—Alpha Draconis, or whichever in the lapse of ages it might successively be—was styled the "Centre of Heaven," and the sacred mount itself the "Navel of the Earth." The prehistoric ancestors of the Hindus called this polar mountain Meru, or, because of its celestial beauty, Su-Meru, Meru the Beautiful. The earliest Iranians named it Harâ Berezaiti and ascribed to it the same relations to the heavens and to the water system of the earth as did their neighbors farther east. Overcanopied by the palpitating aurora borealis, its summit was viewed by each people as a divine abode, the lowest of the heavens, and the one giving access to all the higher.

Any people possessing such a mental picture of what we call the overworld could hardly fail to supplement it by adding an

underworld corresponding thereto in its main features. The revolving hemisphere overarching the earth would by logical necessity suggest the existence of a corresponding half-sphere underarching it at like distance beneath. If the heaven-touching polar mount was sacred to the gods and ablaze with light, it would inevitably suggest an antipodal mount beneath the earth, the abode of demons, shrouded in perpetual darkness. In the latter region would be found dragons and griffins, frightful ogres, and all amorphous and misbegotten creatures unfitted for a place in the upper world of light. As in the one mound the abode of living men culminated, so in the other would culminate the abode of the dead. In East Aryan literature the Sūrya Siddhānta describes just such a counterposed hemispherical underworld. Indeed the visible Mount Meru, the abode of the gods, is pictured as merely the upper end of a kind of earth core whose lower end is the mount of demons; and so far is the parallelism carried that the treatise places a second polestar as far beneath the south polar mount of demons as the north polestar is above the north polar mount of the gods. This curious conception of the figure of the earth was not confined to the Aryan family. According to Lenormant it can be clearly traced back to the early Babylonians and Assyrians, and even to the Akkado-Sumerian race which preceded these peoples in the Tigro-Euphrates basin. He gives the Akkadian as well as the Assyrian names by which the two antipodal mounts were designated. If he is correct, this view of the form of the earth with matched hemispheres above and below is the oldest traceable in the records of human thought. It adds much to its interest to find that among the Babylonians, as well as the Hindus ancient and modern, in perfect consistency herewith, each human soul was supposed at death to make a long journey *southward*, and to cross a river before reaching the proper abode of the dead in the underworld.¹

¹In *Paradise Found*, 11th ed., pp. 117 ff., I have more fully set forth with illustrative diagrams the distinctive features of the earth concept above outlined. In the same work, pp. 328-61, 468-87, is presented striking evidence that Homer's earth also was a sphere—evidence considered conclusive by scholars of international reputation, some of whom are quoted on pp. 454 ff. In articles in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* and in my recent work, *Earliest Cosmologies* (New York, 1906), the remarkable agreements of all pre-Homeric world-views are discussed in a way likely to be helpful to readers of the present paper.

This brief outline of the central features of East Aryan cosmography prepares us for our question: In what particulars, if any, do the geographic terms and implications of Aeschylus in describing the wanderings of Io indicate that in its pre-Hellenic form the myth was framed and carried out in conformity with an earth view like that just described?

In responding to this inquiry the following points deserve attention.

1. *The terms in which the dread oracle to Inachos was expressed.*—In our drama Prometheus and Io are high in the unpeopled north of Skythia. To her he announces her heaven-ordained peregrination from land to land. But first she tells him of her history, her dreams, and of the cruel oracle which compelled her father,

From home and fatherland to thrust [her] forth,
At large to roam, as consecrate to heaven,
O'er Earth's remotest bounds.

Here is a clear geographic allusion. Beyond the home and fatherland of the speaker the earth is conceived of as extending away and away to bounds that are remote in a superlative degree. Evidently no roamings about in Greece, or on the populous shores of the Pontus and the Eastern Mediterranean will suffice; those regions were by no means at earth's remotest bounds. Aeschylus elsewhere shows a good knowledge even of India. Furthermore, if the oracle had been—what it is not—a command to march in any one direction from Argos or Skythia to the remotest bound of earth, Prometheus' word would not have been fulfilled by her completing such a march. The definitive words of the oracle are in the plural. If therefore she reaches the utmost bound in any one direction, it remains for her to start for and to attain some other equally or more remote.

2. *The direction in which Io first starts out on leaving Prometheus.*—According to line 707 this was to be "first" eastward, but if the fragment of the original text preserved to us by Galen belongs here (its expression for "first" is the strongest possible), the announced *first* course is to be northward and in the teeth of "Boreal gales." Of course, if Io is on an earth of the East Aryan type, this due north

journey will ere long bring her to holy Mount Meru, the loftiest of all mountains.

3. *The first-named mountain to be reached by Io.*—In line 719 we read that the northward-moving wanderer is foredoomed to reach a mount “of all mountains the highest.” Over its star-nigh summit she will have to make her onward way. These descriptive words, “highest of all mountains,” strikingly stress the one characteristic oftenest predicated of Mount Meru. In the text as it reaches us Aeschylus calls this mount the Kaukasos, but it has yet another feature which the poet did not fail to mention, one which has no counterpart in the mountain range known to us moderns as the Caucasus. Let us notice it.

4. *A river out of place, yet precisely where there should be a river.*—Lofty mountains other than this highest of all are ordinarily snow-capped, in which case the first streams proceeding from them are at the base where melting ice escapes at the foot of vast glaciers. If not snow-capped, the rocky summit above the range of vegetation is bare and waterless. Only at a lower level where scrubby trees and bushes permit a storage of rain can we look for the springs whose tiny streams uniting in some distant valley shall together form a river. In the thought of Aeschylus, however, this particular mountain presents a wholly different picture. From its very head, star-nigh, an already formed river is “pouring its strength.” The Stanwick translation of the lines reads:

From whose very brow
The river spouteth forth its might.

This striking feature perfectly agrees with the East Aryan conception of the polar mount from whose star-nigh top descends in like manner the one head stream which waters the whole earth. This same river being described by the Persians in the Bundahish as leaping “down the height of a thousand men,” its identity with the “fitly named” and much discussed Hybristes of line 717 is a conjecture well worth considering.

5. *The announced change in the prescribed route from northward to southward.*—According to line 722 the moment Io crosses the star-nigh head of this highest of all mountains she is to proceed

southward. A change in direction from due north to due south seems one of the greatest conceivable, but if ever the reader of this paper shall by *aéroplane* sail over the Arctic Pole in a course mathematically straight from any point in the horizon, he will at a certain point change his course from due north to due south, and this without deviation a hair's breadth to the right hand or to the left. That point is the Pole. Any pedestrian moving like Io toward it is moving northward, and every one moving away from it is moving southward. Mount or no mount, that point cannot be crossed by any wanderer without a change of forward look from North Pole to South Pole. Accordingly in line 722 we see our onward-moving Io rightly started "southward." Moreover, the preannounced Gorgonian plains of Kisthene, wherever found, can now be reached only by a southward journey.

6. *The unexplored regions through which a right onward march southward must lead.*—In Greek thought Skythia was the northernmost of all European lands. If therefore we think of Io as journeying straight onward from her starting-point, where she had her interview with Prometheus, or northward in the teeth of Boreal gales after two or three days eastward, her course after passing the star-nigh summit can be no other than down and down the back side of the known earth, that is, the side opposite to that on which her father and his people live and move. What is she there to encounter, if her earth corresponds to that of the East Aryans?

7. *In due time inevitably a sunless region, a realm of endless night.*—This the oracle foretells, for in line 730 she is informed that she is to come to that "Kimmerian" neck of land whose occupants, according to Homer, "are covered with shadow and vapor, nor does the shining sun behold them with his beams, neither when he goes toward the starry heaven, nor when he turns back again from heaven to earth." Here then our anticipations are not found misleading.

8. *In due time also an equatorial earth-engirdling ocean stream.*—Homer, Hesiod, and Euripides all show knowledge of the matchless Okeanos River from which all terrestrial rills and rivers are derived. Much confusion, however, has resulted from the efforts of ignorant schoolmen to picture it as merely an annular current of sea-water around the outer edge of the habitable earth viewed

as the upper side of a huge flat disk. Professor Weizsäcker, in his article in Roescher's *Lexikon der Mythologie*, is not wholly free from this confusion, but in one passage he is at once clear and correct, the one in which he says of the ocean stream that it is "on the division line between the Upper- and the Under-world." In the East Aryan geography it could not be more correctly located. A crossing of water foretold to Io finds mention at line 730. Her passage of this river, or strait, is to be so extraordinary an achievement that a new and memorial name—the Bosporos—is to be given to the water. Not only that but the oracular voice adds:

And evermore among mankind shall live
The mighty record of thy passage there.

How fitting this prophecy if Io is to cross Pluto's dark river and to invade his realm of death while yet alive! If the etymology which connects Bosporos with "Hekate Phosphoros" be correct, there is in the name a further association with the river bounding the underworld.

9. *Hadean goblins in the darkness farther on.*—In her journey Io is later to come upon the Phorkides, sisters three, yet non-human in shape, bird-bodied in fact, and so far away from plenary and normal life that one eye and one tooth must serve the three in turn. Think of a bird having use for a *single* tooth, or as having a socket on which to set it! Fortunately Io is not to see them, for them, according to the oracle,

nor the sun beholds
With radiant beams, nor yet the moon by night.

Certainly Io will now be in the region where dwell "all amorphous and misbegotten beings unfitted for a place in the world of light."

10. *Kisthene, at one of earth's remotest bounds.*—A vital question for Io now is, Where shall Kisthene be found? "Its location is not known," says Professor Mather. So say all modern interpreters. But Kratinos, our most ancient authority, gives us two important pieces of information: (1) it is a "mountain" (2) "at the ends of the earth." In crossing the star-nigh summit of the "highest of all mountains" in the North Io had gone so far north-

ward as to begin nearing southern territory. That was one of the "ends of the earth." Mount Kisthene, to all appearances, is its underworld counterpart, the missing south polar world-mountain of the East Aryan geography. On this assumption the sub-telluric part of the immortal journey becomes clear and is marvelously consistent with the whole. Here Io reaches a second of "earth's remotest bounds." She can descend no farther without beginning to ascend. Here her southward journey gives place to one northward, ever thereafter approaching its goal at Kanobos.

11. *The Gorgonian plains.*—From our poet's description Mount Kisthene seems to be surrounded at its base by the plains belonging to the Gorgons. Of all the grewsome forms that peopled the sunless depths of the Greek Hades the serpent-tressed Gorgons were the most frightful and demonic. As Aeschylus here reminds us, an instantaneous view of one of them was death to any being capable of death. Homer in the *Odyssey* describes them as dwelling—not near the ocean stream on the upper shore of Hades—but far down "in the quarter most remote nightward." This plainly confirms the inference before reached that Mount Kisthene is precisely at the undermost point of the underworld, the Pole itself.

12. *Pluto's river or ford.*—The next geographic feature named by Prometheus is Pluto's river or ford. If Io, in fulfilment of Heaven's decree, is to be brought back from Gorgon land in the world of the dead to a goal in North Libya she will have to recross the earth-engirdling river which separates the continents of life and death. Hence the reference in line 806. Though the act of crossing is not expressly mentioned, it is fully implied, since at this point the wanderer leaves behind her all Hadean Gorgons and chimeras dire, encountering thenceforward only the scenery and the beings appropriate to the sunlit world of living men.

13. *The known side of the earth reached in due course.*—We saw that a straight onward course from Skythia over the star-nigh summit of the Boreal polar mountain would necessarily take one down the unexplored back side of the known earth. In like manner a continuation of that same course to and over Mount Kisthene would without fail bring one into and through southern-most

Libya. This is precisely what Prometheus tells Io is to be her route.

14. *Back again where the lands are flooded with sunlight.*—On emerging from Pluto's dark realm by recrossing his "ford" the most striking of all the changes in her environment and movement would of course be that from walking in utter darkness to moving in a world of light. To happy Io, so long a helpless wanderer in the Stygian gloom, it would now seem as if all the blessed fountains of the sun were suddenly unstopped and were flooding the bright landscape before her (line 808). How vainly have modern interpreters, biased by false ideas of the earth of Io, racked their brains to find some far-fetched reason for this reference to "the fountains of the sun"!

15. *Io's northward trek through Africa.*—Having now left in their proper abode the one-eyed Arimaspians and the griffins and having gained the sun-flooded hemisphere, Io is to find a land "of far-extending boundaries," peopled by living human beings. That these are "swarthy," or "black," is what both East Aryan and West Aryan myth-makers would certainly expect. Next she is to reach a river in Ethiopia. Farther on she must thread the valley of the Upper Nile, move down the famous river past the well-known Cataracts, on to the Delta, where in Kanobos she is to find not only release from Hera's curse, but also the bliss of a happy heaven-imparted motherhood.

Here then in the myth as poetically retold and embellished by Aeschylus we have more than a dozen features and movements giving evidence that in its earlier pre-Hellenic form it was conceived and in its details carried out in conformity with a conception of the earth identical with that of the East Aryans. This evidence is the more remarkable and conclusive from the fact that these congruent features and movements are *serial* and so related to the route prescribed in the oracle that no one of them fails to come to view precisely in its proper topographical and temporal order of sequence. No expert in what the mathematicians call the calculus of probabilities can fail to see the incalculable force and significance of this consideration. George Grote the historian, reviewing our myth in search of light on early Greek thought, did

not hesitate to write: "The route of Io in the *Prometheus* defies all comprehension, even as a consistent picture." One is tempted to respond that any route other than the one above described is incomprehensible; this, however, is in an eminent degree perspicuous and possessed of that harmony of consecutive parts which in all fields of knowledge is one of the chief marks of truthful testimony.

One grave problem, however, remains, and it must not remain unnoticed. How is it that in our only extant texts of Aeschylus this forever memorable passage of a living mortal into and through the world of the dead is reduced to so simple and needless a thing as a short swim across the Bosphorus "from Europe to Asia"? And why should the poet clutter up well-known parts of Asia and Europe with mythological persons and monsters until writers of the ripe scholarship of Bunbury pronounce the result a "confused and unintelligible jumble of names and ideas"? Furthermore, how is it that in *The Suppliants* the very same poet gives so different a route when again describing the same heaven-ordained journeyings?

Two solutions have been attempted. The one assumed that the text form in our hands is impaired by so many lacunae and by clerical errors so great that the undoubted perfection of sense in the prize-crowned original is hopelessly lost. In our day, however, it would be difficult to find a defender of this view. The other explanatory hypothesis is that the poet and his auditors were so ignorant of the lands and waters about them that they really supposed each tribe and river named to be just where the lines of the impetuous muse, reflecting varying traditions, have left them. The obvious difficulty with this theory is that Aeschylus lived and wrote in a city world-famous for its intelligence, and that his extant writings, few as they are, give proof of a remarkable knowledge of peoples and places and customs in each of the three continents of the Eastern Hemisphere. The problem therefore remains, confronting every interpreter. Shall we say, The drama is a bitter satire, representing Asia as the abode of the dead, or of demons, or of goblins, but Europe as the only proper world for living men and lovers of the light? This can hardly be, though the stern-faced poet had personally fought in the great contest to

repel Asiatic autocracy and may have been stirred to anger by some Persian hymn of hate. Shall we say, The poet was a humorist of rarest quality, who drew and delighted his theater crowds by weaving into a masterly travesty of a tale familiar in every household hits and allusions, personal, local, and racial, all so witty and recondite that at this distance in time and space we cannot be expected to "catch on" and enjoy the fun? This would be to challenge not only the tradition of the schools but even the rendered and recorded verdict of mankind. Let us hope that in some fair year, not too far beyond the terrors and devastations of the recent world-war, the spade of the archaeologist may restore to us works now registered as long lost, and that by the happy recovery of these the long-standing mystery of the poet's treatment of the myth of Io may be at last cleared up. Meantime teachers carrying classes through the *Prometheus*, the *Odyssey*, or any similar Greek masterpiece, and eager to employ methods effective in calling out the interest of pupils, will find in cosmographic researches like the foregoing, if only they will attempt them in a rational way, not only illuminating interpretations of many a dark passage, but also a new and greatly heightened appreciation of Hellenic literature and its study.

THE VALUE OF THE TRADITIONS RESPECTING THE EARLY KINGS OF ROME¹

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A re-examination of the ancient literary evidence combined with the results of the archaeological discoveries made in Italy during the last fifty years led me long since to reject the theories of Theodor Mommsen respecting the ethnical relation of the patricians and plebeians, the origin of the Roman monetary system, the unit of assessment under the "Servian" constitution, and the provenance of the Etruscans. I now propose to examine the grounds on which Mommsen, though fully admitting the existence of a regal period at Rome, which had preceded the Republic, yet refused to mention even the name of Tarquinius Superbus, with whom the monarchy was said to have come to an end, or that of Servius Tullius, with whom was connected not only the Great Wall but also the constitution which gave the plebeians the right of citizenship. Mommsen rejected the traditional account as of little or no value (1) because the state archives had perished in 390 B.C., when the Gauls burned the Capitol, and (2) on the ground that as there are supernatural elements in the stories of the regal period, such as the presence of Castor and Pollux at the battle of Lake Regillus, these stories are to be rejected *in toto* as unhistorical.

I propose to test this method of dealing with tradition by criteria taken from modern times. If it should turn out that oral tradition may be safely relied on for the main outlines of outstanding events in the life of a family, a community, and of a nation, and that too in an age when there is much more to distract the attention from family trivialities and petty local events, the value of such local traditions must have been far greater at an epoch when people

¹ A paper read at the meeting of the Classical Association of New England at Windsor, Connecticut, on March 22, 1918.

had little else of which to think and talk than the simple annals and leading events of their own families and of their town, outside the limits of which they seldom or never moved.

But first of all it is by no means clear that *all* Roman records were lost, for we are told that many of the inhabitants made their way with what they could save across the Tiber to Caere, whence they returned to their own homes as soon as the Gauls withdrew. We have no right to assume that they did not bring with them their most important and portable heirlooms, such as the *imagines* of their ancestors, weapons and ornaments, all of which serve as valuable mnemonics. Moreover, their absence from Rome was of so short duration that there was no break in their recollection of everything connected with the city, such as its Great Wall and its great main sewer, the Cloaca Maxima. But as family records were often bound up with civic history because members of leading families regularly held important offices in the community or state, and nowhere was this more the case than at Rome, there would be among the family relics brought to Caere and brought back thence valuable material for the re-writing with some accuracy of the annals of the state in their main features.

Moreover, there were great monuments in Rome itself that were not burned by the Gauls, such as the Great Wall and the Cloaca Maxima, and we may without rashness believe that during their brief absence at Caere or elsewhere the Romans would not have forgotten the names of those who according to tradition had constructed these very important works. But the names of certain kings were bound up with these great structures and also with certain events of primary importance in every community, such as the revolution which converted the monarchy into a republic (a fact admitted by Mommsen himself) and the framing or development of a constitution which for the first time enfranchised the plebeians. There is therefore no *prima facie* reason for condemning offhand the truth of the tradition which associated the overthrow of the monarchy and the setting up of the republic with the names of Tarquinius Superbus and his sons and the constitutional change with Servius Tullius, the reputed builder of the great fortification on which the safety of the city in no small degree depended.

The expulsion of the kings, according to our reckoning, took place about 509 B.C. The last king was said to be Tarquinius Superbus, who began to reign, according to the traditional chronology, about 534 B.C., and who was said to have lost his throne from his own tyranny, culminating in the rape of Lucretia by his son, Sextus. Tarquin had become king after the murder of his father-in-law, Servius Tullius, and of his brother, Aruns. But such events are neither unusual nor startling in any age. Servius, the reputed lawgiver and builder of the Great Wall, began to reign (so said tradition) in 578 B.C., having then succeeded to Tarquinius Priscus. The latter was reputed to be the builder of the Cloaca, a fact of some significance, since if the stories of the building of the Wall and the Cloaca were mere legendary figments we might well have expected that both the great buildings would be ascribed to Servius Tullius or to Tarquin. But since they are not ascribed to one, it is reasonable to conclude that the traditional statement respecting both the great works is correct. Tarquinius Priscus had succeeded Ancus Marcius, the grandson of Numa, in 618 B.C., Ancus had succeeded Tullus Hostilius in 642 B.C., while Tullus Hostilius had succeeded Numa in 673 B.C.

The expulsion of the Tarquin in 509 B.C. was only 119 years before the Gallic occupation of Rome in 390 B.C., while Servius Tullius began to reign in 678 B.C., i.e., less than 190 years before the same date.

Let us now test the value of local tradition for events which happened 119 years ago; then for 128, 140, 185, 230, and finally 268 and even 300 years ago.

I must now entreat your patience for inflicting upon you some personal recollections and family traditions of things of little matter save to a single family of no great importance and to a small community. As a schoolboy in 1868, the year of the Fenian rebellion, I was drilled by an old sergeant, Holton, who had the Waterloo and Peninsular War Medals, and who was then eighty-two, but erect and alert. He was therefore born in 1784, and not only had he fought through the Peninsular War as a full-grown man, but he remembered clearly the Irish Rebellion of 1798, that is, 120 years ago, a period longer than that said to intervene between the expulsion

of Tarquin and the burning of Rome by the Gauls. Not only did I know this old soldier, but as a boy I conversed with dozens of persons who remembered the Rebellion of 1798 and gave me all sorts of details about events of that date. These persons included my maternal grandfather. As my home lay in the very seat of the Rebellion, such persons were intimately acquainted with many of those who had taken an active part in the operations. It would therefore be absurd to contend that their statements respecting the occurrence of a bloody outbreak and its stern suppression, statements which I am only now writing down for the first time, have no historical value. My paternal grandfather was an officer of yeomanry at that period and took an active part in the struggle with the rebels. As there were no English troops available the Anglo-Irish yeomanry and militia had to meet and defeat the French when they landed at Bantry and Killala on the south and west and had to suppress the rebellion in the English Pale and its contiguous districts. The rebels began by burning a body of troops with their women and children in the barracks at Prosperous, County Kildare, only five miles, as the crow flies, from our home. At the little town of Rathangan, close by, they murdered Mr. Spencer, a squire, a connection of my family, and besieged seventeen yeoman, who stoutly defended a house until their ammunition was expended. They then surrendered on condition that they would be allowed to march out with all the honors of war. No sooner were they in the street than they were all piked or shot. One of them, named Watson, was shot through the forehead. He was a native of our parish, and his body was later interred there in the parish churchyard. My father and others often showed me his grave among those of his kindred, who still flourish in that parish. When I was about fifteen one of the Watson family died, and, as their burial plot was full, the grave of the slain yeoman was opened to receive his descendant. To my delight, when I went with boyish curiosity to see the open grave, there was a large, strong skull well preserved, with a bullet hole through the frontal bone. I tried to secure the skull by putting it into a brake hard by, but John Jenkinson, the sexton, foiled my first attempt at body snatching, for he discovered the skull before the grave was filled in and very

properly buried it carefully. But the bullet hole was certainly there, as tradition stated it ought to be.

I know all about the battle of Rathangan, when the rebels were defeated and the town retaken. My grandfather rode a white horse that day, rather a bad one, for he did not like to risk one of his good horses. I know how after a struggle in which the yeomanry suffered severely, as the rebels had their front covered by garden walls, a river, and a canal, the troops at last forced their way across the bridge into the town; and how, as my grandfather was hot in the pursuit, a rebel turned and discharged his musket at him but missed him (or I would not be writing this), and before the rebel could stir he cleaved his skull with his sword. As the man turned over on his back my grandfather recognized a well-known local rat-catcher. Later in the year my grandfather caught two of the leaders of the Rebellion, Colonel Perry, a Protestant, and Father Kearns, a Roman Catholic priest. I know the very spot in Derry-more where he overtook them; how, as Colonel Perry was saying to my grandfather, who had called on them to surrender in the King's name, "It is no use, Sir, denying who we are: I am Colonel Perry and this is Father Kearns," the priest drew a pistol and was just aiming at my grandfather, when Robinson, his orderly, cried, "Look out, Sir!" and at the same moment knocked the pistol out of the priest's hand and secured him. My grandfather brought the prisoners to his house at Ballydermott, two miles distant, mounted them on two horses, one a fine black mare called Belle, tied the prisoners' legs under the horses' bellies, and brought them to Edenderry, the neighboring town, where they were immediately tried by court-martial by his granduncle, Mr. Shaw Cartland, who had an extraordinary commission for the suppressing of rebellion. They were at once hanged from the spreading branch of a great tree. I need not go into all the details, though I have full particulars. Myths at once arose in the case of the priest. One of our laborers, by name Jem Kearney, used to declare that the mare on which the priest rode walked lame from that day forth, though the family averred that she did not go lame until some years later, when she got a strain. Moreover, it was market day in Edenderry, and I was often told by servants and other country folk that it

rained blood that day after Father Kearns's execution, and that the white caps of the women, as they returned from market, were all besprinkled with blood. Years after I knew these stories by heart I was shown in Musgrave's *History of the Irish Rebellion* a brief account of the capture of the rebel leaders by my grandfather. Thus the local and family tradition in this respect was absolutely accurate about events trivial in themselves but important to the family and the locality with which they were connected. It is needless to say that the priest's pistol was carefully preserved by my family.

In 1790 our family home was burned to the ground on St. Stephen's night. I know all the details, with which I need not weary you, except that the country people and laborers who came to help were already "with drink taken," in honor of the day, and that when they found a puncheon of whiskey waiting to be bottled off they at once knocked in its head, and nothing more could be done with them. Everything was burned, pictures, books, even the family Bible, documents—except three pieces of furniture (which I possess), plate, and jewelry. The destruction of the Bible and documents is important, for here we have in the case of one family an occurrence analogous to that which befell the Roman public archives. The guns and other weapons had also all perished, so that these important mnemonics were lost forever.

I know much about my great-grandfather, who died in 1795, his physique and complexion, from descriptions given to me by men who knew him well, the breed of dogs that he kept, including some half-dozen great Irish wolf-dogs kept, not for hunting wolves, which by that time were extinct, though not very long before, in Ireland, but as a protection on journeys against rapparees and highwaymen who might be lurking in the woods and scrubs along the roadsides. Finally I know all about his wedding in 1772, through information derived from my maternal grandmother, whose father was present at the ceremony in 1772, that is, 148 years ago. I have a brooch which the bridegroom gave his bride on that day, with their initials wrought in pearls.

Let us now turn to the story of Servius Tullius and the tradition of his Great Wall and constitution. Tradition made him reign

from 578 B.C. to 533 B.C., when he was murdered by Tarquin the younger in 533 B.C., that is, only 148 years before the Gallic invasion in 390 B.C., while the building of the Wall and the great constitutional change must have occurred well within 200 years before that date.

Now if it can be shown that a piece of engineering on a much less important scale than that of the "Servian" wall, and one which ended in complete failure, still bears to this hour the name of its unfortunate engineer, we shall have good reason for believing the truth of the Romans' tradition respecting the builder of that great fortification on which their security depended.

About 1740 the Irish government determined to improve communication between Dublin and the west by making a road, on the Roman principle of going in a straight line, from Dublin to Athlone on the Shannon, the key of Connaught at all times. The road was made without difficulty over the uplands of Dublin and Kildare, but when it came to the great bog of Allen the troubles began. When the engineer, by the name of Moss, reached the high bog on the watershed between the upper waters of the Boyne and the Barrow and the deep peat bog formed on a limestone cup on Ballydermott Bog, he found the task hopeless. The country people still tell how the men on going to work in the morning found that the materials piled up to form the road on the previous day had been engulfed in the deep morass. On the western side of this bog where it thins out to the uplands a fine road, still serviceable, was constructed, the materials for it being obtained from a huge pit on the side of what is termed in England a "park," but more modestly called a "lawn" in Ireland. This has long formed a picturesque piece of water embosomed in trees, and to this hour is known as "Moss's Hole," and the road and its various fragments across the bogs and the lonely hills toward the west, where like disasters dogged the hapless engineer, bear to this hour the name of "Moss's Road." The imprudent folklorist might readily see in the name of Moss's Road the name of a fairy artificer, such as Wayland Smith. But the Acts of the Irish Parliament contain most definite information concerning the plans for the making of this road, and there can be no doubt that the name of the luckless engineer was

Moss. Now if the name of an engineer of a road that was as complete a failure as the Tay Bridge of Sir Thomas Gouge can survive among the very sparse and scattered population of the lonely bog-land for a period as long as that which Roman tradition placed between the building of the Servian wall and 390 B.C., *a fortiori* the Romans, who lived in a city and daily and hourly had before their eyes the great Agger, must have remembered with perfect accuracy the name of its builder, and although every scrap of documentary evidence had been destroyed in Rome, the Romans after 390 B.C. could have written down with substantial accuracy the name of its builder and the main facts of its construction. The same method of argument will hold good for the substantial truth of the tradition which assigns to Tarquin the elder the building of the Cloaca Maxima.

It must be remembered that in all countries, even in our own, to this hour the state chronology is commonly based on the reign of its kings and queens; and as at Rome the state chronology was reckoned by the consulate it is reasonable to suppose that under the kings events were dated by the reign, as is the case with semi-civilized communities in Africa, such as that of Uganda, where the succession of kings for at least three hundred years has been kept with great care among a people who have not the art of writing. We have already noted the fact that the Roman families kept their records with the utmost care, and as the *imagines* of their ancestors, especially of those who had held important offices, were bound up with the religious life of the family, and as these family records were not confined to the republican times but went back into the regal period, we have another tough strand for the rope of tradition. Moreover, the family heirlooms, such as signets, spears, and swords, which belonged to ancestors would help greatly the accuracy of the traditions.

What can be done in this way by quite unimportant families could be readily shown. I will cite only a couple of family traditions lately verified. The first is that of a family seal dating from about 1650, which was said to have passed by marriage into another family, thus leading to a bitter squabble in the eighteenth century. This was lately confirmed, not by me, but by the Deputy Ulster

King at Arms (to whom I had given the story as I knew it). From documents in the record office, Dublin, of which I knew nothing, it was clear that the seal had passed by marriage to the other family in 1732. This story has therefore been handed down for more than 180 years with substantial accuracy. We had also a tradition that our immediate forefather, who settled at Ballydermott, King's County, had come there in 1626, after the troublous times of James II, and had not come there directly from the first family settlement (when it came from Devonshire) at Gallen-Ridgeway in Queen's County, but from Dublin. An Exchequer bill now proves that this was perfectly accurate, save that the actual date of settlement was 1693. Now these two cases are all the more remarkable, as all family records had perished by fire in 1790. Longevity in families must of course be a substantial aid toward accuracy of tradition, as the fewer are the steps the more trustworthy will be the story. But in the case of my family this factor does not enter, as none of my direct paternal ancestors for ten generations has lived beyond sixty-three, two of them dying at the age of thirty-six.

Let us now turn to public events in the seventeenth century. We have just seen the accuracy of family tradition in so trivial a matter as a quarrel over a seal with a coat-of-arms. Popular memory respecting important public events is just as retentive and accurate. In my boyhood there was not a person in the English Pale who was not intimately acquainted with the main events in the war of James II and William III. They would tell how "Dirty Jimmy" ran away at the battle of the Boyne and left the Irish to their fate. Thus the tradition of events which occurred 228 years ago was perfectly preserved by the oral tradition of people, most of whom could neither read nor write. Yet the same period, if added to 390 B.C., would bring us back to 618 B.C., the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, the reputed builder of the Cloaca Maxima.

I have in my possession a "choke" bayonet with J R and a crown, used at the battle of the Boyne and never out of the possession of a private family to this hour. I have also a fine green-velvet saddledcloth, richly embroidered with silver lace, a holster to

match, and the saddle, taken from a French officer killed near Clonard in the retreat from Dublin to Aughrin, which remained down to modern times in the family of the man who took it from its owner. Thus relics of undoubted genuineness serve as important aids to tradition.

But we can get back still farther. Down to modern times there has not been a peasant in all Eastern and Southern Ireland who has not known perfectly well that Oliver Cromwell had come to Ireland and had suppressed the last great struggle of the Irish chieftains in combination with the lords of the Pale against England. "The curse of Cromwell take ye" to this hour is still one of the heartiest malisons used in all Ireland, certainly in the English Pale. Yet Cromwell fought this campaign in 1648-50, that is, 268 years ago, a period which if added to 390 B.C. would bring us back to 658 B.C., that is, to the reign of Tullus Hostilius, who began to reign in 673 B.C. That events of even minor importance can be remembered as accurately back to Cromwell's time was proved in a law court in Ireland in 1884. In 1651 Cromwell planted two regiments of his Ironsides in Tipperary, the one under Colonel Matthew, the other under Colonel Prittie. The colonels planted their troopers on the lands granted to them. The descendants of Colonel Prittie became barons of Dunally, Tipperary County, and treated the descendants of the troopers with great kindness, the rents not having been raised for a century. In 1884, after the Land Act of 1882, two of the Dunally tenants appealed for a reduction of their rents. My brother-in-law, Mr. Arthur Samuels, K.C., M.P., etc., the present Irish solicitor-general, had a brief in the case. An old farmer named Armitage was called to give evidence respecting the custom of the estate. He was ninety-two, and he told the court that he remembered his grandfather, who lived until he was over ninety years of age, and that his grandfather had talked with some of the men who came with Cromwell. The old man naturally was subjected to a severe cross-examination, but he gave his dates and facts with such clearness that the land commissioners were convinced by his statements, and the case was dismissed. Thus there was in 1884 but one step between old Armitage and English troopers who settled in Tipperary in 1651.

We can go even farther, however. Although these troopers were mostly young men when they settled in Ireland, yet each of them must have known in England those who were old enough in 1588 to remember the coming of the Spanish Armada, when—

From Eddystone to Berwick Bounds, from Lynn to Milford Bay,
The time of slumber was as bright and busy as the day.

Thus between 1588 and 1884, i.e., nearly three centuries, there were but two steps in the tradition. But at Rome this would take us back to 690 B.C., that is, to the traditional reign of Numa Pompilius, who set up the temple of Janus in the Forum and was himself the first Flamen Dialis.

With regard to the value of the tradition of the battle of Lake Regillus and the other legends of the regal period in which supernatural agencies make their appearance, we ought to bear in mind, in the first place, that in 390 B.C. there must have been people still living in Rome who had known and conversed with individuals who remembered the overthrow of the monarchy in 509 B.C., and the chief incidents, such as battles, in that struggle. In the next place, there seems no reason to doubt that Macaulay was right in assuming that the Romans, like other peoples, such as the Greeks, Hindus, Anglo-Saxons, and Irish, had ancient lays and sagas embodying the most important events in their annals. Indeed Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* i. 79. 10) explicitly states that there were such lays, and we know that he drew his information from excellent earlier sources, such as the *Origines* of Cato. It is very unlikely that the mere shock of the Gallic inroad would have made every Roman forget forever these ancient tales and songs. Moreover, there must have been in Roman families weapons and pieces of armor which had been used for generations before the Gallic invasion and had been borne in important battles. The value of such mnemonics I have already illustrated by the pistol of Father Kearns and the "choke" bayonet, saddle, and saddlecloth used at the battle of the Boyne. There can therefore be little doubt that the public and private tradition at Rome was thoroughly capable of remembering and transmitting with tolerable accuracy all the chief episodes in the expulsion of the Tarquins.

Nothing is left but to deal with the supernatural elements, for example, the intervention of Castor and Pollux at the battle of Lake Regillus, when—

Fast, fast the great Twin Brethren came spurring from the East—
From where with songs and dances their ancient mansion rings
In lordly Lacedaemon, the city of two kings.

But we have seen above that when Father Kearns, the Roman Catholic priest, was captured and hanged in 1798 myths quickly sprang up that the mare on which he rode to his doom became permanently lame, and that the heavens rained blood that day. Most people know that at the time of the immortal retreat of "the contemptible little British Army" from Mons in 1914 a story was started and spread with lightning rapidity that angels had intervened between the German pursuers and the hard-pressed English troops. Yet no one will deny not only that the retreat from Mons is a historical fact but that the Irish Rebellion and the execution of Father Kearns in 1798 are no less real. In view of these considerations we are led to conclude that the occurrence of supernatural incidents in the stories of famous events, not necessarily of remote date, does not invalidate the historical value of the main facts in the tradition. We must therefore reject Mommsen's method in dealing not only with early Roman but with all other early history.

Notes

[Contributions in the form of notes or discussions should be sent to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

OUR NEEDED RENAISSANCE

One of Professor Browne's essays in *Our Renaissance* served me as the text for some remarks (*Classical Journal* for October, 1918, pp. 78 ff.) on the difficulties that at the present day beset the teaching of Latin in most of the secondary schools in our country, including the overwhelming majority of public high schools. Mr. Poynter, of Phillips Andover, in the number of the *Journal* for January, 1919, pp. 264 f., charges me with devoting that part of my article to "strictures on the teachers of classics in the secondary school." I have now re-read with careful attention my impugned sentences, and humbly beg leave to demur to Mr. Poynter's indictment. My article contains no strictures on the teachers of classics in the secondary school. If Mr. Poynter's withers are unwrung, so are mine. All the strictures are directed against the results of the reformed educational system that it was proclaimed would free the secondary schools (and their pupils) from a tyrannical and intolerable burden, and make it possible for the schools to send the colleges better instead of worse prepared students than under the old scheme. This hopeful assurance was the *quid pro quo* offered to the colleges for the surrender of their attribute of sovereignty in the prescription of the character and amount of intellectual possessions that proposed immigrants into their realm must exhibit to their examiners at the frontier. There was the assurance and the hope. I repeat that notoriously it has not been justified by the result. And the teachers of Latin in the secondary schools—able, experienced, skilful, and zealous teachers—report from their side that they are having a harder time than ever to get pupils, to hold pupils, and to train pupils. Yet the colleges can no longer be blamed for it as dictating to the schools. The armistice to which the colleges were compelled amounts to a surrender at discretion (I said in my former article that the exceptions were so few as to be negligible). The truth of my summary characterization of existent conditions even Mr. Poynter does not contest (except in one particular of which I am about to speak), in spite of the natural sensitiveness of a man who (though mistakenly, as I have said) thinks himself blamed. I repeat my former question: "Is not the condition a serious one which demands remedy?"

With Mr. Poynter's plea in abatement, based on the specific conditions which his great and famous school has to confront, I am in complete sympathy in principle. But I must say, under correction, that it is not relevant to the

issue. He writes as a man might have done a generation ago, before this present reform movement was inaugurated—as if the college were still its own master and the dictator to the preparatory schools. That is because one, or perhaps two or three, of the colleges for which he has to prepare students yet holds on to its authority of prescription and strict examination for admission. I, on the other hand, was talking, not about the few surviving exceptions, the existence of which I expressly conceded, but about ninety-nine one-hundredths of the preparatory schools and colleges in these United States. Is it possible that Mr. Poynter does not know what has been going on outside of the antique and comfortably secluded New England circle of Brahminism, and so did not really apprehend what I was referring to?

I would like to stop here; but Mr. Poynter would then think me not merely irreverently flippant but evasive. I must say a word about his denial of my statement that the pupil had no more time to accomplish his preparation in Latin under the old system than at present. My statement still appears to me perfectly true for all but those very few exceptional cases such as I had already conceded. I observe now that I did not expressly include in exception the schools that prepare boys for the tiny number of colleges that I had excepted from my statement. For this oversight—it could hardly, I should think, have been misleading—I beg pardon. But the schedules of schools that I have examined, and those of which I have heard reports from others, appear to support my contention so far as class hours are concerned in that immense majority of schools about which I was writing. The various ways in which the requisite number of “units” for admission to college can be compounded, and the freedom of election in the schools, seem to have left the number of class hours assignable to Latin substantially unimpaired by the reform in general system. At Phillips, which has been little, if at all, affected by the movement to which I have referred, the conditions of class work in Latin appear even more favorable in mere time-table reckoning now than formerly, according to Mr. Poynter’s own statement. The earlier boy there had four one-hour periods of Latin each week to prepare for; the boy of today has five. This is presumably the schedule for four years. But Mr. Poynter says that many a lad of his own pupil-days spent three, four, or even five hours in preparation for many a Latin lesson, where now the pressure is so great that a lad (presumably as able and industrious as his predecessor) cannot give “much more than an hour and a half” to the similar task. I will dare certain assertions after the manner of Mr. Poynter’s. The first is that in the ancient days I and my high-school classmates were well trained in Latin, almost within hearing of Andover bells, and I do not believe that the brighter among us, unless on rare occasions, ever needed to or the duller ever did spend “much more than an hour and a half” in preparation for a single lesson; the second is that if the average Latin teacher of the present day could count on an average period of preparation from each pupil of “not much more than an hour and a half” per lesson—I refer to time spent in real study, not in dilly-dallying—

he (she, I mean) would not be forced to the piteous appeal for a still greater reduction in the total amount to be read, on the ground that her pupils in the fourth year of their study of Latin cannot be successfully solicited to cover an average of thirty lines of Cicero in one lesson. The "pressure," if it be pressure, that produces this lamentable condition is not due to the colleges; they are limp as a flaxseed poultice. How about the effect on the pupil's mentality and volition of declining instead of improving home conditions, of clubs and societies, of movies and motor-cars, of organized and predominant athletics and social functions, of a prolongation of infancy in things intellectual and a precocious maturity in other matters?

The problem still awaits. What are we going to do about it?

E. T. M.

ON ODYSSEY xiv. 138-47

"οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἄλλον
ἦπιον ὧδε ἄνακτα κυχῆσομαι, ὅππότε' ἐπέλθω,
οὐδ' εἰ κεν πατὴρ καὶ μητέρα αὐτὶς ἴκωμαι
οἶκον, ὅθι πρῶτον γενόμεν καὶ μ' ἔτρεφον αὐτοί.
οὐδέ νυ τῶν ἐτι τόσσον ὀδύρομαι, ἱεμένους περ
ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδέσθαι ἔων ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ·
ἀλλὰ μ' Ὀδυσσεύος πόθος αἰνυται οἰχομένω.
τὸν μὲν ἐγών, ὦ ξεῖνε, καὶ οὐ παρέόντ'
ὀνομάζειν
αἰδέομαι· πέρι γὰρ μ' ἐφίλει καὶ κήδετο
θυμῷ.
ἀλλὰ μιν ἡθεῖον καλέω καὶ νόσφιν ἐόντα."

The point of vss. 145-47 is generally missed and has never been made with sufficient clearness. Editors usually adopt one or the other of two interpretations: (1) Eumaeus hesitates to mention *the name of the absent* (like the disciples of Pythagoras [Iamblichus, *de vita Pythag.*, 35] and certain Polynesian tribes). This is impossible, both because of vs. 167, οὐτ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐτι οἶκον ἐλεύσεται, where the swineherd names his absent master without apology, and because of the phrases καὶ οὐ παρέόντ' (145), καὶ νόσφιν ἐόντα (147), which indicate that if Odysseus were present his name would be used still less properly. (2) The swineherd is apologizing for speaking the name of a master whom he reverences and loves, *without the addition of some respectful epithet*. This is the first explanation offered by Eustathius; it fails to give the full force of ἡθεῖος, and it makes the ending of the swineherd's speech rather weak.

As often, the alternative interpretation of Eustathius (1754, 52 ff.) throws most light on the passage: "According to another rendering he [Eumaeus] says, 'I should not wish to call him Odysseus, for that is what a stranger would do; nor δεσπότης, for he was not such to me. So I call him ἡθεῖος, because of

his brotherly kindness.' Notice the exceeding love of Eumaeus for Odysseus." This is exactly what the context requires. Eumaeus has said (vss. 137 ff.) that his grief for his master is greater than for his father and mother; that a yearning for Odysseus seizes him. If we remember that the Greek language has no stronger word than *πῶτος* to express the love for an absent one, we must, I think, interpret vss. 145-47 somewhat as follows: "[I love him so much that] even though he is not here I am ashamed to call him [coldly and formally] Odysseus. . . . Nay, even though he is absent [I use the most appropriate title of affectionate address:] I call him Elder Brother" (a term used not only by Paris [*Iliad* vi. 518] and by Menelaus [*Iliad* x. 37] in addressing their brothers, but also by the supposed Deiphobus, dearest of all his brothers to Hector, in speaking to the latter [*Iliad* xxii. 229, 239; cf. 233-34], and by Achilles when greeting the shade of Patroclus [i.e., *ἡθαίη κεφαλὴ*, *Iliad* xxiii. 94]). It is not respect or reverence alone, nor is it a scruple against using the name of the absent which prompts Eumaeus. It is rather the love which has made the swineherd regard his master as more to him than father and mother—a love which in this respect is similar to that felt by Andromache for Hector (*Iliad* vi. 429: "Ἐκτορ, ἀτὰρ σὺ μοί ἐσσι πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ).

Homer ennobles both the nurse and the swineherd: the one is *δία γυναικῶν*, the other, *δῖος ὑφορόβης*. Although both are of princely blood it may be queried whether their best claim to the title of nobility does not after all rest upon their deep love for Odysseus. As the emotion of Eurycleia is described in the foot-washing scene in Book xix, so in the lines under discussion the poet depicts the pent-up passion of Eumaeus. The failure to note the real meaning of the passage has robbed the swineherd's portrait of its most poetic touch.

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Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., for the territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for the Middle States, west to the Mississippi River; Walter Miller, the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for the Southern States; and by Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Miss Julianne A. Roller, Franklin High School, Portland, Ore., and to Miss Bertha Green, Hollywood High School, Los Angeles, Cal. This department will present everything that is properly news—occurrences from month to month, meetings, changes in faculties, performances of various kinds, etc. All news items should be sent to the associate editors named above.]

Illinois

Chicago.—The Chicago Classical Club held its sixteenth meeting with a dinner at the Hotel La Salle on February 8. Superintendent Mortenson, of Chicago, was present and spoke informally; Dr. Keith Preston, of Northwestern University, read selections from his verse translations and other poems; Professor George L. Tenney, of Lewis Institute, sang two Latin songs. There was also a discussion of the topic: "What is to be the future influence of German Scholarship?" Ten-minute speeches were made by Professors R. J. Bonner, G. J. Laing, J. A. Scott, J. T. Hatfield, and H. L. Willett.

The Club is planning to publish a yearbook during the coming year.

Iowa

The University of Iowa.—The nine sets of slides on "Life Among the Romans" which were prepared by the late Professor Eastman are to be again offered for sale. These cannot be rented by any school outside of Iowa. To the schools of that state these slides are loaned by the Extension Department of the State University.

Mr. O. E. Klingaman, who is director of this department and has had supervision of these slides, makes the following statement in regard to their usefulness: "The Latin lantern slides which were prepared for this department by the late Professor Eastman proved so effective in helping the students and teachers of Latin, especially in the secondary schools, that the number of students in our high schools studying Latin was more than doubled in three years' time. They are the most popular of all the lantern slides which we send out from this division for high school use."

Massachusetts

The twelfth annual meeting of the Eastern Massachusetts section of the Classical Association of New England was held on Saturday, February 15, at Boston University. The program follows: Joint meeting (Forum: "The

Classics and Reconstruction") with the recently formed Classical Club of Greater Boston. "Welcome," by Professor E. K. Rand, of Harvard University, president of the section; "The Classical Club of Greater Boston," Professor A. H. Rice, of Boston University; "The Classically Trained Man—his service to the *ideas* of Reconstruction," R. D. Weston, Esq., of the Massachusetts Bar; "The Classically Trained Man—His Service to the *Facts* of Reconstruction," Professor A. E. Kennelly, of Harvard University. "Present-day Tendencies in Classical Departments of the Women's Colleges," Professor Alice Walton, of Wellesley College; "The Classics as a Preparation for the *Civics* of Reconstruction," Rev. Willard Reed, co-principal of Brown and Nichols School, Cambridge.

At the close of each paper fifteen minutes were allowed for discussion.

Missouri

The University of Missouri.—Miss Emily Hardesty sends the following account of an interesting experience of her class in Caesar: "The seventeenth chapter of the fourth book of Caesar's *Galic War* stands out conspicuous in the memory of the oldest as well as of the youngest of the followers of the great Julius. Each second-year high-school class, when once safely across the Gallic river, takes a ghoulish joy in creating panic in the ranks of the next class as they look forward to the fearful trial of the bridge. The passage is difficult, not because of difficulties of syntax (there is nothing new), but because of the technical vocabulary and the strangeness of the style. Chapter seventeen was contributed by an engineer, the chief engineer of the army, the other collaborator of the pair *uno in lecticulo erudituli ambo* (Cat. 57. 7). But, for all that, the combination that piles up difficulties for the young pupil may be broken, and the dreaded chapter seventeen may be made the most attractive and the most pleasantly remembered of the whole second-year Latin work. High-school boys and girls like to play; they are still children. Teachers of other subjects have for a long time found work accomplished through effective play. Very few Latin teachers have learned that play in Latin is quite possible. While first-year Latin furnishes the largest playground, there are many opportunities for combining work and play in Caesar. Many a class of boys and girls has found more or less amusement in building a model of Caesar's bridge out of toothpicks or skewers. But we proposed last year to give the freest rein to the play-instinct and at the same time get the clearest possible understanding of the way a great Roman *praefectus fabrum* would in an emergency throw a bridge across a great river for his general's army. So, in anticipation of the much dreaded bridge-chapter, I promised the class that they should go to the woods and build the bridge on a smaller scale, but after the pattern of Caesar's bridge.

"The class worked eagerly and diligently on Caesar, almost impatient at times to reach book four, chapter seventeen. The day came; it was pouring down rain; it rained for a whole week. So great was the strain of waiting for

fair weather, that the pupils wanted to go in the rain. The following week came days of bright spring sunshine. Then, as we had planned, we prepared lunch, took kodaks, hatchets, and axes, and started for the woods, where the boys had in advance discovered an ideal River Rhine.

"We arrived at the 'river' at 9:30 and began work immediately. First we read the description in Caesar and studied out the plans. Together we figured out the size of the various materials required and then proceeded to collect them. The boys did the heavy work of chopping down small trees, while the girls cut the lighter timbers and carried them to the 'river.' By two o'clock the class had completed a bridge seven feet long and three feet wide.

"After all the building material had been assembled, we proceeded to construct the bridge. I read sentence by sentence and we followed Caesar's directions. We had found every piece of our material right there in the woods, just as Caesar's engineers had done when they built the original structure.

"First we drove into the ground sixteen *tigna bina*, straight posts about four feet high and about two inches in diameter. These were placed in pairs, four on each side. The upper ones slanted with the imaginary current, while the lower ones with props (*sublica oblique acta*) against them sloped against the current. Across the space, between the pairs of *tigna bina* we put poles, which were about four feet long and about two inches in diameter (*bipedalis trabs*). These poles were braced above and below by short, stout stakes and tied securely to the *tigna bina*. The foundation of our bridge was then complete. Long poles about one inch in diameter (*derecta materia*) were then laid at right angles and on top of the *bipedalis trabs*; then parallel to the latter and on top of the *derecta materia* were placed four-foot poles about a half inch in diameter. Over these, then, were laid small twigs and some leaves. After this we built the approaches to the bridge and put the *aliae sublicae*, or groups of stakes, above the bridge for protection against floating objects.

"When the bridge was finished, the class marched across the 'river' upon it. It met the test without a groan. The bridge still stands, and many people have visited it and walked across it.

"The whole plan worked out so well with the building of a real bridge in play, that we may venture to suggest that perhaps, if Latin teachers made more effort to combine work and play in the mastery of difficult things, the young pupil, beguiled by the spirit of play, would undertake with eagerness and find comparatively easy the most formidable tasks that may be set before him."

Ohio

Cincinnati.—The following item of keen interest to classicists is quoted from the *Cincinnati Enquirer*:

"Walnut Hills High School is to become a classical high school with a limited course of study, preparing directly and exclusively for college admission in liberal arts courses, it was decided definitely yesterday by the Union Board of High Schools. The high school is not to be called a preparatory school,

although most of the present varied courses prepare for college and are accepted for admission.

"Specific need for such a school urged by Randall J. Condon, Superintendent of Schools, and other leading Cincinnati educators, where pupils who intend to enter college might go for a six-year course, caused the Union Board to take action, affecting the reorganization of all Cincinnati High Schools. This is expected to be a counter-move against the inroads made on classical education within the last two years by the vocational training idea."

Columbus.—The Columbus Latin Club held the first of its current season's lecture-luncheons at the Chittenden Hotel, Saturday noon, December 14, 1918.

Teachers were present not only from Franklin County but from every county adjacent to Franklin. Plates were laid for one hundred and six members and guests, which number, the secretary reports, is the largest ever recorded.

The address of the day was by Rev. Dr. Francis W. Howard, secretary-general of the Catholic Educational Association and pastor of Holy Rosary Church, whose subject was "Efficiency and Inefficiency." Father Howard made a plea for liberal studies in the educational reconstruction to follow the war. The discussion was opened by Professor Wallace S. Elden of Ohio State University, and Professor Joseph Villiers Denney, dean of the College of Arts, Ohio State University, who took the place of Mr. Frank B. Pearson, state superintendent of public instruction, who was unavoidably absent. Professor Elden commented upon Father Howard's address from the viewpoint of higher education. Professor Denney spoke on the educational outlook in the coming reconstruction as affecting the secular or public schools of the United States.

Denison University.—The Honorable Judson Harmon, ex-Attorney General of the United States, and ex-Governor of Ohio, has just established an annual prize for the best work done in the Latin of the Freshman year, in his alma mater, Denison University. In his letter authorizing the prize, he writes: "I am glad to do this for the sake of the college, but also because I have always believed, and now more strongly than ever, in the value of broad, cultural training as a preparation for the life work of the student, no matter what calling or business he is to follow, and I have always regretted the spread of the idea that education should be narrowed to what is called 'practical,' that is, especially and directly connected with some particular line of activity in post student years. I do not think a youth can choose his course in life so well without the broader culture which will reveal to him, as nothing else can, just what manner of man he really is, and what he is best fitted for."

Professor W. H. Johnson, head of the department of Latin, expects to start for Italy about April 1 for a six months' trip. He will spend the first few weeks in Sicily and thence travel north in Italy. Professor Johnson promises the *Journal* a paper on some contacts of the Italy of today with the Italy of the early legends, of the Punic Wars, of Vergil and Tacitus, and various other men down to Garibaldi and Cavour.

General Comment

[Edited by Gilbert Campbell Scoggin, The University of Missouri.]

The subject for discussion before the Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of Liberal Studies at its meeting in December was "Liberal Studies and Their Relation to Citizenship and Patriotism." Mr. Walter George Smith spoke on "The War and the Scientific Theory of Education"; Miss Agnes Repplier's subject was "The Courageous Reader"; and Dr. Henry Van Dyke discussed "Biblical Studies and Citizenship."

Professor Kirby Flower Smith, of the Johns Hopkins University, died suddenly in Baltimore on December 6, 1918. Born in 1862, he was graduated from the University of Vermont with the class of 1884. In 1889 he received his doctorate from the Johns Hopkins University, where he remained as a member of the department of Latin until his death. He was director of the School of Classical Studies at the American Academy in Rome, 1914-15. He was the editor of the *Elegies of Tibullus*, published in 1913.

The carefully selected library of the late Professor Jonathan Young Stanton was dispersed at auction in January by Libbie of Boston. Dr. Stanton was professor of Greek and Latin at Bates College for fifty-four years and his library reflected the broad interests yet discriminating taste of the true lover of letters. The English section was rich in standard authors and biography. Humanistic science was well represented, especially astronomy. This library is an interesting sidelight on the common charge that the old-time college produced men who knew nothing except a smattering of Latin and Greek. It would be more in accord with truth if emphasis were laid upon the fact that the old college developed sound literary taste and aroused intellectual curiosity where these were inherent in the student. No educational system can create them.

Mr. George W. Robinson, Secretary of the Harvard Graduate School, has recently issued a translation of Falster's *Religio philologi*. This is the first English translation of the Danish scholar's little essay; and with the title *A Scholar's Creed* it is limited to an edition of thirty copies. Christian Falster, a high-minded scholar of the old school, thought that all learning should be brought to bear upon theology, and, like Erasmus, he thought that classical authors could contribute much toward sound religion. Falster's work covered a broad field from the history of Greek literature on the one hand, to Latin

lexicography on the other, recognizing that philology, in the narrow sense, and literature are inextricably interwoven. The scholar's task is to carry both to as high a point as possible without detriment to either. Herein he will find no easy task. Falster is now best remembered for his *Amoenitates philologiae*, published at Amsterdam, 1729-32. From the first volume of this work Mr. Robinson has extracted for translation the *Religio philologi*; and he aptly refers us at the same time to Coventry Patmore's *Religio poetae* and to Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio medici*. To these we may now add Professor Gilbert Murray's recently published *Religio grammatici*.

In all probability the *Opera Omnia* of Erasmus will never be edited again. At the present day books of theology are apt to be regarded as useless lumber on the shelves of our college libraries and are in immediate danger of being dumped in a heap upon the damp floor of some dark storeroom in a dormitory. Even if a competent editor should arise it is more than doubtful that a modern Stephanus would be at his service, ready to risk his fortune in such a publishing venture. The fame of Erasmus, however, does not rest upon his theological works as such, but rather upon his writings on mundane things. His genial satire, his ideas of education, his shrewd common sense will commend themselves to all times. "For the words of a genius so high as his are not born to die; their immediate work upon mankind fulfilled, they may seem to lie torpid; but at each fresh shower of intelligence Time pours upon their students, they prove their immortal race; they revive, they spring from the dust of great libraries; they bud, they flower, they fruit, they seed, from generation to generation, from age to age." First among these perennial works of Erasmus undoubtedly stand his *Epistolae*, which occupy 1,213 pages folio in the collected works issued at Basle in 1540. Even since Le Clerc's edition of Erasmus in the early years of the eighteenth century other letters have come to light. For some years Mr. P. S. Allen, of Oxford, has been editing anew the *Epistolae* and Mr. F. M. Nichols has been making an excellent translation. The third volume of the translation has recently appeared, bringing the work down to 1520. The translator had died before this volume was ready for the press, and it is to be hoped that Mr. Allen, after finishing his task of editing, may complete the translation begun by his friend Mr. Nichols, for he stands unrivaled in equipment. I will take this opportunity to call attention to Mr. Allen's very learned paper, "Erasmus' Relations with his Printers," contributed to the *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, XIII (1913-15). Among the numerous worthies assembled in that paper the classical student will find himself in goodly company.

At the meeting of the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Middle States and Maryland, held last November at Princeton, President Butler, of Columbia, delivered an address on American education as

affected by the war. The speaker maintained that for some time past the educational world has been dominated by reactionary tendencies which were being developed and directed by educators who posed before the public as progressive leaders. Things had reached a stage so ridiculous that the only possible alleviation seemed dependent upon the appearance of a modern Aristophanes, who, however, had delayed his coming. But the war has restored sanity from an unexpected quarter.

The sudden return to a high seriousness will sweep aside the ceaseless chatter about education by those who know so little about it. Many false idols will be cast down from their exalted places of temporary power. The false doctrine of utilitarianism was grounded in a false psychology. "The moral and spiritual values have been ground between the upper and nether millstones of a psychology without a soul and an economics with no vision beyond material gain." Many discarded and rejected theories of education had been revived and paraded before us as new discoveries that were to usher in a wonderful age. "Discipline was solemnly pronounced to be not only unnecessary, but impossible, although a hundred little disciplines are right enough." The idea of a general education was often thrust aside as not contributing to a rapid pace for gain; and the doctrine was propagated that the fine qualities of character could be taught only as a part of some vocation. The catchword efficiency was everywhere shouted by the mechanics of an organization for self-seeking.

Efficiency must be made to serve some high moral purpose, and it becomes dangerous in the hands of the unscrupulous. We must again ask what knowledge is most worth while and most contributes to the best self-expression of the individual. "That knowledge is most worth while which best furnishes and disciplines the human spirit, which best nourishes and strengthens the human body, and which best contributes to an understanding and improvement of human institutions." We must accept what those before us have found good and perpetuate this and use it as a basis in our attempt to carry human development to a higher stage. Above all we must recognize that education is not merely a mechanical process. Ethics, economics, and politics must form the basis of all such education; literature, history, and philosophy will continue to preside over all, and will afford the best opportunity for developing those rare spirits upon whom depends all progress from age to age.

Science has rightly assumed an important place in education. Yet President Butler calls attention to the fact that although vast sums have been laid out in laboratories and mechanical equipment, science has not as yet become interwoven in the life and thought of people who pass for educated. A certain number of eminent chemists, physicists, and biologists have been trained, but for the general run of educated people these subjects have contributed slight mental equipment.

Methods of scientific teaching and the textbooks used are criticized. They are based on the assumption that every student is destined to be a

specialist in science. Astronomy and geology are the possible exceptions, for in them the element of human interest is more conspicuous. Great advances should be closely associated with the great names of science, and the human relationship should be emphasized. Tyndall and Huxley stand out as the types of teacher to be emulated.

What is true of science is true also of the modern languages. After prolonged study of these the student, as a rule, cannot carry on conversation of the simplest kind. Greek and Latin have been taught in a way that appeals only to the occasional budding grammarian. The true aim should be to give insight into the life and customs of peoples, and in case of modern tongues the ability to speak them is of great importance. German, French, and Spanish must be taught as living tongues.

For the student of English, nothing is so important as wide reading in standard authors. President Butler sees great danger in the daily theme. The student should first acquire knowledge of something to say before he is forced to write. This knowledge will come from good books and not from trash. He evidently thinks with old Roger Ascham that "good thoughts and good words go together."

The courses in government should pay less attention to the mere machinery of government and concern themselves more with the fundamental principles of good government. They should strive to give preparation for good citizenship, and must be based on ethics, philosophy, and economics.

President Butler sees signs of better teaching of the classics. "The classics remain the unexhausted and inexhaustible fountains of excellence in all that pertains to letters, to art, and to the intellectual life. The secondary schools and the colleges must make adequate provision for their study and their proper teaching." Here again emphasis must be laid upon their human interest, and not upon things calculated to train philologists. The part that the classics have played in the war is indicated by the following anecdote which he quotes from the French minister of public instruction. A young French lieutenant was heard to reply to the question as to what he was fighting for, as follows: "I am fighting for La Fontaine and Molière; La Fontaine, the immortal heir of Æsop and Phædrus; Molière, the immortal heir of Plautus and Terence, and still further of Aristophanes and of Menander." "This young lieutenant knew well both how to live and how to die, for the beauty of the world and of man's achievement in it had seized hold of his soul." To this testimony we may add the published letters of numerous Oxford men who have given their lives for an ideal.

In conclusion President Butler insists that the faddists in education must be given no quarter. They have been active in taking over the highly organized elementary schools, and the disastrous effects of their schemes are all too apparent. These schools, which are at the root of our educational system, must be rescued and placed again on a sane basis.

Book Reviews

The Descent of Manuscripts. By ALBERT C. CLARK. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918. 8vo, pp. xiv+464. \$11.20 net.

When the Revised Version of the New Testament appeared (which the late Bishop John Williams, of Connecticut, delighted to call the "Reversed Vision"), prominent among the footnotes stood many which ran, "Many ancient authorities [or 'very many,' or 'some'] read [or 'insert,' or 'omit']" thus-and-so: and many a pious reader was shocked to find banished from the context and relegated to one of these footnotes passages which were sanctified to him by a memory from childhood of the King James Version. He usually knew nothing about "Eastern text," and "Western text," and such-like things. If his curiosity was sufficiently aroused, he was able to discover that the ancient MSS (including versions and quotations) might be roughly classified according as they contained or did not contain certain passages, some long and some short; and that a combat was raging among New Testament critics over the question whether the briefer texts did not in general more closely represent the autographs, the fuller being the product in that respect of interpolations; or vice versa, whether the fuller texts did not better conform to the original writing, the briefer resulting from careless omissions or arbitrary abridgments. The text of the Revisers he might suspect from the footnotes to be somewhat of a compromise in principle between the two extremes; that of the Authorized Version to represent a considerably longer text (though it is not so long as that of the "Western" tradition); and the Greek text of Dr. Hort to exemplify on the whole the extreme of brevity.

In 1914 Albert Curtis Clark, the present Corpus Professor of Latin in the University of Oxford in succession to Robinson Ellis, published a not very large book on "The Primitive Text of the Gospels and Acts" (Clarendon Press, 4s. 6d. net). In this work Professor Clark brought a new sort of criticism to bear on the old controversy about the authenticity of these passages found in one class of ancient authorities and not in others. In addition to considerations which may be passed over here, he pointed out by copious examples that many of these passages are in length the exact measure of a single line in Greek MSS of the most antique type, or are multiples of that unit; and that accordingly, since an interpolator would not be likely to fit his insertion precisely to that pattern of longitude, such passages represent omissions for one or another reason from the archetype rather than interpolations, or congeries of interpolations, into it. He of course did not profess that in every instance the state of the archetype thus determined was surely that of the ultimate autograph,

antedating all possible interpolation, but only that it at least gave these alleged interpolations a reasonably inferred standing of antiquity much earlier, and therefore more trustworthy, than had generally been believed, going back indeed to the middle of the second century. The omission of them from MSS of the shorter text justifies suspicion of either accident or wilful abbreviation as responsible for it. If the MSS that omit them are older than those which contain them, and even though these MSS of the shorter text, by reason of age and perhaps of other excellences, are usually classed as the "best" MSS, the antiquity of the previously suspected passages, now established by the indicated test, but proves the danger of a blind consistency in following in such matters the "better" or "best" MSS and contemning the others. It also proves the fallacy of the old adage *breuior lectio potior* as a universal rule of guidance.

This was of course an argument—and, if valid in full, a powerful one—in favor of the long "Western" text (that of codex Bezae and of the ancient versions and quotations in general) as against the short text (that of the Vatican and Sinaitic codices). The battle of critics was on once more, the gage being taken up forthwith, naturally by champions of the latter tradition. Perhaps the conflict would have raged more vigorously, if a different sort of a war had not distracted the attention of the adversaries at about the time when they were launching their offensive. Professor Clark countered in an article in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. XVI (January, 1915), pp. 225-40. Meanwhile he had delivered and published (Clarendon Press, 1914, 1s. net) his inaugural address as Corpus Professor on "Recent Developments in Textual Criticism," in which, among other topics, he outlined his method of textual criticism in the matter of omitted passages, reiterated his statement of its necessary and professed limitation of field, and promised the speedy publishing of the further application of it to the text of classical authors, and especially of Cicero, in regard to whose works Professor Clark is pre-eminent among English-speaking critics. This promise is fulfilled in the volume now issued, which, the author tells us, though in print for some time, has been delayed in publication by war conditions.

In the preface and the first three chapters of the book ("Omissions in Manuscripts," "Omission Marks," etc., "The Evidence of Marginalia"), and especially in the third chapter, the author outlines and abundantly illustrates his method. In the ten chapters that follow he applies it; first, to a specimen of patristic literature (Primasius); next, to the Ciceronian palimpsests, orations, and some of the philosophical works; then, to Asconius and the Pseudo-Asconius; and finally, as an example of work on Greek authors, to the leading manuscripts of Plato and the Paris manuscript of Demosthenes.

The underlying idea of Professor Clark's method is of course not altogether new, and does not profess to be so. Omissions and allied phenomena in certain classes or families of manuscripts have often enough been recognized, and have been referred, when they were of sufficient length, to the linear arrangement, and consequently to the length of lines, in an ancestral model. The importance

of Professor Clark's work appears to lie chiefly in its full and minute analytical study of all varieties of such omissions (including repetitions, dislocations, and the like), and in the possibility of applying the process in cases where the omissions are not simply of a word or two, and have been suspected of being mere interpolations. In such cases it may be possible to show, by considerations relating to the age or character of the ancestor to which the omitted passage must ultimately be credited, that there is more reason to suspect that the shorter text has been consciously or unconsciously abbreviated than that the supplied omissions are actually interpolations. Yet here of course the critical sense must not be supplanted or dominated entirely by the measuring rod. That might lead to disaster.

These mathematical computations have an air of imposing conclusiveness. Any appeal to mathematics is likely to appear to the innocent and hesitating classicist to be the welcome struggling out from the morass of wavering and subjective judgments to the solid ground of demonstrable facts. Professor Clark—rather too confidently and jubilantly—professes to rest his case on the mathematics as an unassailable and indefectible witness. He proclaims (p. viii), "To any one who fights against arithmetic I can only say *σκληρόν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν*." That is superb, but there is no fighting against arithmetic to be feared or suspected. No one is going to doubt that $4+2=2$. But what if it does? We may kowtow dutifully before arithmetic, but Professor Clark is not intending to stop with pure arithmetic, though he appears so to claim. He is going on from that to certain deductions that are more tied up with logic and psychology than with mathematical demonstrations. He cannot wind *them* up with a triumphant *q.e.d.* We are entirely justified in accepting the arithmetic but joining issue (if we see fit) on the deductions that go beyond the arithmetic.

The "arithmetical test" may tend to push back the date of the interpolation to an earlier period than that of its first observed occurrence, but it may be an interpolation after all—only of greater antiquity than had perhaps been supposed. The danger of an error in judgment may be greater the nearer the putative date of omission approaches that of the ancient author himself. For when we begin to deal with the period of capital writing in short lines, where the unit of length ranges, let us say, from a minimum of ten to a maximum of twelve letters, altogether too many numbers are readily analyzable into combinations of ten, eleven, and twelve, singly or in multiples, to make the result at all convincing. Thus all numbers of the series 20-24, 30-36, 40-48, and from 50 onward all numbers *ad infinitum*, are thus analyzable. It would be so improbable an affirmation that an ancient book would be written without a single line of less than ten or more than eleven letters, that the similar arithmetical possibilities in such a case are hardly worth enumerating. (They would, however, include the series 20-22, 30-33, 40-44, and so on, and from 50 onward all numbers.) Evidently there are too many possibilities that any given passage might by mere chance exhibit an apparent connection with the

postulated linear arrangement of the early text, when in reality it had nothing at all to do with it. Of course it will be observed that the relative frequency of occurrence of a line of twelve letters in comparison with that of 10-letter or 11-letter lines is of no importance; for granted that a 12-letter line does or may occur even once, the possibility of its occurrence within the limit of the disputed passage cannot be contested, nor any argument validly based that rests upon the postulation of its absence therefrom.

A further difficulty arises when the alleged omission is complete within itself, so that its exclusion does not disturb the sense of the context in which it stood. That is the case with many suspected passages. If it be argued that away back in the period of such short lines or "sense-cola" as have been postulated in this discussion, such omitted passages are very likely by mere chance to measure a certain number of full lines, it is equally likely that an interpolation would also arrange itself by mere chance in similar relation to the unit of length. The probabilities are certainly no greater in the case of the supposed omission than in that of the alleged interpolation, so far as this circumstance is concerned; and it would surely appear more likely in other respects that such a self-contained addition would be an interpolation than that it would be an accidental omission.

Again, it of course cannot be claimed that no omissions of considerable length are possible other than those of a certain number of full lines. Take for example, then, an omission of fifty letters. That may, to be sure, represent an omission of five 10-letter lines; but it may, on the other hand, represent an omission of four and one-half 11-letter lines; and, once granted the possibility of an omission that does not coincide with a certain number of full lines, it cannot logically be postulated that in this specific case (or in any other similar specific case) we must explain the phenomenon one way rather than the other. "But," Professor Clark would probably say, "we have so very many cases where the number of the omitted letters *may* be referable to a certain number of full lines." True: but there is no cumulative probability established in that direction by multiplying cases of the same sort, when in each and every individual case there is no weight of probability on one side rather than on the other. You may add zero to zero indefinitely without the sum arriving at any assignable value. "But," he might reply, "a man is surely more likely to omit, say, five full lines than four lines and a half, and that psychologic fact establishes the probability that the aforesaid fifty letters represent five 10-letter lines rather than four and one-half 11-letter lines." Yes: that establishes a certain degree of apparent probability for the individual case, but the probability becomes no whit greater for any one specific case by the multiplication of the number of cases, so long as every time there is a possibility of the alternative explanation corresponding to the fact. The general probability that a given thing will happen so often out of so many observed times is one thing; the contention, however, that it is therefore probable at any one specific time in the series is quite another thing, and is entirely unjustifiable. The multiplication

of cases produces no increment in the antecedent probability concerning any one case, when no single case can be demonstratively determined. You cannot establish a canon of probability by citing a large number of cases, when each of these cases is itself established only by an appeal to the same canon of probability. That is to argue in a circle.

It should be clearly understood that this is not to deny the determination by a series of uncontested instances outside the range of these cases in question, that a writer is more likely to omit by inadvertence a full line than a line and a half; it is only to deny the contention that by the multiplication of these instances (each one of which is the matter at issue) an overwhelming cumulative probability in favor of each is built up. That is like claiming that, though a plea of "not guilty" by a single defendant to a given indictment creates no necessary presumption of his innocence, the same plea entered by a hundred simultaneous defendants to the same indictment establishes a cumulative presumption (or would Professor Clark even say proof?) in the case of each one that he is innocent. This would be crazy logic trying to disguise itself in the stolen robes of mathematics. To contest such alleged conclusions from arithmetic is not to kick against the pricks; it is merely to puncture an iridescent bubble.

We are back, then, at the point whence we departed, the point that has long been conceded, the psychology of the individual case. All the appeal to the "arithmetical test" might have been spared. That imposing array of arithmetical examples owes all its specious strength to the psychology of the individual case, falsely supposed to be multiplied in effect by the multiplication of assumed instances. On the other hand, each case is subject to the possibility that it may be explicable by the chances that have been pointed out. There is established no presumption, still less such a certainty as Professor Clark appears to assert, that the treated cases are, by reason of their arithmetical relations to certain units of measurement, cases of omission rather than of interpolation. Arithmetic will not settle the problem.

Evidently, for these and other reasons which would require for statement too much space in this journal, the text-critic need not fear that the abacus is about to supplant his trained judgment. He may therefore suppress any bristling of jealous apprehension, and study the new book and its antecursorial satellites with equanimity, and with gratitude for what he may find there of use and stimulus. Even if he does not agree with the author in his main thesis, he will yet be repaid by the large stores of knowledge that are here put at his disposal, stores not at all conditioned by their immediate relation to the author's special purpose. Neither palaeographer nor text-critic can afford to neglect the book, or merely to skim it. It is one of enchaining interest. To the younger student on the search for problems it opens a broad field, over which the author does not desire to assert proprietary rights of original pre-emption. "The material," he says, "is inexhaustible," and he gives would-be investigators, not merely a complete manual with extensive examples of his

method, but also (pp. xiii f.) practical advice about how to attack similar work.

One bitter word in conclusion about the price of the book. The volume is not very large, nor is it very elaborate in type. There are no plates or other facsimiles. The distributor (presumably the office-boy of the American Branch of the Oxford University Press) has tried the silly ostrich-like trick of cutting out from the printed wrapper the statement of the English price (it was 28s., as any schoolboy could easily discover), and has penciled in the price demanded in this country, \$11.20!—a rate of forty cents to the shilling. The English price is appalling, the American outrageous. Of course it will grievously limit the sale of the book, and it will not engender very kindly feelings toward the American agents.

ELMER TRUESDELL MERRILL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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In the first thirteen volumes of the *Classical Journal* a vast amount of material of permanent value to teachers and other classical scholars has been published. This material has now become so extensive that its ready use is seriously hampered by lack of analysis and classification. The Classical Association at its last meeting accordingly, recognizing this impairment of the full and ready use of the *Journal*, authorized the publication of a general index. This has been compiled, is now in press, and its early publication by the University of Chicago Press may be expected.

The *Index* will be in the same size and style as the *Journal* and will be a most welcome addition to these volumes. Its price has been fixed at fifty cents for members of the Classical Associations of the Middle West and South, New England, Pacific States, and Atlantic States and Maryland, and seventy-five cents for non-members.

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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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Editorial

PROGRAM OF THE FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND
SOUTH, TO BE HELD AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA, APRIL 10,
11, AND 12, 1919

THURSDAY, 1:30 P.M.

Meeting of the Executive Committee, Hotel Piedmont

THURSDAY, 3:00 P.M.

Auditorium, Hotel Piedmont

Address of Welcome to the Association, BISHOP WARREN A. CANDLER,
Chancellor, Emory University.

Response by the President of the Association, CAMPBELL BONNER, University
of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Announcement of Committees appointed by the President.

Opportunity for statement of motions to be considered at the business
session.

THURSDAY, 8:00 P.M.

Auditorium, Hotel Piedmont

1. M. L. BRITAIN, Superintendent of Schools for the State of Georgia: "The Value of the Classics in the Schools."
2. CLYDE PHARR, Southwestern Presbyterian University, Clarksville, Tennessee: "The Element of Burlesque in Homer's Iliad."
3. THOMAS H. BILLINGS, University of Chattanooga, Chattanooga, Tennessee: "The Doctrine of the Logos in Philo the Jew."
4. J. O. LOFBERG, University of Texas, Austin, Texas: "The Sycophant-Parasite."

FRIDAY, 9:00 A.M.

Emory University

5. "A Conference on Methods of Latin Teaching in High Schools and Normal Schools," under the direction of J. B. GAME, Florida State College for Women, Tallahassee.

a) Papers and Discussions:

- (1) "First-Year Latin and English," Professor CHARLES E. LITTLE, George Peabody College for Teachers.
- (2) "Some Suggestions for Teachers of Latin in the High Schools," Professor HARRY CLARK, State Inspector of High Schools, University of Tennessee.

b) Topics and Questions for General Discussion (limit 5 minutes):

- (1) "Shall we continue to spend two years on Caesar, one preparatory to, one studying his text?"
- (2) "Should we reduce the standard requirements for Latin, 4 books of Caesar, 7 orations of Cicero, 6 books of Virgil?"
- (3) "What can college professors do to help high-school teachers of Latin?"

c) Round Table. General Conference.

Teachers may freely present problems, ask questions, and make suggestions bearing upon the work in hand.

At 12:00 o'clock a luncheon will be served to the members of the Association in Winship Hall, Emory University.

FRIDAY, 2:00 P.M.

Emory University

6. ROBERT S. RADFORD, University of Tennessee, Knoxville: "The Incomplete Expression of the *Anima Mundi* Doctrine in the Sixth Aeneid."
7. Miss MARY G. PASLEY, Mississippi State Normal College: "Popularizing Classics as Literature."

At the close of the program an automobile party will be given for the members of the Association by the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce.

FRIDAY, 8:00 P.M.

Agnes Scott College

8. CHARLES E. LITTLE, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee: "Literary Phrasing in Numerical Expressions."
9. E. S. MCCARTNEY, University of Texas, Austin, Texas: "Life and Monuments on the Roman Campagna." (Illustrated.)
10. MILTON W. HUMPHREYS, University of Virginia, Charlottesville: "A Talk on the Roman Method of Pronouncing Latin."

A reception will be given to the members of the Association at the close of the program.

SATURDAY, 9:00 A.M.

Auditorium, Girls' High School

Business Session:

- a) Report of the Secretary-Treasurer.
 - b) Report of the Executive Committee.
 - c) Report of the Committee on Resolutions.
 - d) Report of the Nominating Committee.
 - e) New Business.
- 11. **ANDREW F. WEST**, Princeton University: "The Proposed Classical League."
 - 12. **W. R. WEBB**, Webb School, Bell Buckle, Tennessee: "Colonel William Bingham as a Latin Teacher." An Appreciation.
 - 13. **EUGENE TAVENNER**, Middle Tennessee State Normal School, Murfreesboro: "Roman Moon-Lore."

At 12:00 o'clock a luncheon will be served to the members of the Association at the Girls' High School.

SATURDAY, 2:00 P.M.

Auditorium, Girls' High School

- 14. **R. B. STEELE**, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee: "Literary References and Allusions in Petronius."
- 15. **E. L. GREEN**, University of South Carolina, Columbia: "Martial, the Poet."
- 16. **THOMAS FITZHUGH**, University of Virginia, Charlottesville: "Jefferson, the Classicist."

LATIN WORD-ORDER

BY B. L. ULLMAN
University of Pittsburgh

Professor Walker has done well to call attention to the remarkable neglect of the subject of word-order by Latin scholars.¹ It is to be hoped that in the near future it will become the object of thorough research. Far more important than the field of clausula rhythm, it needs a Zielinski to give it due prominence. The subject is full of complexities. The ancients themselves failed to formulate satisfactory rules, as is clear from Quintilian (ix. 4. 24). Not only in Latin but in other languages progress in the study of word-order has been slow. As Jespersen well says: "The rules of word-position have too long been the Cinderella of linguistic science—how many even of the best grammars are wholly or almost wholly silent about them!"²

While agreeing with much that Professor Walker says, I wish in this paper to take issue with him on certain general principles, to discuss several other treatments of word-order, and to present some detailed facts.

I

An immediate difficulty that presents itself in the consideration of the subject is the terminology, and back of that, of course, the fundamental concepts which are responsible for our terminology. Professor Walker makes the point that if in, let us say, Caesar, a given type of adjective precedes its noun more often than it follows, then the former is the normal order. This is of course true, if we think of normal as meaning regular and usual. But if I am not mistaken scholars have used the term normal as a substitute for regular and general just to avoid this difficulty (e.g., Hale-Buck, *Latin Grammar*, p. 334, n. 1). To my mind, however, normal is no more satisfactory than the other terms, and I have long used

¹ *Classical Journal*, XIII (1918), 644 ff.

² *Progress in Language*, p. 90.

the term unemphatic to cover some of the uses of the word normal, fully realizing that it too is not wholly satisfactory, though it meets the difficulty in question.

Before proceeding it is necessary to say that the terms emphatic and unemphatic are used in this paper in their broadest sense. By emphasis I mean that which brings a word into a prominent position in the speaker's thought. With this understanding I think that it can be granted that the beginning of the sentence is the most emphatic position under ordinary conditions. It is there that we look for the subject of discussion, whether it be the grammatical subject or not.¹ Naturally in connected discourse it is often preceded by connective words of one sort or another, or by emphasizing words. Again we at times suppress or postpone the subject of discussion because of unusual emphasis on some other word.

While Professor Walker has done us a service in pointing out the weak basis of our knowledge of Latin word-order and has acutely picked flaws in some of the existing notions, I do not think that his method is the right one for attacking the subject. He finds that in Caesar the cases in which the adjective precedes the noun are more numerous than those in which it follows. He concludes that we should teach that in Caesar adjectives usually precede their nouns. Very good if it means only what it says, but very bad if it means that our grammars and beginning books should teach our pupils that they should regularly, without further inquiry, put the adjective before the noun. If we find in clauses introduced by *ut* that the subjunctive is used more often than the indicative, we do not teach that *ut* takes the subjunctive; we say that the meaning of *ut* determines the mood. Similarly in word-order the meaning is the determining factor. Professor Walker's method is too blunt. On the other hand his treatment of the inclosing order of subordinate clauses is far more subtle.² In fact, his conclusion here may be used to refute his conclusion about adjectives. He

¹ The non-grammatical subject of discussion has been called the psychological subject; see Sturtevant in *Classical Weekly*, III, 25 ff.

² There are, however, other factors to be considered in the order in subordinate clauses; e.g., the one dealt with by Rowland in his monograph, *On the Position in the Clause of Ne and Ut*, etc., 1918. Walker's observations have been anticipated; see Lindskog's monograph (reviewed in *Wochensch. für klass. Phil.* [1898], 353-58).

says (p. 656): "Even the statement that when the subordinate clause precedes, the common subject stands first, though true in a majority of sentences, is not merely unnecessary but misleading, because it gives the impression that another special principle of word-order [other than the usual principles of word-order] comes into play in such sentences." We may use similar language about the adjective: "The statement that the adjective precedes its noun, though true in a majority of cases, is misleading, because it gives the impression that another special principle of word-order [other than the usual one that emphasis in a phrase or sentence requires priority of position] comes into play in such cases."

II

Among the comparatively few discussions of word-order I select for examination two or three bearing on the position of the adjective. Some recent discussions of word-order have been unduly influenced by Wundt's treatment of the subject in his *Völkerpsychologie*. Typical is the long article by Ammann in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, XXIX, 1-121. He deals with the position of the adjective in Cicero's letters to Atticus, rightly concluding that Latin is one of the best languages for the study of the principles of word-order, and that the position of the adjective is the crux of the word-order problem in Latin. His psychological subtleties, however, seem to me to be quite unnecessary and often absurd. He distinguishes the following uses of the adjective, which may, however, all be grouped under the term emphatic: emphatic, thematic (where the adjective carries the theme or subject of discussion), epanaphoric (where the noun repeats a preceding idea and is really unnecessary), by attraction (like the preceding, except that the adjective refers back and is prominent), preventive ("erroris praecavendi causa"). In all of these the adjective is evidently the more important (emphatic in the large sense) and therefore precedes. The whole article is pretty much of a psychological muddle. Ammann even drags in that syntactical juggernaut, the non-fact sentence of doubt or possibility. He asserts that the "constructive" position of the adjective after the noun occurs in such sentences. I must admit that I am unable

to see how the position of the adjective is affected by the circumstance that the sentence in which it occurs is a condition or a wish. Worse yet, a sentence whose verb is *mando* is called a wish (*Att. i. 10. 3*), equivalent to *velim cures*, because *velim* was used in a preceding sentence, and because, forsooth, Cicero *wished* to get the well-curbs, seeing that he *intrusted* to Atticus the task of getting them.

Yet Ammann realizes the futility of his hair-splitting, for he says that in actual practice the tendencies making for the modification of position are not so sharply differentiated as theoretical considerations would indicate. Without giving complete statistics, which is unfortunate, he does indicate what types of adjectives tend to precede or follow their nouns. Among those that tend to precede on account of emphasis (in the narrow sense) are adjectives of the feelings, as *gratus*, *miser*, *mirus*; of quality, as *bonus*, *malus*, *turpis*, *egregius*; adjectives used metaphorically, as *mellitus*; of quantity, etc., as *magnus*, *multus*, *pauci*; cardinals and distributives. Adjectives which often precede because they are thematic (referring to a preceding idea) are proper adjectives, possessives, "occupational" adjectives (*privatus*, etc.). Adjectives which often precede because of "attraction" (connecting with the preceding thought) are demonstratives, comparatives and superlatives, adjectives of time and place, ordinals. There is much of value here, as Ammann studies his examples in their context.

In discussing *quidam* Professor Walker merely gives the number of times it precedes or follows in the authors covered in his survey. Ammann does better by studying each example in its environment. His conclusion seems very satisfactory: When *quidam* follows its noun it is so weak that it can generally be omitted without essential change in meaning; when it precedes it has the meaning "considerable" or other special force.

Professor Walker's view that the adjective regularly and normally precedes its noun is held by others; for example, Schmalz in the Stolz-Schmalz *Lateinische Grammatik*.¹ Bergaigne comes to the same conclusion² after a study of the adjectives in four books

¹ Müller, Handbuch, II, 2.

² *Mélanges Graux*, pp. 533-43.

of Caesar. While he deals with the adjectives individually, he does not study the separate examples, and so his conclusions are open to objection.

III

There are no doubt many complicating factors in word-order, even without the unnecessary subtleties of Ammann. Many of them will be discovered by the person who finds a way of accounting satisfactorily for the curious shifting of the adjective *multus* in Gellius xiii. 29, where the subject of discussion is the difference between *mortalibus multis* and *hominibus multis*. No attempt at a general solution will be made here; I shall be content to offer certain details which bear on the problem. Chiefly I shall present conclusions drawn from facts gathered by Mr. G. A. Curry in 1915 for a Master's thesis under my direction and along lines suggested by me. He studied the position of the possessive and demonstrative adjectives in Caesar's *Gallic War* and in Hirtius' eighth book. I have corrected and supplemented his material from the lexica of Merguet and Meusel. The classifications and deductions are my own. It seemed to me that the logical way to study word-order was from the standpoint of emphasis, using the term in the larger sense indicated above. It seemed wise to try, however unsuccessfully, to put away preconceived theories and to interpret the examples in their individual environment. First of all, examples were collected of an evidently unemphatic use of the possessive; only those were included in which emphasis seemed inconceivable. Then examples were collected in which the possessive was clearly used with emphasis; again the greatest care was taken to include only absolutely certain cases.

Nineteen examples are presented in which there clearly is no emphasis, forty in which there clearly is emphasis. In all of the former the possessive follows the noun, in all of the latter it precedes. Of course it may be said that preconceptions were not cast aside, and that only those examples were selected, wittingly or unwittingly, which illustrated the rule. This must be said, however: it is not likely that many, if any, of these examples can be challenged. Furthermore it would be difficult, I think, to find

positive cases which do not conform to the rule and cannot be convincingly explained.

Among the nineteen cases of non-emphatic use are five of *provincia nostra*, referring to Narbonensis (i. 2. 3; i. 6. 2; i. 7. 1; i. 33. 4; ii. 29. 4). There seems to be no possibility of emphasis here. There is no contrast with any other province. It means "our province," not "our province." The other examples are *patrum nostrorum* (i. 12. 5; ii. 4. 2); *maioribus suis* (i. 14. 7); *filiam suam* (i. 3. 5); *patruo suo* (vii. 4. 2); *finitimis suis* (ii. 16. 2); *civitate sua* (i. 3. 4; iv. 12. 4); *finibus suis* (i. 2. 1); *finibus quidem nostris* (vii. 77. 14); *exercitus nostri* (i. 11. 3); *exercitu suo* (i. 47. 6); *senatu nostro* (vii. 31. 5); *seu morte sua . . . seu vivum* (vii. 89. 2).

The forty clearly emphatic cases may be classified according to the means by which the emphasis is made unusually clear:

1. Emphatic repetition of the possessive with a second noun: *se suis copiis suoque exercitu* (i. 3. 7).

2. Contrast:

a) With correlatives: *neque suam neque populi Romani consuetudinem pati* (i. 45. 1); also i. 1. 4; i. 18. 4; i. 20. 5; i. 25. 1; i. 36. 1; i. 40. 3; i. 40. 7; i. 41. 3; ii. 10. 4; iii. 17. 5; iv. 17. 1; vi. 31. 4; vii. 89. 1.

b) Without correlatives: (1) contrast expressed: *qui vestrae salutis causa suum periculum neglexerunt* (vii. 77. 9); also i. 28. 4; i. 36. 2 (*bis*); i. 44. 8 (*bis*); iv. 8. 2; vii. 22. 4 (*bis*); (2) contrast implied: *in sua Gallia* (i. 34. 4); *suam sententiam* (v. 29. 6); *suis rebus* (v. 41. 5); *in suum locum* (v. 50. 3); *suos liberos* (vi. 18. 3); *suis manibus* (vii. 15. 4).

3. Emphasis heightened by use of adverbs: *etiam suo nomine* (i. 18. 8); *nostra etiam memoria* (ii. 4. 7); *suis quoque rebus* (iv. 16. 1); *vestrae quidem certe vitae* (vii. 50. 4); *suum quoque equitatum* (vii. 67. 2).

4. We may place separately the examples of *sua sponte*, in which the emphasis is all on the possessive, the noun being merely a peg on which to hang the adjective. We may compare *mente*, which became the Romance adverbial ending (e.g., *lenta mente*, in which the preceding position of the adjective is to be noted). The cases of *sponte* are: i. 9. 2; i. 44. 2; v. 28. 1; vi. 14. 2; vii. 65. 2.

These seem to be convincing examples of emphasis to which no exception can be taken. In the majority of the remaining examples of preceding possessive the emphasis is more or less clear. The rest it is possible to interpret as without emphasis, though of course emphasis is possible in all except a few to be considered below. According to Professor Walker's figures the possessive precedes in 238 cases and follows in 111. The former may therefore in one sense be called the normal or regular order, but it is the emphatic order just the same. It should be remembered that the possessive is generally omitted. Its very use attracts attention and is due to the desire for emphasis, in which case it precedes, or for clearness, in which case it follows,¹ or for both.

There is one other important factor to be considered, that of separation (hyperbaton, trajection). In 49 cases the preceding possessive is separated from its noun by from one to six words. While it is recognized that such separation tends to put emphasis on one of the words concerned,² generally the first, little attention has been given to the words used as "separators" or "stop-gaps." They may be classified as follows:

1. Forms of *sum*: ii. 4. 6; iv. 16. 4; v. 27. 3; vi. 7. 8; vii. 81. 4.
2. Other verb forms: *pati* (vi. 8. 1); *remittere* (v. 53. 3; text doubtful).
3. Prepositional phrase:
 - a) Phrase dependent on the noun: i. 42. 3; i. 43. 4; vii. 43. 4; vii. 54. 3; vii. 71. 3. In all of these the preposition is *in* with the accusative. Havet (*Mélanges Nicole* p. 225) maintains that to produce emphasis the separating word or words must be a "foreign" element not belonging to the adjective or noun. I doubt if this is true, though it may be that a foreign element causes greater emphasis than a "native."
 - b) Phrase having other dependence: *ex conspectu* (i. 25. 1); *ab se* (iii. 2. 5); *ab hostibus* (v. 48. 4). In the second case *se* repeats the idea of the possessive *suos*; in the third, *hostibus* contrasts with the possessive *nostra*.

¹ Hale-Buck, *Latin Grammar*, 258.

² A number of articles have dealt with the subject since Weil formally recognized the principle.

4. Preposition: iv. 27. 7. Professor Walker is right in criticizing the books which lay too much stress on this order.
5. Other modifier:
 - a) Genitive: i. 25. 1; i. 31. 1; i. 40. 7; i. 42. 3; i. 43. 4; i. 45. 1; ii. 9. 1; iv. 17. 1; v. 3. 7; v. 27. 7; v. 36. 3; v. 57. 1; vi. 7. 6; vi. 38. 2; vii. 55. 2.
 - b) Participle: i. 25. 1.
 - c) Adjective: *omnibus* (i. 38. 1); *omnia* (v. 43. 4); *tantis* (i. 42. 3); *pristinæ* (ii. 21. 2; vii. 62. 2); *privatis* (v. 3. 5). In all of these cases the adjective is one that would naturally take precedence. It yields place to the pronoun, however, because it merely explains in greater detail the meaning of the pronoun. This is particularly clear in v. 3. 5, where there is a contrast.
6. *Quisque*: i. 52. 1; v. 8. 6; vi. 22. 4; vii. 71. 2; vii. 80. 1; vii. 81. 4.
7. Adverbs: *magno* (i. 13. 5); *etiam* (ii. 4. 7); *quoque* (iv. 16. 1; vii. 61. 4; vii. 67. 2); *quidem certe* (vii. 50. 4).
8. Miscellaneous: *se* (iii. 8. 2; iv. 34. 2); *esse eius modi* (v. 27. 3); *quam in alienis* (ii. 10. 4); *rei publicæ atque imperatori* (iv. 25. 3); *quicquam esse* (iv. 16. 4); *ei* (v. 45. 2); *ipsi* (vii. 64. 3); *quisque eorum* (vii. 71. 2).

We may also mention the cases in which the preceding possessive is the separating word. In such case it either has practically enclitic force and is not emphatic, or its emphasis is at any rate subordinate to that of the preceding word. These then are cases of possessives preceding their nouns without being emphatic.

1. In an ablative absolute, between participle and noun: i. 24. 5; i. 40. 3; i. 42. 3; ii. 24. 4; vii. 4. 1; vii. 73. 1.
2. Between adjective and noun: *omnis* (i. 4. 2; i. 24. 4; vi. 10. 4; vi. 35. 8; vii. 16. 3; vii. 38. 2; vii. 38. 3); *tanto* (i. 35. 2); *primam* (i. 24. 5); *extremis* (ii. 25. 3); *superiores* (v. 29. 3); *magno* (iv. 28. 2); *tres* (vii. 47. 7).

It may occur to some to inquire whether the use of a preposition affects the position of the adjective in a phrase. There is no ground for such a thought, as the ratio of preceding to following possessives is about the same (two to one) in prepositional phrases and in the other possessive combinations.

When exact studies of word-order have been completed, much light will be thrown on textual problems. Even the above-mentioned results are of distinct service in settling some such difficulties. The manuscripts of Caesar are divided into two main groups, α and β . The problem in a given passage is to discover which group preserves the original reading. Of the two editions referred to below, Meusel's is the best edition with full critical apparatus and Holmes's is the latest independent edition.

1. In ii. 4. 2 α reads *intra fines suos*; β , Meusel and Holmes, *intra suos fines*. Holmes remarks that *suos* is emphasized; otherwise it would follow *fines*.

2. In ii. 9. 4 β has *partem copiarum suarum*; α , Meusel and Holmes, *partem suarum copiarum*. As there seems to be little reason for emphasis, I prefer the reading of β .

3. In iii. 12. 3 α and Holmes read *suis fortunis desperare*; β and Meusel, *desperare fortunis suis*. There seems to be no emphasis on *suis* and so the second reading is preferable.

4. In iv. 27. 7 α and Meusel read *suos remigrare in agros*; β and Holmes, *suos in agros remigrare*. The latter is preferable, because the use of such a "separator" as *remigrare* is unusual.

5. In v. 27. 10 Holmes and Meusel follow the β reading *per suos fines*; α omits *suos*. The word is necessary for the sake of clearness, but perhaps the order should be *per fines suos*, as emphasis is not necessary.

6. v. 44. 3 is a most interesting passage. The manuscript reading is meaningless: α has *tuae pro laude virtutis*, β , *pro laude virtutis tuae*. Schneider's excellent correction, *tuae probandae virtutis*, based on α , is generally accepted; but this introduces a type of separation unique in Caesar. Furthermore it puts an uncalled-for emphasis on *tuae*. The two objections are met by adapting Schneider's emendation to the β reading: *probandae virtutis tuae*.

7. In v. 45. 2 the manuscripts have *suamque ei fidem praestiterat*, but Paul suggests *summamque*. However *suamque* is correct, for the type of separation is exactly like that in iv. 25. 3, and further *suam* is very emphatic, contrasting the loyalty of the solitary Vertico with the revolt of all the other Nervii.

8. In vi. 7. 8, where α has *quid sui sit consili* (followed by Meusel and Holmes) and β has *quid sit sui consili*, the former, the more emphatic order, seems probable from the context.

9. In vii. 77. 1 α , Meusel and Holmes, read *de exitu suarum fortunarum*; β , *de exitu fortunarum suarum*. As there appears to be no occasion for emphasizing the possessive, the reading of β is preferable.

In looking over these passages it will be seen that in seven out of eight cases where α and β disagree the reading of the latter happened to be the one preferred. This result is of considerable interest. Scholars used to give a higher rating to α than β . Recent criticism has tended to reverse this, and Klotz has argued that the α group is descended from the β and has independent value only because certain readings were introduced into it from another source. Our data seem to confirm this in striking fashion. Possibly we should accept the β word-order in nearly all cases where it differs from that of α .

There remain several passages in which the manuscripts agree in putting the possessive before the noun, but in which it seems to me emphasis is impossible. They are: *suos principes* (iii. 8. 3); *sua civitate* (v. 25. 1); *nostri maiores* (vii. 77. 12). It may be that in late antiquity or the early Middle Ages, when the preceding position for possessives became the rule, the copyist of the archetype manuscript unconsciously changed the order in these and perhaps other passages.

The demonstrative is by nature an emphatic adjective and therefore regularly precedes the noun. It follows when there is a special emphasis on the noun. The latter order is usually a rhetorical one. The lack of rhetoric in Caesar is perhaps indicated by the fact that he has very few examples of such order. Walker gives four cases, as against 640 preceding. I have note of only two cases; possibly Walker includes two cases of *hic* which may be interpreted as predicate adjectives.¹ Curiously the two cases I have noted involve the same noun, *regionum earum* (iii. 8. 1; iv. 19. 3).² The number of examples of a following demonstrative

¹ Only *hic*, *iste*, *ille*, *is* have been considered by me.

² By some obscure connection or mere coincidence the β group of manuscripts has the reading *regionum harum* in ii. 4. 7. The α reading, *harum regionum*, is made certain by the contrast in the passage.

is larger in other authors. A. Fischer, in a thorough study of the demonstrative in various prose authors,¹ finds 451 cases of preceding to 12 of following *hic* (not counting cases of hyperbaton), 206 of preceding to 11 of following *is*, etc.

We saw that in Caesar the possessive is used 19 times as a mere "stop-gap" between a strong adjective and its noun. As there are about three times as many demonstratives as possessives preceding their nouns in Caesar, we might expect on the basis of relative numbers that about 55 demonstratives would act as "stop-gaps." Yet there are only 11. The reason is obvious. The demonstrative is a more emphatic word than the possessive, as we have already seen, and would less often take the very unemphatic position of a "stop-gap." Possessives served in this capacity six times in an ablative absolute, seven times between *omnis* and its noun, and six times between other adjectives and their nouns. It is interesting to note that in six cases where the demonstrative has this function the preceding word is the very strong *omnis* (ii. 34. 1; iii. 29. 1; iv. 4. 5; iv. 19. 4; vii. 4. 7; vii. 79. 2), in one it is *totus* (v. 16. 1), in one, *decem* (vii. 37. 7),² and in three others the intensified demonstrative *idem* (vi. 37. 1; vii. 23. 3; vii. 25. 3).

The lack of a possessive adjective of the third person forced the Romans to use the genitive of the demonstrative pronouns, especially of *is*. The question arises to what extent these forms came to be felt as possessive adjectives. It seems likely that to the unthinking *eius* was an adjective like *meus* and *tuus*, just as *cuius* is actually found as a declinable adjective. *Eius*, however, had a competitor which ousted it from favor in the popular speech. The reflexive *suus* developed into a mere possessive, as is shown by the Romance languages. Now the study of word-order serves to throw light on the possessive use of *eius*. Almost one-third of the possessives in Caesar follow their nouns, while practically none of the demonstratives follow. Which group do the pronouns *eius* and *eorum* most resemble in respect to position? They precede in about 115 instances and follow in about 43, figures which

¹ *Die Stellung der Demonstrationspronomina bei lat. Prosaikern*, 1908.

² The phrase is *decem illis milibus quae*. Possibly *illis* follows *decem* because it looks forward to the relative clause.

are strikingly like those of the possessives. Yet in looking over the actual instances one gets the impression that the possessives preceding their nouns are as a whole more emphatic than *eius* in this position. This means that *eius* is intermediate in force between the possessives and the demonstratives. Constant use of the emphatic position, as of other devices to secure emphasis, such as metaphor, superlatives, etc., tends to weaken the emphasis.¹

One textual matter may be touched on here. In vi. 30. 2 the editions adopt the reading of most of the manuscripts, *eius adventus*. But two manuscripts of the β group have *adventus eius*, and it seems to me that the contrast between *adventus* and *fama* makes this the necessary reading. Emphasis on *eius* is out of place.

The facts presented above reveal one phase of Caesar's style and are of use therefore in comparing his style with that of others. The collection of a large body of such facts should be of assistance in determining the authorship or authenticity of a work, or of the period of the author's life in which it was written. Even the data here given, slight as they are, serve to show the difference between Caesar and Hirtius, the author of the eighth book of the *Gallic War*. In the matter of separation of possessives there is a striking difference. In one case in Hirtius the separating word is a form of *sum* (29. 1), in one it is an infinitive (*committere*, 23. 2), in the other four it is a finite verb, alone or with other verbs (2. 1; 14. 2; 16. 2; 19. 2). There is only one example like this—and that a doubtful one—in all seven books of Caesar. Only about one-half as many possessives and demonstratives are separated from their nouns in Hirtius as in Caesar. Caesar does not put *ille* after its noun at all, Hirtius does it three times. In these cases it is best translated as "the above-mentioned." So in 34. 1 *fortunae illius* refers to the siege of Alesia, mentioned two lines previously and described in detail in the seventh book. In 38. 3 *sceleris illius* refers to the massacre at Cenabum hinted at in the context and described in vii. 3. 1. In 46. 6 *provinciae illius* refers to the Transalpine Province mentioned a few lines previously and, for the matter

¹ Jespersen, *Growth and Structure of the English Language*, p. 12, points out that the German trite phrase "dass weiss ich nicht" has *dass* in the emphatic position, but that the word is so weak that it is not translated in English, "I don't know."

in hand, in vii. 65. 1. In the position of *eius* there is a difference between Caesar and Hirtius. In the former it precedes two and one-half times as often as it follows, in the latter it precedes four times and follows fourteen times.

IV

In order to get some light on the so-called use of *ille* in the sense of "famous" I was led to study a considerable number of cases of *ille* in Cicero. There are two considerations which may in a given passage lead to the placing of *ille* after its noun: first, the noun may be unusually emphatic: *aut consules illos aut clarissimos viros* (*Phil.* 8. 15); secondly, the demonstrative may look ahead to an explanatory word or clause: *omnia istius aera, illa vetera* (*Verr.* 5. 33); *C. Catonis illius qui* (*Verr.* 4. 22); *P. Decius, ille Q. F. qui* (*Div.* 1. 51); also *Div.* 2. 77, 2. 14; *Cluent.* 25; *Deiot.* 31; *Phil.* 3. 16, etc. The demonstrative looking forward to a clause may of course precede the noun. Sometimes in the case of a name there is a compromise, and the demonstrative appears between the two parts of the name: *Q. ille Apronius quem* (*Verr.* 3. 22).

Naturally it is often difficult to decide whether a demonstrative is looking backward or forward when it is placed between noun and adjective or appositive. But in most cases, it seems to me, it looks forward. We may therefore consider this as a development of the preceding type. Good transitional examples are *Nico, ille nobilissimus pirata* (*Verr.* 5. 79) and *P. Africanus iterum consul, ille maior* (*harus.* 24). This has an important bearing on the interpretation of such examples as *Cato ille Sapiens* (*Div.* 1. 28; *Caecil.* 66), which are very common. I believe that here *ille* throws an emphasis on the following word, perhaps sufficiently indicated by capitalizing the English adjective: "Cato, the Wise." Other examples of this use with the cognomen *ex virtute* are *Q. Metello illi Numidico* (*Arch.* 6), *Piso ille Frugi* (*Tusc.* 3. 48; *Verr.* 3. 195), *Appius ille Caecus* (*Caecin.* 54; *Milo* 17). *Appium illum et senem et caecum* (*Phil.* 1. 11) connects the preceding examples with *M. Catonem illum senem* (*Arch.* 16). Similar in force are cases like *amici illi tui* (*Dom.* 49). To the same type belong the examples in which *ille* precedes the designation of origin. Therefore in *De orat.*

3. 194 *Antipater ille Sidonius* does not mean "the famous A. of Sidon" but "A. the Sidonian," as distinguished from the more famous Antipater of Tarsus. The Sidonian Antipater was comparatively unknown. Other examples are *Heracleides ille Temnites* (*Flacc.* 42), *Dionysius ille Heracleotes* (*Acad.* 2. 71). When it is desired to lay even more stress on the cognomen *ex virtute* or other adjective the order is reversed: *Frugi ille Piso* (*Fin.* 2. 90), *crudelissimus ille Phalaris* (*Repub.* 1. 44), *Magnus ille Alexander* (*Arch.* 24), *Numidici illius Metelli* (*Sest.* 130), *Sapienti illi Catoni* (*Leg.* 2. 5), *Heracleotes ille Dionysius* (*Fin.* 5. 94).

Even when *ille* follows its noun and there is no following adjective or clause it may be that a clause is suppressed. Thus *Africanus ille* possibly means "Africanus—you know whom I mean." In most cases, however, it is more reasonable to suppose that the noun precedes merely because it has the greater emphasis.

That brings us to the so-called use of *ille* in the sense of "that famous." It is stated by the handbooks that in this meaning *ille* follows its noun. This perplexed me for a long time, for it would seem that if *ille* means "that famous" it is surely emphatic and ought to precede. The translation is misleading. When Cicero calls Glaucia *Automedontem illum* (*Sex. Rosc.* 98), he is rhetorically setting off the name, not the pronoun. The idea of "famous" (or "infamous") is implied, not in *ille*, but in the name. The rule should be that when *ille* follows, so much emphasis is thrown on the noun that we may often add the word "famous" in translating. Other clear examples are *Medea illa* (*Pomp.* 22), *Crassi illi* (*Verr.* 2. 191), *barbati illis* (*Sest.* 19; *Cael.* 33). *Ille* may follow two or three words: *marmorea venus illa*, "the famous marble Venus" (*Verr.* 4. 135); or it may come between two parts of a name: *M. illi Catoni* (*Sulla* 23; cf. *Cael.* 34). At other times post-positive *ille* has merely its common meaning, "the above-mentioned": *Panurgium illum* (*Q. Rosc.* 31; cf. *Verr.* 2. 65). At times it is not possible to distinguish between "famous" and "above-mentioned": *Cupidinem illum* (*Verr.* 4. 13; cf. *Caecil.* 69). *Xenophon, Socraticus ille* (*de orat.* 2. 58) means "Xenophon, the famous Socratic." Similarly *Herculem Xenophontium illum* (*Fam.* v. 12. 3) means "Hercules, that is, Xenophon's famous representation of him."

THE EARLY CENTURIES OF *KULTUR*

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In our contemplation of the marvelous *Kulturdämmerung* of the last nine months, brought about by the heroic struggle of an outraged world, it may be of interest to trace the beginnings and development of those Germanic qualities which are connoted by the much-used word *Kultur*. The time was when *Kultur* was accepted as approximately synonymous with culture; but a study of the full fruition and amazing results of *Kultur* compels us to seek a definition anew.

We may venture, therefore, to define *Kultur* as the integration of individual and national energies for national and dynastic aggrandizement, relentlessly and unscrupulously employing to this end all the resources of contemporary knowledge, theoretical and practical, and postulating the exclusive and discriminatory favor of a God conceived as a magnified reflection of national characteristics.

A people with this attitude of mind inevitably develops until it becomes the victim of its own psychology; and this is now the lot of the German people.

It was no sudden turning from the path of normal civilized progress that brought about dire results for them, but a steady development along the same well-defined lines from the earliest times. This I shall hope to prove from German sources, admitting no testimony whatever from their enemies or from their victims. These sources are the Latin chronicles written in Germany by Germans from the tenth to the fifteenth century. I shall not attempt to present a consecutive narrative of the events of the period, but I shall quote from many of these chronicles almost at random—*carplim*, as Sallust puts it—showing the absolute unanimity of the testimony covering nearly every decade of these dis-

tressful centuries. The trail of German progress over the northern lands at this period is the trail of German progress over Belgium and Northern France today, and it is recorded by the writers of that day with gleeful enthusiasm and with pious gratitude to the same tribal *Gott* who has recently defaulted as junior partner in the Hohenzollern firm.

It is a curiously interesting fact that the unbroken march of officially organized *Kultur* to its tragic fall should have had its origin in a real and unselfish act of mercy. It was in 1189, when a terrible pestilence was sweeping through the ill-assorted and undisciplined rabble then besieging Acre in the Third Crusade, that certain German merchants who thus early had felt the *Drang nach Osten* came to the rescue. A MS of 1241 entitled *De primordiis Ordinis Theutonici narratio* tells us the story: "What time Acre was being besieged by the Christian army, and by divine aid liberated from the hands of the Infidels, certain men of the cities of Bremen and Lubeck, having the zeal of the Lord in the performance of works of mercy, under a happy omen established in the army a certain hospital made with the sail of a ship [that is, they simply spread a sail as a shelter from the burning sun] back in the cemetery of St. Nicholas within the lines of the mountain upon which the army sat in siege," and so on in great detail. They also apparently changed the channels of several small streams so as to give ample supply of fresh water. Their undertaking prospered. As was to be expected of the hectic fanaticism of the age, it soon took on a religious color. The superintendent and his assistant "laid aside secular garments" and took vows. Quick to perceive advantage, certain nobles undertook to endow the hospital, and on December 22, 1196, they obtained from Pope Celestin III a bull chartering in quaint and formal Latin the famous order of the Teutonic Knights, *Fratres Theutonice Domus*, along lines similar to the constitutions of the Templars and the Hospitalers; and the standard ordained for them was of the color of the banner of pirates, a massive black cross.

The order rapidly grew in power, and when the total collapse of the crusading movement forced the Knights to retire from Palestine, they carried their devastating religious zeal to the far North

against the heathen tribes of Prussia, Lithuania, and Esthonia in the dreary regions to the south and southeast of the Baltic.

What manner of men were these primitive Prussians whom their consecrated murderers proceeded so mercilessly to exterminate? Many interesting descriptions are given of them, inoffensive Balto-Slav and diluted Mongol tribes, whose life under their idolatrous religion stands out in sharp and favorable contrast to that of their most Christian destroyers. A series of Low German chronicles (*Niederdeutschen Chroniken*) gives us clear and positive information. Most important of these is the *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum* of Adam of Bremen (1045-72), the fourth book of which, "Descriptio insularum aquilonis," is the chief source of our knowledge of the Northland of his time. Of the Aland Islands he tells us: "These islands are full of the bloodiest pirates and robbers. For all whom others are wont to sell, they kill" (iv, 18). Those fortunate enough to escape from them after capture or shipwreck come, at the mainland, among the Pruzzi. "These," we read, "are most humane men. They go out of their way to aid those who are imperiled on the sea or who have been ill treated by the pirates." Yet in spite of their kindness they are held in haughty contempt by "our world." Adam explains: "Gold and silver they esteem as naught; but they have great quantities of imported hides," in which of course they clothed themselves. These hides seem to have been uncured and to have suffered seriously in transit. "The odor of these," continues Adam, "has infected our society with the deadly poison of snobbery, for rightly or wrongly we gasp at this rottenness."

The appearance of these primitive Prussians was of the oddest: "They are blue men, of ruddy countenance and with long hair" (for the blueness, cf. Caes. *B.G.* v. 14). For their curious habits of life and for their superstitions we turn to a somewhat later writer, Johannes Lascicius, *De Diis Samagitarum*. These Samagitae, he tells us, "are the ancient Prussians, and they are radically different from those Germans who inhabit Prussia today." Adam of Bremen represents his most ancient Prussians as getting drunk on mare's milk; with Lascicius we pass into the realm of beer. "Their drink," he writes, "is metheglin and beer. The latter is a concoc-

tion of water, grain, and wild hops, heated over night in vessels of bark by placing hot stones in them. The next day it is drunk." "They merrily award prizes to the heaviest drinkers, a tankard of metheglin, an undershirt, a pair of fur gloves, a towel, a handkerchief, or some other article of domestic use"; and he adds naively, "Those who have no beer drink water" (VII). A happy pastoral life is theirs, though under inclement skies. There is game aplenty: "They hunt the elk, the boar, the deer, the bird (of course the great capercaillie, king of the grouse), the squirrel, with spear, sling, or bow. They are surpassing fine archers" (IX). "Their men and women are devoted to honorable living; murder, theft, immorality, are most unusual among them. A girl attacks with drawn knife any man who makes to her an improper proposal. She walks abroad at night always with a torch and with two bells hanging from her belt, one at the front, the other at the back" (IX, X). All these virtues, however, are more than canceled to pharisaic eyes by the polytheism and idolatry of these unoffending heathen. Their gods are legion, each with his highly specialized function. There are gods beneficent and gods maleficent (XII). The most trivial object or act has its god or goddess. There is a god of the sun, a goddess of the evening, and a goddess of the night. Kremata is the god of hogs. Kurvvaiczin-Eraiczin looks after the interests of the smallest lambs. Ratainicza is the god of the horses, Walgina of the cattle. Kriksthos protects gravestones from harm. Every ailment, however trifling, has its healing god: Sebastianus, for instance, is worshiped in the plague, and Petronella cures headache (XVII).

Into all this freedom and peace and happiness came the *Fratres Theutonicae Domus*, like wolves on the fold, in 1205. The Scourge of God was merciful in comparison. Alberich (1241) summarizes ominously: "*De Pruthenis quoque paganis absque numero interfecerunt,*" and he then adds a few lines concerning some slightly more intelligent missionary labor. After the soil of the Prussian mind had been prepared by wholesale slaughter, Guilelmo, bishop of Modena—a non-German, though I have been unable to find whether he had allied himself with the Brothers—won many pagans to the faith, learned the language, and translated for them—ye gods!—the work of the grammarian Donatus!

Heinrich von Hervord, whose chronicle ends with the year 1355, gives us a glimpse of the motive of the missionary zeal displayed by these precious *fratres cruciferi*, and a heavy cross it proved to be for their victims. "The kingdom of the Poles [this then included Prussia] was destroyed and desolated. They slew the king in his own kingdom, in his own house; nay, they seized him in his own bed. They wasted and ravaged and ruined the whole kingdom with fire and sword. Cities, towns, castles, estates, lands, they seized and held for themselves as a possession forever by right of war"; and further on "They think they hold Prussia by full right, though the original possessors never to this day cease from their earnest desire to recover it." Have we known a "modern instance"?

The worm at last turned, as it was probably designed that it should. Provocation was even an easier task than Bismarck found it in 1870. The Thuringian *Chronicon Sampetrinum* relates: "The enemies of the Cross of Christ raided Prussia with four companies of cavalry. They killed thirteen brothers of the Teutonic House. They carried away with them Christian captives, cattle, and spoil. They burned some country-houses and many of their occupants." The vengeance for such turnings of the worm was swift and terrible. In the *Annals of Prague* (1196-1278) we read: "The Prince of Bohemia and the Margrave of Brandenburg entering Prussia laid it waste and despoiled it with fire and plunder. They slew many with every form of death, sparing neither sex nor age. The Spring of that year was all cold and windy and damp." The two items are equally commonplace to the chronicler, and the sparing of neither age nor sex is a constantly recurring motif throughout all the chronicles.

Such practical and conclusive demonstration of the power of Christianity sometimes brought results. The *Annals of Ottokar* (1254-78), in treating of this same year (1255), tell us: "Meanwhile the leaders of Prussia, moved, as we believe, by the fear of God and by the very sound of the name of the Prince of Bohemia, came in all humility to this Prince." Then follows an account of the ceremony at which each one of these consecrated murderers baptized a noble of the Prussians. This same event is related in almost the

same words by the *Przibico Chronicle*, written in 1374 and reaching to 1330. This chronicle also tells of a frightful raid of John of Brandenburg against the Prussias, of his murders, and of his captures, and adds: "After many magnificent deeds, for which Almighty God honored him above his fellows, he returned to his own." Abbot Peter, author of the *Chronicon aulae regiae*, in boasting of the same expedition, adds: "One of the nobles, a heathen, was killed who was ascertained to have been twelve feet in length." Length!—he was measured lying dead.

The *Breve chronicon Silesiae* (970-1410) glories in another occasion when "they led captive a vast multitude of women and children and treated them pitifully (*miserabiliter*, can this by any chance imply a feeling of sympathy?), for they debauched the women and maidens, and drove their spears through pregnant women with their unborn children, while of some they cut the throats." Contemplate this through the smoke of Liège and Louvain.

Little by little the harried lands were won and the gains consolidated by the building of castle fortresses. Raid after raid was made by the gentle Brothers, and failures are sometimes recorded. Even the failures were turned to account by the construction of fortresses at the limits of penetration in search or pursuit of the elusive foe. Thus Johannes Victoriensis tells us: "Ottokar marched against Prussia; but on account of the swamps, which in that year (1268) did not freeze, he marched back again. He built, however, a very strong fortress, which is called Mons Regis . . . and gave it over to the Teutonic Brotherhood." We have here the founding of Königsberg.

So much for the testimony of the miscellaneous minor chronicles. I use the word "minor" here solely in relation to the history of the Teutonic Knights, for some of these chronicles are of great importance along other lines.

The great authority for the period, however, is the voluminous chronicle of Peter of Dusburg, written in 1326 and covering the period from 1190 to the year of its composition. Its curious mingling of sober chronicle and utter credulity, of fairness and fanaticism, render it, in Horace Greeley's well-known phrase, mighty interesting reading; and at the same time in its perusal one

learns much of "Latin as she should not be writ." The great work is dedicated to Werner von Orseln, fourteenth Grand Master of the Teutonic Order. It consists of four books and a *supplementum*, of which three and the supplement are devoted to the doings of the Teutonic Knights. The first book treats of the founding of the order, the second of the coming of the Knights into Prussia; the third and the supplement tell of the conquest, and the fourth briefly narrates all the events, of which the chronicler has even heard rumors, which are supposed to have occurred in the known world during the period covered.

The chronicle characteristically opens with the words, *In nomine Domini, amen*, the keynote of the narrative.

Once upon a time a canny Scot, a "meenister" preaching interminably from the high box pulpit of a kirk of the olden time, spied a weary parishioner drowsing just beneath him. He dropped the ponderous Bible upon the nodding head, exclaiming, "Sandy, mon; an ye wull na hear the Word o' God, ye shall feel it." Verily, the teachings of that church militant which those fanatics brought to Prussia were of the sort that were felt. As has been said of certain other zealots, the Brothers of the Teutonic House, on reaching the bleak regions of their future home, "fell first on their knees and then upon the aborigines." There was, indeed, at first some missionary effort of a crude sort; but it is scarcely surprising that the Prussians failed to take kindly to an unknown God proclaimed to them in an unknown tongue. The Teutonic Brothers, however, held that if the wretched heathen did not understand the rude German dialect which gave point and direction to the still more foreign Latin formulas of the church, they ought to have understood it. "So obstinate were they," we read, "in their wickedness, that no admonitions to safety (a fine euphemism for dreadful threats) could win them from the error of their infidelity." One thing, however, there was about them *laudabile et multipliciter commendandum*, namely, that though "they were themselves infidels and worshipers of divers gods, they nevertheless kept the peace with their Christian neighbors, nor did they in any wise disturb them in their worship of the Living God" (II, 1). Pity that the Brothers failed to perceive the excellence of that virtue.

Peter proceeds: "But at this time the Enemy of the Human Race, the Hater of peace, spread discord" (II, 1). In plain terms, they were harried into open resistance to aggression. To meet this crisis, one Bishop Albert organized a subsidiary group of the Teutonic Knights, styling them the Soldier Brothers of Christ, with the avowed purpose now of dividing the lands of the Prussians between them (II, 3). In 1226 they obtained from Conrad of Poland the gift of the Prussian lands to the whole Teutonic Order—it is so easy to bestow the lands of others by royal warrant. This gift was confirmed four years later by the Pope (Gregory), and was accompanied by a grant of almost unlimited indulgences, which, as the sequel shows, would appear to have been sorely needed. The Brothers now had both political and religious warrant for their infamous campaigns of conquest. "Dimidium facti, qui bene cepit (coepit), habet," is Peter's worldly-wise comment anent this transaction.

Long and in minute detail is the account of the conquest contained in Book III, whose title is "De bellis Fratrum Theutonice Domus contra Pruthenos," the *contra* connoting the aggressive character of the cruel campaigns. There is vividly drawn for us a terrible picture of systematic cruelty, of murder and rape, of lands ravaged and despoiled, of populations deported and property carried away, of all rights trampled and crushed by the right that might deduces for itself from premises of self-interest, of falsity to promise and pledge, of claims to the particular aid and favor of an un pitying and prejudiced God, and of the grossest superstition. The crude science of the day was laid under contribution in the bloody cause. Propagandists and bribers plied their evil callings. Crime was enlisted in the service of an imagined Christ. The state, that is, the order, was supreme over the individual. In fine, *Kultur* strode forward upon its relentless pathway, entered upon even from the days of Ariovistus. Add to the story engines of steel, poison gas, and trinitrotoluol, interpret in terms of the aeroplane the winged devils that peopled the air, and one can well read the revolting tale into the grim years 1914-18.

After a quaint and amusing description of the ancient Prussians (III, 2), Peter thus lays down what might be termed the thesis of

his book: "So the Brothers utterly destroyed them by the aid of the Lord Jesus Christ, who is blessed unto ages of ages" (III, 3). "Gott mit uns" is merely an echo of this. The narrative is gory and somber to us, gleefully and smugly satisfying to the narrator, who weaves his tissue of blood, rapine, and superstition with trimmings of pious comment.

Peter himself shall tell us his tale. I shall observe only an approximate chronological order in making these extracts; they may rather be said to be selected topically, since it is not so much the course of the conquest as its character that I am trying to set forth.

The ferocity and completeness stand out conspicuously in many a general comment: for instance, "They harried the Prussians until they could not breathe" (III, 26). "And so the land of Nadrowia remains desolate to the present day"; "They burned absolutely everything that could be burned" (III, 38); "Vast numbers they slew, and the women and children they led away captive." Assertions like these are so numerous that they grow monotonous in their repetition. But let us pass from general to more particular comment.

One of the first tribal rulers systematically to oppose the invaders was Pippin of Pomerania. His castle of the swamps proved impregnable, but the German propaganda was successful, and treachery was prompt to act. Pippin was betrayed into the hands of the saintly cutthroats by his own brother-in-law, his second in command, *capitaneus*: "He, that he might escape death, led the Brothers thither with an army while the garrison lay drunken after a revel. Bursting violently in, they killed or captured all and reduced the castle to ashes." Pippin himself "the Brothers dragged away tied to the tail of a horse and hanged him to a tree" (III, 7). The Ancient Chronicle of Oliva gives a still more horrible account of the death of the unfortunate Pippin: "His abdomen they opened at the navel. They fastened the navel to a tree and compelled him by force to run around the tree until he was totally disembowelled." The writer's knowledge of anatomy is rudimentary, but the evidence of torturous cruelty is conclusive. The chronicle further comments that the revolting deed, whatever the actual details, was done *coöperante Deo*.

Not long after this a seeress of a Prussian tribe was won over and bribed to prophesy to her miserable dupes that they would win a great victory over the invaders if they went forth against them unarmed, trusting only in their gods. The deluded wretches fell into the trap, and we read: "The inspired Christians rushed upon them and slew them all, being without any defense" (III, 4).

Peter boasts of the commingling of craft and personal valor in the character of the Brothers; of one we read, "For he was Ulysses at heart, and in deeds no less than Hector" (III, 36). O heroes of Homer, receive our apologies! The high virtue of treachery is again lauded by Peter in his account of the capture of the castle of Partegal. It appears that a certain Prussian nobleman named Pomanda had, with an eye single to the main chance, become a convert. "At length Christ himself, by the grace of His Spirit, called Pomanda to take upon himself the task of faith" (III, 26). Pomanda returned to Partegal in the character of a fugitive and led the entire garrison into ambush to annihilation.

The various claims put forth by Peter of divine aid rendered to the destroying hosts of the Teutons sound with the ring of the Kaiser's own sanctimonious boastings. A few specimens will suffice: "That day they slew above five thousand; this accomplished, they returned to their homes lauding the Savior's mercy" (III, 11). "At length God Himself, who never fails those who trust in Him, sent to the Brothers help and victory from Heaven; so that, slaying all but a few, they captured and bound in chains a hundred and fifty women with their little children" (III, 36). On one occasion a defeated band of Prussians was fleeing to their ships which they had left at anchor near the scene of a frustrated raid: "Sed non sic, impii; non sic!" (III, 44) cries Peter triumphantly. A storm had scattered their ships, and they, very properly preferring death to capture by the Germans, rushed into the water and were drowned; "and so the Lord comforted His people." Of another campaign we read, "From this victory the Brothers, rendering thanks to God, returned with much enemy spoil, exulting in the Lord."

Their treaties were "scraps of paper." Once when a temporary truce was made with one of their most formidable opponents on the basis of an exchange of captives, Peter records that "the Brothers

returned all the captives who could be found" (III, 39). Need one wonder what had become of those who were beyond search? Upon another occasion the Brothers captured an aged noble who, on being put through the third degree, accepted the faith. He was given a banner to hang out from his manor house, which should protect him and his in case of raid. He left for home in great relief of spirit, but unfortunately for him "he was a little too slow, not knowing how impetuous the Teutons were in war." And when he reached his lands "he found his own and his people's houses burned, the members of his own and his people's households and his brother and all his kin slain" (III, 71). A certain Brother Volrad, who was called Volrad the Wonderful (as indeed he was), invited many Prussian nobles to a feast at one of his castles. "When they were intoxicated and began to mutter threats he slipped out and, barring the doors, he reduced to ashes both the nobles and the castle" (III, 88).

The mental attitude of these swashbuckling prototypes of the modern Junkers is of interest in the light of recent events: "There was a certain professional soldier, Heinrich by name, who robbed impartially all who passed by, clergy and laity alike, and cruelly maltreated them. . . . When it was asked of him why he had done so many and so great wrongs, he replied, 'Because no one prevented me nor forbade me'" (Suppl., 13). Yet such as he (and there were many) were the chosen agents of the Brothers in numberless savage undertakings.

Again we read, "Wonderful and unusual deeds were performed by the Christian robbers (*christiani latrunculi*)" (III, 193). It is strange that the absurdity of this paradoxical term did not occur to Peter himself, but he is in sober earnest. Especially conspicuous among these were a certain Martin de Golin and one Conrad the Devil—what must he have been to have merited that term in that age from that Order?—These were the most expert and enthusiastic highwaymen who ever prayed God's blessings on their nefarious ventures, and for their zeal against the infidels were favored of Him. A typical exploit of these two precious villains is as follows:

At this time a certain Lithuanian named Peluse, insulted by his chief, a great noble who was next in power to the king, went over to the Brothers. At

his request the commandant of Königsberg gave to him Martin de Golin and Conrad, nicknamed "the Devil," together with a fellow called Stovemele and twenty other daring men of ripe experience in robberies, that they should go with him in arms to avenge the injury done him. When they drew near the abode of the nobleman they discovered that nearly all of the surrounding chieftains had been invited there to a wedding; and while, by their usual custom, they all lay dead drunk in bed, the raiding party rushed upon them, and, besides the others, of whom there were many, they slew seventy chieftains along with the host himself. The bridegroom and the bride and the wives of the chieftains with their little children and retinues they carried off, and also a hundred horses with gold and silver and all the furniture of the house (III, 228).

Ferocious cruelty in reprisal was a fixed policy for purposes of terrorization and was a feature of their prison camps, forerunners of those of present ill fame, where groups of wretched hostages were always kept confined. Peter writes: "Not long after this some Prussians (apparently a band of freebooting marauders) attacked the castle of Helisbergk. . . . The besieged were forced by hunger to eat two hundred and fifty horses, hides and all." Peter naïvely adds, by the way, that the hides were so tough that several of the Brothers broke their teeth on them. At length the food gave out entirely, and the beleaguered Teutons succeeded in secretly escaping to the city of Elbing, where they put out the eyes of twelve Prussian youths who were there held as hostages, and sent them back to their parents (III, 94). At another siege a certain Brother Troppo was killed, to the noisy delight of the Prussian besiegers, to whom he had been a thorn in the flesh. "That their joy might be turned to sorrow and suffering, however, the Brothers hanged twenty hostages to a gallows before the castle gate" (III, 119).

Some interesting character sketches are given, both of some of the Brothers and of certain of the prominent nobles of the Prussians. In the early years of the conflict (1241) the great Pomeranian chief Swantepolk appeared on the scene to plague the Teutons for nearly twenty years. Campaigns were carried on with varying success by both sides; but at last iron discipline, organization, and equipment triumphed; and Swantepolk, now a weary old man, embraced the faith or, rather, allowed it to embrace him. No "before and after taking" testimonials present so startling a contrast as the characterizations of Swantepolk the sinner, by Peter of Dusburg, and of

Swantepolk the saint, by the Chronicle of Oliva. Peter styles him, "that perverse Duke of Pomerania, full of iniquity"; "Swantepolk, son of iniquity and child of perdition"; "Swantepolk had the cunning of the crafty fox," he asserts, apparently forgetting that he has pronounced this in a Brother to be a high virtue; "He cruelly slew aged Christians, leading their women and children into perpetual captivity"; and much in the same strain. But the Chronicle of Oliva reads as follows, after the Pomeranian chieftain had swallowed the bolus of ultra-violent religion forcibly thrust between his teeth, and had retired to end his days in a lonely, nostalgic peace in the monastery of Oliva itself: "Swantepolk was a warlike man and victorious against all his enemies. . . . He was a lover of God and of His servants. He was an ardent protector of widows and orphans." Then follow two poems singing the posthumous praises of the unfortunate convert in atrocious hexameters, whose quantity is as poor as their quality.

Superstition and miracles figure largely in the chronicler's philosophy. One story seems to have its application to present conditions. "There was a certain woman of holy life who dwelt in a convent. She, hearing a pack of devils running past her cell, called out to them and asked them where they were going. 'To Prussia,' they replied, 'there will be a great battle there tomorrow.' 'Will you tell me about it when you come back?' said she. And when they came back again they reported that 'all the souls whose bodies had there been killed had been saved, excepting three; for they had entered the war, not for religious reasons, but to try their military prowess'" (III, 92). This legend is respectfully recommended to the prayerful consideration of one W. Hohenzollern.

The various problems that face a victorious state then faced this victorious order, at that time developing into a state. Among these problems was that of repopulation, handled in a way not so very dissimilar to certain proposals of the present war:

When the Bishop of Culm saw his diocese despoiled of its men (for they were all killed), he enjoined upon their widows, by the remission of their sins, that they should marry their peasant workmen, lest the business of the faith in that place be wholly imperiled. Whence it happened that two women, while on their way to church, saw among others playing at dice [or dare I be

modern enough to render this "shooting crap"?] in the public square a particularly brave and handsome-looking peasant, though he was ill dressed. One of them quietly told her maid to take him home. The other woman, noticing this, slyly tipped off her maid to lure him to a public house and not to let him get away until she got back from church. This done, she decked him out handsomely in fine clothes and married him openly in the eye of the church. The first woman, when she found this out, was for a long time on decidedly bad terms with the second (III, 42).

The successful performance by women of the heavier tasks of men during our own dreadful war, when the frailer sex forgot its frailty and nobly made good in the most onerous forms of labor, is at least suggested by Peter: "A husky brute of a trooper of this heathen army was pursuing a Christian woman who had fled to the swamp; and when he was about to kill her, she, forgetting the frailty of her sex, resisted him manfully [*viriliter*]. Enraged at this, in the scuffle he bit off her thumb. Then she, really provoked to wrath, stuffed his mouth and ears with mud and actually strangled him."

William II piously exhorted his troops, during a punitive campaign in China, so to terrorize the Chinese rebels that they should tremble when they heard a German mentioned. The Gauls in the good old days of Caesar and Ariovistus dared not look a German in the eye. The Brothers also spread the terrors of their name:

There was a certain knight in the retinue of Swantepolk who so dreaded the Brothers of the Teutonic House that his bowels quivered when he heard their name mentioned. It happened that the leader once withdrew for relaxation to a country house and, to provoke merriment, he called some of his knights to him and said: "Let us send a messenger afield who shall come back in haste after the first course of our feast and say that the Brothers are coming with an army, and let us see how that cowardly Kamerad of ours behaves." It seemed a great joke to them, and a messenger was sent to carry out the trick. This was betrayed to the Brothers [what an efficient secret service they had!], and they had arrived near the country house when the messenger started. Seeing them coming he was amazed; and pale with terror, panting and waving his sword, he rushed back to Swantepolk and shrieked: "Rise up quickly and get away, for in very truth the Brothers are coming with an army." Those who had gotten up the trick laughed; but the scary knight, hearing the name of the Brothers, straightway jumped over the table and vanished. The messenger, repeating his words, confirmed them by an oath. Then, though the others kept on laughing, the leader slipped away with one attendant.

The pursuit was so close that Swantepolk narrowly escaped capture, his single attendant was killed, and the entire company massacred. (III, 49).

It may be urged that no cruelties exceptional to the age were practiced in the conquest of Prussia, since all mediaeval religious propagandists were cruel, fanatical, and superstitious, and therefore no case is made out against the German conquerors of the sub-Baltic lands. That such terrible acts were common in mediaeval times is readily admitted; but the argument for the steady, undeviating march of *Kultur* still holds true. The rulers, the militarists, and the Junkers of Germany have remained mediaeval unto this day, and *Kultur*, despite its employment of the developments and discoveries of applied science, is as mediaeval as the theory of divine right.

Finally we come to a powerful piece of corroborative evidence for the tortures and terrors of those centuries of suffering. When the tragedy of cruel oppression passes into folklore and liturgy, then indeed we know that men's souls have been ineffaceably branded with dread and horror. Lascicius, in his account of Livonian burial rites in the early fourteenth century, sheds an illuminating ray upon the German tyranny. "On such occasions," he writes, "the Livonians, who are ground down in harsh servitude by the Germans, place in array before their dead food, drink, and a bit of money, and mournfully chant, 'Pass, O wretched one, to a better world, where Germans no more shall rule you.'" (XV). This was their vision of heaven.

THE ORIGIN OF THE ROMAN FORUM¹

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In accounting for the existence of the Roman Forum writers of guidebooks are accustomed to take their stand upon the margin of the Capitol or the Palatine and exclaim: "How natural it was that this plot of ground, nestling among the hills, should have become a common meeting place for the surrounding villages!" This will suffice for tourists, perhaps, but students of topography, history, or religion will still have pertinent questions to ask. Others of more learning will try to account for the Forum as a suburb of the Palatine city, the oldest stage in the development of Rome; they will connect the name with *fores*, "doors," and propose that the Forum was "out of doors" to the Palatine city, to which one retorts with a stubborn objection that *fores* cannot be used of the gate of a city. Another may remind you that Varro connects *forum* with *fero* and declares it to be the place where people "carry" what they have to sell. This, if true, would lend a ray of light, but a very slender ray. Professor Pais, in the chapter on "The Earliest Topography of Rome" in his *Ancient Legends of Roman History*, puts forward the view that the Janus gate was originally located at the foot of the Velia and was moved to its known site on the east side of the Forum with the extension of the boundaries of the Septimontium. To this the student of religion retorts with the words of Ovid *Fasti* i. 257:

Cum tot sint Iani, cur stas sacratus in uno,
Hic ubi iuncta foris templa duobus habes?

He will insist that the Janus entrance to the Forum can never have been a city gate, even if Varro makes mention of a Porta Ianualis, for the well-known reason that the Janus gate bore a religious character and the gates of a city are specifically stated to be profane

¹ Read at the meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in New York, December 28, 1918.

according to the rites of foundation; to be specific, the ritual plow is lifted over the space of the gateway and the pomerium is interrupted. Moreover, it is unlikely or impossible on strategic grounds that a city wall should have traversed the low-lying site of the Janus gate. Therefore his hypothesis leaves us still in the dark about the origin of the Forum and the explanation of the Janus entrance.

Moreover, the assumption that the Forum was the oldest place of assembly and business in the ancient city is quite incongruous with many traditions. Professor Pais has done us the service of pointing out in the chapter above referred to that the Cermalus on the Palatine and the Comitium on the margin of the Quirinal seem to have been the primitive centers of Roman life. The space occupied by the Forum was available at a later time for public use only because it was naturally so swampy as to be previously unfit for private use. Tarquinius Priscus built the cloaca and laid the pavement, and this was manifestly a work of reclamation. There were no very ancient monuments in the Forum. The stories clustering about the Lacus Curtius only confirm the assumption that the land was unusable. It was in the Comitium that tradition placed the Ficus Ruminalis, the Mundus, the stone lion of Faustulus, and the Lapis Niger or so-called tomb of Romulus. It was here that the story of Attus Naevius with the miracles of the whetstone and the fig tree was localized. With the Comitium the Carcer was orientated, also the oldest Curia. It was here that the oldest basilica, the *Basilica Porcia*, was built. Here were formerly the seats of the tribunes and the tribunal of the praetor. The Comitium, we know, was also a place of business, since four shops were said to have been destroyed to make room for the first basilica (Livy xxxix. 44).

In this question of the Forum and Comitium one must also be diligently on his guard against the error of concluding that one was part of the other. An incontrovertible decision may perhaps be impossible at the present time, but the evidence certainly points to a definite separation of the two areas down till the extensive alterations of the Augustan age. The suggestion might be put forward in the meantime that the Comitium as a place of assembly developed out of a threshing floor that dated from a time more

remote than anything in the Forum. It is commonly held that the theater of Dionysus at Athens had such an origin, which is probably true of many another theater in Greek lands. At Rome there must have been many a threshing floor at one time along the margins of the hills, and the site of the Comitium certainly meets the requirements. It is protected from violent north winds by the ridge of the Quirinal and the Capitol, while moderate breezes from the west or southwest were almost sure to be creeping along the neighboring valleys. As at Athens in the theater of Dionysus, the outer margin of the floor was likely to be carried on a substruction. At any rate the Graecostasis, which was situated at one end of the rostra, was a *locus substructus*, and the front of the rostra itself, as it appears upon coins, was for some reason rounded. However this may be, the Comitium figured in the imaginations of the Roman citizens as the center of the most ancient public life.

For the original signification of the word *forum* it is probable that we must revert to those times when the Roman still dwelt upon the land and all the farm buildings for men and animals alike were contained in a spacious walled compound protected almost as securely as a military camp. Even in the later days of absentee landlords this camplike farmstead still survived in full vigor, and Varro describes it with adequate precision (*Res Rusticae* i. 4). By what term the area within the wall, so far as it was not covered by the buildings, was denoted we are not told, but we suspect that this was the *forum*. It was "out of doors" to the inhabitants of the villa and may well have been connected with *fores*, "doors." The part of the burial plot not covered by the tomb bore the name *forum* (Cic. *Leg.* ii. 24. 61). Moreover, Varro speaks of a *forum vinarium*, which seems to denote a space by the wine press where the gathered grapes were deposited (*R.R.* i. 54. 2); now this designative epithet, *vinarium*, may fairly be taken to imply that the whole space within the wall of the farmstead was the *forum*, just as in Rome itself the *forum boarium*, for example, would justify us in presuming the existence of the older urban *forum*. In other words, the *forum*, we should infer, was a courtyard.

If the Roman Forum was once a courtyard and private property, it can only have been the courtyard of the royal residence and the

property of the kings. Fortunately we know beyond all doubt that the residential section of Rome in kingly times was situated on the Velia and Sacra Via, just south of the Forum. Here were the houses of Ancus Martius and Tarquinius Superbus (Solinus i. 22; Pliny *N.H.* xxxiv. 13). The house of Valerius Publicola, it will be recalled, which he had begun to erect on the site of the residence of Tullus Hostilius, was moved from the summit of the Velia to the foot of it that he might avoid the suspicion of aiming at the kingship (Cic. *De Republica* ii. 53). Moreover, the sanctuaries of the Lares and Penates, which with good reason may be considered to have been parts of one or another of the royal residences, were likewise on the Velia. If further evidence were needed we have the *Atrium Vestae*, the round temple, and the *regia*, all of known location and connected in the traditions with Numa. We see, therefore, that the Forum was properly situated to constitute the courtyard and at the same time it seems inconceivable that there should have been no courtyard.

To round out the chapter one must speak of Janus, whose religious character was a mystery even in the days of Ovid, and here again we must return to the country residence of primitive times. Warde Fowler, in his *Roman Festivals*, accepts the idea that Janus was the house door and the spirit that guarded it, but Janus goes back to an antiquity far more remote than the Roman town house with a door opening upon the street. Janus was the entrance to the farm compound and the divine gatekeeper of the villa. He was the guardian of the single means of exit and entrance to and from the primitive household. "*Vilici proximum ianuam*," writes Varro, "*cellam esse oportet eumque scire, qui introeat aut exeat noctu quidve ferat, praesertim si ostiarius est nemo*" (*R.R.* i. 13. 2). Columella (i. 6. 6) is equally illuminating: "*Vilico iuxta ianuam fiat habitatio*." From this we infer most unmistakably that the farm-compound had only a single entrance and exit and that this was guarded. No servant could make his way out with a little pig or a chicken under his coat. No thief might make his way in. The watcher must never show the back of his head; in other words, he must be *biceps*. "*Frons occipitio prior est*,"

is a rustic proverb (Cato *De Agric.* 4): "Better show your face than the back of your head." Janus had eyes in the back of his head.

Our suggestion is that the Janus of the Forum was at one time the entrance to the royal courtyard, just as Janus of the villa was the entrance to the farm compound, and just as every load of hay or grain on its way to or from the barns, as every flock of sheep or goats or drove of hogs on their way to or from the pasture, and as everyone for whom the gate must be opened at night must pass the scrutiny of the gatekeeper, so there was a time in the history of the city when all the traffic of the court was required to traverse the Janus gate. Moreover, it is hardly likely that the Forum was a philanthropic institution, since even kings must live and usually at the expense of others. The Forum was a royal market and one must, in his imagination, bring back to this site the cattle market, the vegetable market, and the fish market, which were relegated in republican times to other parts as the political and judicial activities of the narrow Comitium overflowed into the more spacious area between the Capitol and the Velia. At the Janus gate the market fees must have been collected. Hence the money changers near by. Before the Temple of Saturn was erected the Janus Temple must have been a war treasury. Hence the bolts and bars and the opening only in time of war. Customs remain, it will be remembered, and reasons are forgotten.

The history of the Forum, as a matter of fact, opens up the interesting chapter regarding what the kings did for Rome. There is reason to believe that they, and the Tarquins in particular, in conjunction with the foreign merchants and artisans, taught the rustic Roman the pleasure and profit of city life, a lure he always resisted and usually embraced. What is the meaning of the ship's beak on old Roman coins? In later times, of course, it was told to children that Janus came to Italy in a ship, but this may surely be left among children's tales. There is an old British coin with a figure of a ship in full sail, and underneath is the inscription "Ships, Colonies, and Commerce." May this ship's beak on the Janus coins, for example, not signify that Rome was an emporium? Where else than in the *tabernae* built by one of the Tarquins on either side of the Forum

would you have bought your foreign wares? There must have been found the linens and purples that made the Roman feel self-conscious in Italian homespun; there the Tarentine wool that made the native article look and feel like sackcloth; there the oriental jewelry and the silver saltcellars that caused such worry to the senate. "Come along," we might imagine them saying, "and have a good time. Never mind the market-day dust, *nundinalis pulvis*. If you like imported wines you'll find the best brands from the Greek isles at the end of the Forum next the royal palace in the *tabernae* that the king has built. If you prefer a cheaper article you will find it in the Subura outside the Janus entrance; there you will find, too, fair company waiting to help you spend the money you have received for your lambs; they will drink with you and make music while you dance a tipsy three-step on the hated earth, and at last dispatch you homeward, drunk but happy, with no chunks of copper in your foolish fist." It must have been here that the vendor of "hot dogs" flourished, *nundinalis cocus*, another name for a scoundrel, *fur trifurcifer*, as Plautus hits him off in a clever pun (*Aul.* ii. 4. 45).

If anyone believes that Rome was merely the result of a fortunate geographical position and the Forum nothing but a casual evolution from an informal place of meeting, we suspect that he goes fundamentally astray. It is more likely that Rome was a "boom town" and made itself prosperous by advertising. When the kings built the cloaca and paved the Forum and erected the *tabernae*, they were looking out for more business and they went out to get it. The Roman farmer was a hard customer to handle and the prejudice against the town never forsook him, but he had his weaknesses and the proprietors of the Forum knew it. Take, for example, the sacrifice of the fat sheep on market days, which took place before the flaminica (*Macr.* i. 16. 30) in the Regia. From Festus (p. 186 Müll.) we learn that three sheep, no doubt the fattest and handsomest, were brought before the aedile, who was market clerk, and the best of the three chosen, whence *optimus*, "first choice," from *optare*, as our author would have it. The meaning of this, in modern terms, can only be that the market was to be a fat-stock show, and the well-known weakness of the Roman farmer for fine farm animals

was used to bring him to market. Religion was a weakness of his, and who can doubt that he grew rather more religious when he found himself by prudent care or happy chance the lucky possessor of a strain of snow-white sheep or bullocks with not so much as a black spot on the roofs of their mouths, or, it may be, on the other hand, as black as pitch all over? Such a man would be ready to believe both in the gods above and the gods below, for who can doubt that fancy animals brought fancy prices? Even Numa, we suspect, grave old deacon that he was, may not have been too lofty on festal days to see the profit of market days. He certainly instituted plenty of sacrifices, and sacrifices meant high prices for fine victims, larger crowds at the market, and more business for Roman merchants. Even funerals were turned to account, and the rustic was tempted to town to see the games, fully aware that he must slip a lamb or a calf over his shoulder, or more probably around his neck, to sell in the market as the price of his fun. Judging from the Roman calendars it seems certain that someone had set out to furnish a continuous performance. Who does not recall the story of the rape of the Sabine women and the crowd that Romulus enticed to the city by means of the circus? Whether the citizens won brides for themselves or not in this informal way is beside the question. The feature of the incident to be particularly noted is the presence of the women. When did a woman come to town that she did not have shopping to do? It was not the show that she cared for so much as it was the shops in the Forum. Did not her neighbors have silver saltcellars, and was she not as good as her neighbors? Was she to go on digging her fingers for salt into an old seashell when plenty of lambs fit for the market were scampering about the door and forever getting under her feet? Silver saltcellars she wanted and silver saltcellars she was going to have, even if Gaius had to sell his fatted calf. Therefore to the shops in the Forum she would go.

Someone in Rome must have realized how it paid to subsidize the shows. When rich republicans in later times would take advantage of the death of a relative to furnish the people with a splendid holiday, not without an eye for future elections, we suspect they were only keeping up a royal tradition that had formerly

encouraged such institutions both for commercial and political advantage.

To picture to one's mind this old royal Forum extending all the way from the altar of Saturnus to the establishment of Numa and the Vestals with the nearby fountain of Juturna, the namesake of Saturnus, the patron and patroness of the ancient market, one must think away the temples and basilicas of known date. All around the area must have run a wall with the double entrance of Janus on the eastern side—was one arch marked "This way in" and the other "This way out"?—and the little temple of the same with its "hundred bars of brass and everlasting strength of steel," but containing nothing more formidable than the war treasure of the king. The Lacus Curtius would be there, of course, for the citizens were exceedingly superstitious and loved to see mementos of their famous families, and, in plain view to the right as one faced the hill, the Comitium with a busy life of its own, and above it the Senaculum, a quiet retreat where the old men might escape from the crush and "swap stories" of the great things they had done in the good old days. Looking toward the hill itself, shortly to be called the Capitol, our view is unobstructed by the towering ugliness of the Tabularium, and, on the summit, in place of the gilded magnificence of Jupiter, rise the intermingled boughs of oak and ilex.

Aurea nunc, olim silvestribus horrida dumis;
iam tum religio pavidos terrebat agrestis
dira loci, iam tum silvam saxumque tremebant.

However these details may have been, we return to our main thesis and state it as a syllogism: Janus was the sacred guardian of private property. Janus in the Forum had a religious character. Therefore the Forum was once private property. If it was private property, then it was the royal courtyard.

A CONNECTICUT MEETING

BY JOSIAH BRIDGE

Westminster School, Simsbury, Connecticut

After a state section of a classical association has built its program for a series of years about a central principle it may be worth while to make a fuller report than usual of one of its meetings.

At its annual meeting in 1914 the Connecticut section of the Classical Association of New England recorded its conviction that the opportunity for studying Greek should be given in every high school in the state, and requested its officers to do what they could to secure this result. As these resolutions have never been modified by this section, the committee each year since has felt under orders to center its program about the study of Greek in high schools. The annual meeting this year was at the Choate School, at Wallingford. The social side of our Connecticut meetings has always proved a great attraction. This year the headmaster of Choate, Mr. St. John, by the open hospitality of his buildings, his cordial words of greeting, his luncheon at the school, and his after-luncheon reception and smoker effectively enhanced the happiness of the meeting. But this report, for the sake of brevity, must largely confine itself to the three main papers of the program—a paper by the principal of one of the large high-schools of the state, in which school Greek is not studied; and the address of a Princeton professor of English and that of a Greek professor from a woman's college in Massachusetts.

Mr. Slade, principal of the New Britain High School, said that when so many voices in the educational world were pleading for liberal education without Latin, he welcomed the opportunity to speak about Latin from the viewpoint of the administration of a public high school.

The aim of a public high school should be, first, to attract and hold all in the community between the ages of fourteen and eighteen; secondly, to provide these youths with appropriate, wholesome, and

uplifting life-experiences; and thirdly, to direct their thought and practice toward a *definite* and ever-increasing service.

To a small group of pupils who are preparing for college, Latin is prescribed. The principal's task here is comparatively simple—to produce results satisfactory to the college.

To a second preparatory group Latin is not prescribed but may be chosen. If a pupil in this group has in the elementary school shown considerable aptitude for technical English grammar, he should be advised to elect Latin, otherwise not.

The great majority remains. A large group of these cannot be attracted and held if Latin is required. For this group Latin is out of the question.

There remains a large number who will accept the course advised by the principal. For them the choice of Latin should be tested by the second and third provision in our definition of aims. To provide appropriate experiences and equip for service we must be chiefly concerned to guide the pupil in interpreting his environment and in ordering his life so as best to serve his generation. As the environment includes antecedent life, should not the student study, as a means of interpretation, the language of that great empire which at the beginning of the Christian Era had united the world? This method is too indirect for the secondary-school pupil who is not preparing for college.

As training for service, however, and for giving accuracy and resourcefulness in the use of English and Romance languages Latin is a great help. A two years' course in Latin for all high-school pupils who have shown an aptitude for technical grammar is desirable; and this course should be extended to four years for those who find in Latin an inspiration and an avenue to valuable community activities.

Furthermore, that the subject is so well taught and that the character of its champions is so strong are sufficient reasons for retaining Latin until something surely better can be put in its place.

This paper provoked a warm but sympathetic discussion. Professor Hendrickson, of Yale, favored the suggested solution of our Latin problem by differentiation. For a majority of high-school pupils Latin is not the best subject, and we suffer from

making some take Latin. For another class there should be a strong four-year course. Still another might take vocational Latin. At any rate, the solution lies in differentiation.

Mr. Coffin, of the Hartford High School, pleaded for the patient. How many pupils know whether they are going to college at the start? The average high-school pupil has no home guidance. Many parents think that by some magic obtained from schooling their children will be freed from their drudgery. From his own experience he maintained that more pupils should be rescued from the uneducative vocational course to which the materialism of the times is condemning them, and should be led to a richer intellectual life.

Professor Heidel, of Wesleyan, backed Mr. Coffin's experience and maintained that differentiation is necessary, but that one should beware of water-tight compartments. Pre-existing classes, as we judge them, may be far different from pre-existing classes from the viewpoint of eternity. Do teachers realize how they may help the community by inspiring to real scholarship? An interested public is needed. To get this we need missionaries.

Further discussion was precluded from the necessity to allow full time to the next speaker, Professor Osgood, of Princeton, whose subject was "The Battle of the Books."

If it seem strange that a teacher of English should address teachers of the ancient classics on the precarious situation of Latin and Greek, it only proves that the old estrangement between modern and classical humanists still survives—the old quarrel of ancients and moderns, the battle of the books. The students and teachers of the classics regard the teachers of modern literature, especially English, as superficial, upstart charlatans. The moderns disparage the ancients as effete, pedantic, isolated. While there is truth in both charges, they are each at fault in seeing only the defects of the other, and not the virtues.

Time spent in idealizing and defending the classics is lost. At present it is not merely a question of what is to become of the classics. The whole cause of humanism, ancient and modern, is at stake and is indeed lost if the battle of the books goes on. A complete reconciliation is necessary. The teachers of modern literature need the virtues of classical scholarship; and, without regaining the virtues of the moderns, the classics are doomed. Our cause is common, our ideals must be identical. We moderns must acquire the standards and sobriety of classical scholars; and teachers of the classics need the enthusiasm and freedom of the moderns. They need rehumanizing.

The alliance of ancients and moderns must be profound and permanent, deeper than mere organization or conferences can make it. A change of heart is necessary. The teachers of classics, as a corrective of their conservatism, should study again those periods of history in which revival of classical studies has gone hand in hand with political, intellectual, and spiritual reform. They must work out a right use of translations. They must have more faith in their own subject. They must study the ways in which esoteric truth has reached the multitude. They must give courses and follow studies that unite ancient with modern and reveal the power of the classics working through the ages. They must humanize all their teaching by joining it with the pupils' experience. They must study the great humanists of history. They must recruit their ranks only with men capable of humanizing their teaching. Such ideals have already been realized in certain American teachers of the classics. Finally they must renounce their Alexandrianism and take their doctrine from the *Phaedrus* of Plato, which is the teacher's book."

Mr. Osgood prefaced his paper with the statement that he came with a proposal of marriage. Unappreciative indeed must we classicists be, with our inheritance of the eternal spirit of youth to reject such a winsome helpmate.

Professor Caverno, of Smith College, started the afternoon program. Her address, entitled "An Aristocracy of Learning," had reference to democracy and high-school Greek. North's translation has made Plutarch more influential than any other classic author. Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* uses the very words of North. But North's translation came, not from the Greek, but from the French of Amyot. Shakespeare, North, and Amyot belong to a real aristocracy of learning. We are told today that Greek belongs to an aristocracy of learning and is intended only for the few. Therefore it should be relegated to the colleges and private schools. The statement is sweet to the mouth but bitter elsewhere. As for relegating Greek to the colleges, the churches are not maintained by eleventh-hour Christians. Let us abjure as un-American any talk of classes. The real question is, "Is it going to be better for the Poles, say, to have Greek taken from the public schools?"

Who then are the few? North's claim for admission might be granted him by birthright. Shakespeare's is more questionable. But Amyot, from whom Shakespeare through North drew, was the son of pitifully poor French peasants, and therefore, according to

our present-day segregation advocates, should have been taught agriculture. There can be, however, no true democracy on the basis of such segregation. There are some people whose standard of culture requires that their children be taught Greek. By removing these children from the public schools you deprive their mates of a desirable cultural influence. Give all the children a brief period of this democratic association. You cannot tell where minds are coming from; and before you warn the children that, in the case of Greek, they must not taste, see, nor smell the accursed thing, remember that something is the matter with the human race, whereby, for example, they extract from butter fats something they cannot get from synthetic fats.

The meeting concluded with a discussion of the classics in war time and after, opened from the college viewpoint by Professor Hubbell, of Yale, and by Mr. Coffin from the viewpoint of the public schools. This discussion was illuminated by the same hopefulness displayed in the three addresses above recorded.

Each of these three addresses has direct bearing on the judgment rendered by the section in 1914, that the opportunity for studying Greek should be given in every high school. Mr. Slade's verdict that "we must be chiefly concerned to guide the pupil in interpreting his environment" was made with due recognition of the fact that the school is partly responsible for the limitations of that environment. How grave the responsibility to exclude from that environment the direct influence of those who certainly, during one great act of the world-drama, were the protagonists in the warfare of democracy against autocracy, of the eternal champions of true spiritual valuations of life! Professor Caverno's warning of the loss to democracy from the banishment of Greek from public schools and Professor Osgood's challenge to united, aggressive advance, re-enforced the resolution to fight for the best in this period of reconstruction now upon us. Cannot our classical associations more effectively help extend to American children in the public schools "the inspiration to creative action which always comes from an understanding of Athenian literature?"

Notes

[Contributions in the form of notes or discussions should be sent to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY AND THE LOST BOOKS OF LIVY

In his article on "Julius Caesar in the English Chronicles" (*Classical Journal* XIV [February, 1919], 281) Professor F. S. Dunn remarks, "He [*sc.*, William of Malmesbury] cites Livy as authority that Caesar 'had but five cohorts when he began the Civil War, with which he attacked the world.' No such statement is now to be found in the epitomes, which is proof, by the way, that portions now lost of Livy's *Annals* were still extant in Malmesbury's time." Mr. Dunn's *obiter dictum* is quite without foundation. William took his statement straight from Orosius, who says, "Caesar Rubicone flumine transmeato, mox ut Ariminum uenit, quinque cohortes, quas tunc solas habebat, cum quibus, ut ait Liuius, orbem terrarum adortus est, quid facto opus esset, edocuit" (*adv. Pag.* vi. 15. 3). The reckless inaccuracy (to call it by no worse name) that characterizes Orosius in the use of his authorities makes it uncertain whether the now lost books of Livy were known even to him. He may have given a false attribution to the statement. At best he may have quoted it second hand. Orosius, being an ardent Christian, was the main source for mediaeval chroniclers of their knowledge of Roman history—more's the pity.

E. T. M.

HAS EDWARD MEYER EVER READ THE *ILIAD*?

In the *Hermes* for July, 1918, Edward Meyer, the famous historian, has an article which aims to prove that in the time of Plato the poems of the epic cycle were commonly referred to by the name Homer, the proof for which is found in these words: "Wenn bei Plato der Rhapsode Ion immer wieder betont, dass ihn nur Homer innerlich packt und er sich nur mit diesem beschäftigen, und dann Sokrates unter seiner Zustimmung davon redet, welche Wirkung er erziele, wenn er den Feigmord des Odysseus vortrage ἡ καὶ τῶν περὶ Ἀνδρομάχην ἑλευνῶν τι ἢ περὶ Ἑκάβην ἢ περὶ Πριάμῳ, so hat offenbar auch Plato noch die *Persis* als homerisch and als zur *Ilias* gehörig anerkannt." ["The rhapsode in Plato's *Ion* constantly stresses the fact that Homer alone really grips him and that he has interest in no other poet than Homer, and then Socrates asks him 'what his aim is when he represents the death of the suitors, or the woes and lamentations of Andromache, Hecabe, or Priam,' hence it is evident that Plato regarded the *Persis* as Homeric and belonging to the *Iliad*."]]

Anyone who has ever read the scenes in which Andromache bewails the death of Hector, the appeals of Priam and Hecabe from the walls of Troy, and the lamentations which play so great and so sad a part in the last book of the *Iliad* will agree with me that the author of the foregoing sentence must be ignorant of the contents of the *Iliad*.

JOHN A. SCOTT

A GRAMMAR-SCHOOL COURSE IN CLASSICS OF ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

Miss Florence A. Gragg, in the *Classical Journal* for January, 1919, has admirably and interestingly outlined the content and value of some of the old Colloquies, especially those of Corderius and Vives. Of the Colloquies of Corderius she says (p. 218), "They became exceedingly popular. . . . They were used in England well into the nineteenth century."

As showing the popularity of the Colloquies and also as indicating the tendency of the best schools in America to follow English programs an extract may be quoted from an action of the Board of Trustees of Hampden-Sidney College in Virginia, the second college organized in the South. This action was taken shortly after one of its former presidents, John Blair Smith, had gone to be president of Union College, New York, and another, Archibald Alexander, had founded Princeton Theological Seminary. On May 29, 1812, a committee brought in a report to revise the laws and regulations of the College in part as follows:

1. All the students at the College shall be arranged into five divisions, to be denominated the Grammar School, the Freshman, Sophomore, Junior, and Senior classes.

2. Every student in the Grammar School shall read the whole of Corderius' Colloquies; 3 dialogues in Erasmus; *Selectae e veteris*, part 1st; the whole of *Selectae e profanis*; Mair's *Introduction*; Caesar's *Commentaries*, 6 books of the Gallic, and 2 of the Civil War; such parts of the *Roman Antiquities* as shall be prescribed by the President; the whole of Sallust; Virgil to the end of the 6th *Aeneid*; Horace (the indelicate parts excepted); commit the Greek Grammar; and read in Greek Testament St. John's Gospel, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistle to the Romans, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and 33 dialogues of Lucian.

He shall then enter the Freshman class.

This is quite a full, if to some extent an unbalanced, ration for a grammar-school pupil.

W. H. WHITING, JR.

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MISALLIANCES ON THE ANCIENT AND MODERN STAGE

In Athens during the period of her greatness in drama women were kept in almost oriental seclusion. In consequence the gilded youth seldom were able to have romantic relations with young women of their own station, and

their *affaires d'amour* were generally confined to girls whose social status at least for the time being did not stand in the way of unconventionality of conduct. Greek comedy, being a mirror of contemporaneous manners, illustrates this situation in almost every piece, particularly during the period of the New Comedy. But the dénouement would normally require legal wedlock between the lovers; and inasmuch as the poets were not endeavoring to undermine the social structure of their times, lawful marriage between free-born Athenian youth and women of this type, even when their moral character had been more or less successfully protected, was almost unthinkable until the latter were shown to be socially worthy of their lovers. Such a development recurs with almost monotonous iteration in the plays of the New Comedy. By some whirligig of fortune the girls are almost always found to be not merely suitable but in some cases the most suitable brides for their sweethearts. Thus, in Terence's *Andria* his wealth has emboldened Chremes to address himself to Simo and offer his daughter and a handsome dowry to the latter's son. The match is in every particular an admirable one and is promptly accepted, but unfortunately Pamphilus' affections are already enlisted elsewhere. In the outcome, however, the object of his affections is shown to be another daughter of the self-same Chremes, who had been shipwrecked with her uncle many years before and whose fate had remained a mystery until the present hour. Practically the same situation obtains in no less than four of Terence's six plays.¹ Thus the playwrights were enabled to gratify the predilections of their youthful heroes without offending the social susceptibilities of their audiences.

It is interesting to observe a similar yielding to present-day opinion on the part of contemporaneous dramatists. There is now playing at the Astor Theater in New York City a comedy-drama by Messrs. Samuel Shipman and John B. Hymer, entitled *East Is West*. In this play a young American, traveling on the Yangtse River with a party of tourists, rescues a fair Chinese maiden who is about to be sold into a fate worse than death. It is inevitable, on the stage, that the two are meant for each other, but it is equally apparent that no sane dramatist could offend an American audience so flagrantly as to end a play with such a miscegenetic union. Accordingly, in the finale Ming Toy is shown to be the daughter of an American missionary from whom she had been stolen in infancy by her supposed father! *East Is West* is said to possess no great claim to immortality, but it is at least valuable as exhibiting the same kind of adaptation to the social prejudices of the audience as the ancient playwrights considered it advisable to employ.

ROY C. FLICKINGER

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¹ A fuller discussion of this situation may be found in my *The Greek Theater and Its Drama* (1918), pp. 277-79.

LOWELL AND THE CLASSICS

The centenary of the birth of James Russell Lowell is a fitting time to consider his attitude toward the classics and their place in modern education.

Lowell's classical training bore rich fruit in his writings. To use his own words concerning the best modern writers in general, they are "steeped in and saturated with Greek literature." All the way from brief allusions to extended discussions, the classical influence is well marked. Greek he recognizes as the fountain source of modern literature, not to be closely imitated but followed in spirit. Latin poetry he feels has had a somewhat exotic growth; yet he shows regard for Lucretius, Catullus, Vergil, and Horace. In one connection he commends the Latin element in the English language as superior material for thought and style, including poetic diction. Many of his poems have classical titles and themes, and the tone of his lyrics suggests the classical spirit.

In Lowell's lifetime modern languages became prominent in education. In his address before the Modern Language Association of America (1889) Lowell relates the innovation. He had shown even in college a pioneer interest in modern languages and served for many years as professor of modern languages at Harvard. Yet he is drawn toward the old order, even while advocating a more prominent place in education for modern literature. Regarding the relations of the ancients and moderns he says: "No, they are not antagonists, but by their points of disparity, of likeness, or contrast, they can be best understood, perhaps understood only through each other. The scholar must have them both, but may not he who has not leisure to be a scholar find profit even in the lesser of the two, if that only be attainable? Have I admitted that one is the lesser? *O matre pulchra filia pulchrior* is perhaps what I should say here."

In the case of science versus literature Lowell's attitude is expressed in "Our Literature" (1889). Literature, he feels, holds an inferior place in general estimation. "I am not insensible to the wonder and exhilaration of a material growth without example in rapidity and expansion, but I am also not insensible to the grave perils latent in any civilization which allows its chief energies and interests to be wholly absorbed in the pursuit of a mundane prosperity." In literature is "the power of molding words into such fair and noble forms as shall people the human mind forever with images that refine, console, and inspire."

Lowell believed that the classics, if not to be prescribed, should be given every encouragement as liberal studies. In his "Harvard Anniversary" (1886) he says: "One of the arguments against the compulsory study of Greek, namely, that it is wiser to give our time to modern languages and modern history than to dead languages and ancient history, involves, I think, a verbal fallacy. Only those languages can properly be called dead in which nothing living has been written. If the classic languages are dead, they yet speak to us, and with a clearer voice than that of any living tongue."

W. C. GOLD

HANOVER, INDIANA

Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., for the territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for the Middle States, west to the Mississippi River; Walter Miller, the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for the Southern States; and by Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Miss Julianne A. Roller, Franklin High School, Portland, Ore., and to Miss Bertha Green, Hollywood High School, Los Angeles, Cal. This department will present everything that is properly news—occurrences from month to month, meetings, changes in faculties, performances of various kinds, etc. All news items should be sent to the associate editors named above.]

Illinois

Chicago.—The University of Chicago Classical Club has taken on new interest and life as a result of the recent amalgamation of the former men's Graduate Classical Club and Women's Classical Club. The club meets every two weeks. Some recent papers read before the club have been "On Late Roman Religions," by Professor Gordon J. Laing; "Debate between the Platonists and the Aristotelians of the Fifteenth Century," by Dr. John C. Taylor; "Ezra Pound's Translations from Propertius," by Professor W. G. Hale. A less serious element has been introduced into the program on occasion by a burlesque classical seminar, and a burlesque doctor's examination.

The Chicago Classical Club has had a long and successful career and seems this year to be in a stronger position than ever. Its membership, recruited from the schools and colleges of Chicago and Cook County, is large and active, and came out in goodly numbers to attend the recent annual meeting, the program of which was of unusual excellence. A new booklet of Latin songs, *Carmina Latina*, edited by Professor Flickinger and published by the University of Chicago Press, was introduced and used at this meeting with great effect. (For further information concerning the book see under *Book Reviews*.)

Kentucky

Richmond.—A threefold purpose was achieved by a recent co-operation between the junior-senior classes in English and in Latin in the training school of the Eastern Kentucky State Normal at Richmond; the former taught by Miss Van Greenleaf, the latter by Mr. Wren Jones Grinstead. The purposes were: (1) to give the pupils training in the use of library authorities, the taking of notes, and the organization of such material for presentation in a class paper or report, propaedeutic to such work in the junior college; (2) to exercise

them in the rapid and independent reading of Latin for content; (3) to make up time lost during the influenza ban.

The method used was as follows: The instructor in Latin suggested to the Cicero class a number of topics available for such treatment, with some comments on the character of the material and the most profitable methods of treatment. Each student then selected the topic which interested him most, and after its approval by both instructors proceeded to study his material, taking notes which he gradually worked into an outline. A minimum amount of Latin reading was required, equivalent to the Fourth Oration against Catiline, which oration was then omitted from the regular class assignments. Each student, after covering his topic, reported upon it in the Cicero class. The reports were then presented to the English teacher and successively criticized as to methods of note-taking, correctness of outline form, and good English in the completed paper. The final draft was then resubmitted to the Latin instructor for criticism as to accuracy in content. Aside from the aims already mentioned, the exercise showed a prompt and marked effect in making real the personality of Cicero and in increasing the rapidity and certainty of reading at sight.

The following topics were handled by members of the Cicero class: "*Roman Provincial Misgovernment*," from the Verrine Orations; "*The Feud between Milo and Clodius*," from *Pro Milone*; "*Was the Execution of Catiline's Associates Legal?*" from *In Catilinam* IV; "*The Story of the Catilinarian Conspiracy*," from Sallust's *Bellum Catilinarium*; "*Cicero and his Family*," from the Letters of Cicero; "*Cicero's Friends*," from the Letters; "*Cicero's Style*," from *De Senectute* and the orations read in class; "*Cicero's Public Career*," from the Verrines, the orations read in class, and the Letters; "*Masters and Dependents in the Time of Cicero*," from the Letters.

Massachusetts

At the annual meeting of the eastern Massachusetts section of the Classical Association of New England, at Boston, February 15, the following officers for 1919-20 were chosen: President, Dr. William Gallagher, of Thayer Academy, South Braintree; Secretary, Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School; Executive Committee, Frederic A. Tupper, Brighton High School; Professor George H. Chase, Harvard University; William H. Sylvester, Boston English High School; Professor Alexander H. Rice, Boston University; Dr. Walter H. Freeman, Worcester Academy.

The following chairmen of committees were announced by the Censor of the Classical Club of Greater Boston: Forum, Rev. Willard Reed, of the Browne and Nichols School, Cambridge; Sociability, Miss Mary R. Stark, Girls' Latin School, Boston; Membership and Publicity, Albert S. Perkins, Dorchester High School; Junior High Schools, Joseph A. Ewart, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Somerville.

New York

The New York Classical Club has now a membership of about six hundred. Its regular luncheon meetings, three in each season, are held this year in the new Students' Hall of Barnard College.

One of the members of the club, Professor Carroll N. Brown of the College of New York, was recently decorated by the Greek Government, for his work in connection with the American-Hellenic Society.

The general subject of the meeting on February 8 was the "Place of the Classics in American Education," and the principal speaker was Dr. Arthur C. McGiffert, President of the Union Theological Seminary.

The following resolutions were adopted:

WHEREAS, The President of the United States, in his Declaration of Principles in relation to the terms of settlement, has shown his interest in the political as well as the territorial rights of nations, and has pledged his full support at the World-Peace Conference to those rights; and,

WHEREAS, in the interest of justice, the Unredeemed Greeks of Bulgaria and the Turkish Empire are by petition and declaration appealing for union with their motherland, and for the restoration of their political and territorial rights as a part of the Greek nation; be it therefore,

RESOLVED, That we, the New York Classical Club, in session duly assembled, welcome the opportunity of giving our individual and collective support to the appeal of the three millions of Unredeemed Greeks who today are looking to America as their liberator; and,

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be forwarded to The President of the United States, to Congress, to the public press, and to Mr. Eleutherios Venizelos, the Premier of Greece.

ANNA P. MACVAY, *President*
J. WESLEY CONNELL, *Secretary*

Tennessee

Chattanooga.—The thirteenth annual meeting of the Tennessee Philological Association was held at the University of Chattanooga on February 21 and 22. The following papers were presented: "A Jargon of the Southwestern Pacific," C. Everett Conant, The University of Chattanooga; "Vergil's True Meaning in the Third Book of the Aeneid," C. E. Little, The George Peabody College for Teachers; "Latinae Linguae Potentia aut Graecae Gratia," R. B. Steele, Vanderbilt University; "Homer and the Study of Greek," Clyde Pharr, The Southwestern Presbyterian University; "Walt Whitman as Artist and Teacher," Lynn H. Harris, The University of Chattanooga; "Shakespeare's 'Measure for Measure' and the Modern Problem Drama," C. L. Finney, The Webb School; "Some Native Appalachian Literature," C. Hodge Mathes, The East Tennessee State Normal; "The Emperor Macrinus," H. J. Bassett, Maryville College; "Caesar in Wartime and After,"

Miss Nellie A. Smith, The Bristol High School; "Literary Transitional Devices in Plato," Mrs. T. H. Billings, The University of Chattanooga; "Some Illustrations of the Romance or Vulgar Latin Elements in Catullus and Tibullus," R. S. Radford, The University of Tennessee; "The Incense of Language: A Study in Archaic Diction," Murat Roberts, The East Tennessee State Normal; "Suggested Changes in the Study of French," Charles Louis Townsend, The Southwestern Presbyterian University. The President's address, "Roman Folk Beliefs," was delivered by Professor Eugene Tavenner, of the Middle Tennessee State Normal. The other officers of the Association are Professor C. Everett Conant, of the University of Chattanooga, Vice-President; and Professor Joseph Robinson, of Mercer University, Secretary.

General Comment

[Edited by Gilbert Campbell Scoggin, The University of Missouri.]

During February and March, Professor George H. Chase, of Harvard University, delivered before the Lowell Institute in Boston, a course of lectures on "Greek and Roman Sculpture in American Collections." The special topics of the series were as follows: (1) The Archaic Period; (2) The Period of Transition; (3) The Great Age: Phidias and Polyclitus; (4) The Great Age: Praxiteles and Scopas; (5) The Hellenistic Period; (6) The Roman Period: Graeco-Roman Work; (7) The Roman Period: Portraits and Decorative Work; (8) Conclusion: The Essential Qualities of Greek and Roman Sculpture.

In *America* for January 25, Rev. Francis P. Donnelly, S.J., contributes an article on "The Vitalizer of the World." Father Donnelly shows clearly and succinctly that the great vitalizing force in civilization has been Greek. Rome early came under its spell and through Rome the whole occidental civilized world. "Every modern language today feels the force of Isocrates and Demosthenes through Cicero, and of Alcaeus and Sappho through Horace, and of Greek tragedy through Seneca and of Homer through Virgil." When the flame began to flicker on the continent a spark was husbanded in Ireland whence flame was transmitted to Bobbio and St. Gall. Wherever intellectual interests were kept alive we find that they were nourished by Greek; intellectual decline and ignorance of Greek have always been co-existing marks in every nation's history. When learning in Spain had been all but extinguished it was revived by the Arabs through Greek philosophy. The story of the Renaissance is familiar to all. Greek scholarship transmitted to England by Lily, Colet, and others has been a vital force down to the present day. In Germany and the north the teachers of Greek had to struggle against "the school of useful knowledge," and scholarship must always remember with gratitude the names of Reuchlin, Erasmus, and later, Wolf, Boeckh, and a long line of Hellenists. English literature has been largely the product of writers familiar with the Greek spirit; English politics have been directed by men who have drawn their inspiration from Greek. It is difficult to think of a civilization based on Greek as able to exist if the foundations on which it rests are to be uprooted. Judging from the past, and this is our only basis of judgment for the future, death of Greek means death of our higher civilization. The world would be plunged in materialism, and man, like the brute, would be concerned only for his bodily needs.

In the February issue of the *Classical Journal* I pointed out a possible danger lest the directors of the Rhodes bequest now be inclined through unwise generosity to waive the usual requirements in the case of candidates for the Rhodes Scholarships in America. At that time I was not aware that I was guilty of a prophecy after the event: I have since learned indirectly through the (English) *Journal of Education* that Mr. F. J. Wylie, the Oxford manager of the bequest, has already recommended, in a recent issue of the *Oxford Magazine*, that American candidates be no longer required to pass examinations, "equivalent to Responsions," in Greek, Latin, and mathematics. He is quoted as saying: "Select the best man you can find. He must have character as well as ability; but you have a wide field, and we will not hamper you with examinations. See to it that you send us of your best." If this quotation be correct, it would seem as if no scholastic test would be imposed. Of course the final decision in this matter rests with the Oxford University authorities; and it is difficult to believe that they will be willing to throw open their doors to a large group of students without some test of their intellectual fitness. If British subjects are to be admitted on these same terms, then nothing further can be said; but if American students are to be trained in a manner different from the Englishman, the purpose Rhodes had in mind in sending them to Oxford is wholly defeated. The scholar should rise and make himself worthy of Oxford; Oxford should not descend to meet him. Perhaps Oxford will follow the recent step of Cambridge and banish compulsory Greek for any of its degrees. In the words of a recent English writer: "The whole duty of the educational reformer is to suppress useless studies, that is, which do not help the young scholar to climb the monkey-puzzle of success." "A boy of ten knows perfectly well what he wants, and he would find it a useful training in politics if, from an early age, he were allowed to decide by the ballot-box what he would like to be taught. It is quite certain that no votes would be cast for the dead languages and few for mathematics. A short course of buying and selling, a few easy lectures on commercial travelling, a brisk study of the best method of pushing a new brand of cigarettes—these are worthy to engage the brain and to quicken the intelligence of the rising generation." "The rising generation, indeed, knows precisely what it wants, and it means to get it. It demands a university degree and is determined not to work hard for it. The palm without the dust—this is the end of its ambition. 'Give us things, not words,' it cries, and things mean wealth and ease and motor cars. Why should it trouble to think and to read poetry, to waste time over those fripperies of life which do not satisfy hunger nor fill the pocket? Let the spirit starve if only the body be fed—that is the pious aspiration of today, and none but a fool, out of date and out of mind, will flout it."

"What can France teach us?" This question is discussed by Professor Barrett Wendell in a recent issue of the *Bulletin de la Maison Française de*

Columbia University. After the storm of war has cleared away, students again will begin to resort to foreign universities and possibly with a more serious purpose than for some time past. Academic bonds uniting us with Germany have now been broken and many students will henceforth betake themselves to France. Settled by educated Englishmen in early days our country long reflected, however dimly, the well-rounded training of Oxford and Cambridge; but at the beginning of the nineteenth century a new spirit began to exert itself through contact with Germany.

Certainly much vigor and discipline were imported into our native scholarship; yet admiration for these excellent qualities blinded us to certain very serious defects. The whole history of German influence is another indication of the difficulty of keeping proper proportion and balance in scholarship. This lack of perspective has been apparent to many a student who has attended in a German university the lectures on historical Greek or Latin grammar. After setting forth an exhaustive "Bibliographie" the Professor has little time left for more than a history of the alphabet, and the course remains a torso. Scientific precision and method, indispensable concomitants, have been allowed to stifle the spirit of learning and in its stead there has often arisen a spirit of pedantry which is satisfied with an exhaustive collection of unimportant details. The doctor's thesis was often admitted to be of no value in itself but useful merely in training the candidate in method.

"One characteristic feature of German learning has been the insistence that before you begin to think about anything you must diligently master everything that anybody has ever known or said about it." In theory much is to be said for this attitude but for its practice life is too short. A scholar soon finds his time consumed in mastering a very small field of learning, and narrowness of outlook is inevitable. These ill effects are apparent in every branch of learning, above all in the case of science. Huxley noted the danger long ago and held out a warning. It is a fitting ideal for a Methuselah but not for ephemeral men. I have heard a young scholar sneer at the thought of undergraduates being taught Plato by a man who had slight knowledge of German. Platonic scholarship at Oxford at once flashed across my mind. On the other hand we know that Paley could have saved himself much useless labor had he been familiar with German.

The tyranny of authority has too long held sway in the realm of comparative grammar; and the fact that so and so said so and so has been taken by most students as settling the matter. Yet its influence is felt in every field. It has been well said that it would be a boon to scholarship if all the Greek choral passages could be printed as closely as possible after the manuscripts and freed from the shackles of authoritative emendations made to fit metrical theories. At present it is practically impossible to approach these passages without undue influence of some authority.

The expert, buried in the mass of his researches, will often fail to give due regard to exposition. In extreme cases he may fail to make his writings clear

even to his fellow-workers. We have an example of this in the case of Darwin. Huxley claimed that neither Gray nor Dana understood the principles of the Darwinian theory. Its general acceptance was due to Huxley's power of clear exposition, which he had developed with infinite care. France can teach us much in this connection. As Professor Wendell says: "The utterance of France, in comparison with that of any other European nation, is a marvel of humane amenity. The better one knows it the more one wonders at its pervasive literacy. No matter what it concerns, it recognizes—so instinctively that the recognition may often perhaps be unconscious—the relation which must always exist between human expression and the living humanity thereby addressed." What we now need above all else is "some influence which shall tend to make us literate."

Greek and Latin literature were the common source of such influence for cultivated Europe for a long period, but Professor Wendell insists that German erudition has destroyed its humanizing power. Never before have scholars known so much about grammar and archaeology, but their subjects are specialties, and their methods are those of an anatomist at the dissecting table. "To humanize ourselves once more we have come to a point where we must seek something else than the humanism of the past." This something now awaits our students in the French universities.

The last quotation overshoots the mark, if I understand it correctly. Substitute "besides" or "in addition to" for "than," and the statement is acceptable. The old humanism must form the basis of any advance and must not be thrown away for something altogether different. The French themselves are aware of this, and in the war have constantly kept before their eyes the ideal of Graeco-Latin culture. Herein, I think, France can and will teach us a most wholesome lesson.

At the same time we must remain grateful for the stimulus that came at an earlier period from the German universities. Ticknor, Everett, Bancroft, and Child profited and were not warped by their training. When Edward Everett returned to this country he said: "In regard to university methods, America has nothing to learn from England, but everything from Germany." Later, however, when he sent his own son abroad for study, he chose Cambridge University, in England. I trust that henceforth both England and France may draw a fair share of our promising young American students.

Thomas H. Huxley was not only a brilliant man of science but he was also an accomplished literary artist. He himself once said that "science and literature are not two things, but two sides of one thing." Accordingly he always maintained that true culture must take both sides into consideration in forming a foundation for a criticism of life. He pointed out that the humanists themselves fell short of their Greek ideal in so far as they refused to heed the scientific side of the question. A man's tastes will probably incline to

one of these sides but that should not blind him to the other. A broad foundation must be based on intelligent appreciation of both. In connection with this it is worth noting that the dominant characteristic of Huxley's career, his unyielding hatred of sham, he always attributed gratefully to the influence of a man of letters, Carlyle. This principle, imbibed from letters, dominates the whole of his scientific career.

With his chief interest in science, he was irritated by the backwardness of the schools in introducing science to what he considered a fair place in their curricula; and when his theme was specifically educational he could easily pick flaws in the existing scheme. Yet he never desired that classical instruction should be displaced by scientific studies, but merely that both should be recognized. By contact with both, the student would be able to determine intelligently his own proclivities and then develop his special powers. The student should not be rushed into a scientific training before the hidden "x" of the student's personality was brought to light.

In his teens Huxley mapped out a course of study for himself, including Latin and Greek, but evidently found it difficult to hold himself to mastering subjects of secondary interest. Yet by his twentieth year he had acquired a fair knowledge of Latin together with a good foundation in French and German. Much later one of his "scientific" pupils left on record the fact that Huxley's lectures were very difficult to follow, not only because they were developed by very close reasoning, but especially because they presupposed a knowledge of Greek. "To master his language is something dreadful." Late in middle life Huxley set about mastering Greek with a very definite purpose. He was dissatisfied with certain physiological statements in Aristotle's *Historia animalium*, as they were translated and explained by the philological commentators. His method of study, as recorded by his son, is interesting. "His practice was to read in his book until he had come to ten new words; these he looked out, parsed, and wrote down, together with their chief derivatives. This was his daily portion." If "his book" were Aristotle, it would be of considerable interest to know how far on the average he could read before coming upon "ten new words." When he finally reached one of the doubtful passages, dealing with the structure of the heart, he satisfied himself that Aristotle had accurately described what dissection revealed under certain conditions, and he stood forth as the champion of the Stagirite. (This question is again raised by Professor D'Arcey Wentworth Thompson in a note to be found at the close of 513^a of his Oxford translation). He also defended certain statements of Aristotle about respiration. The important fact to be noted here is that the scholarly man of science cannot depend upon translations; and this same instinct led Huxley to read the New Testament in Greek. A high but unexaggerated regard for Aristotle is shown by his saying that "he carried science a step beyond the point at which he found it; a meritorious, but not a miraculous, achievement."

Plato, on the other hand, he clearly distrusted. "Plato was the founder of all the vague and unsound thinking that has burdened philosophy, deserting facts for possibilities, and then, after long and beautiful stories of what might be, telling you he doesn't quite believe them himself." He quotes with glee a remark that Sir Henry Holland once dropped privately in his ear: "In my opinion Plato was an ass! But don't tell anyone I said so." Yet Huxley was an intimate friend of Jowett, whom he frequently visited at Oxford. He admits that he could not induce Jowett to use his influence in reducing the classical requirements for students of science and medicine, but that Jowett was willing to add science to the requirements of the classical men. This, to say the least, is an instructive difference of attitude on the part of two men whose formal training had been, for the one, strictly classical, and for the other, strictly scientific.

For Tennyson he had great admiration, not only because of the music of his verse, which he ranked next to that of Spenser and Keats, but also because of his intelligent interest in science. He is reported to have said that in his *In Memoriam* the poet had displayed scientific method "quite equal to that of the greatest experts." At Tennyson's funeral the Royal Society was represented by several of its members. "Tennyson has a right to that, as the first poet since Lucretius who has understood the drift of science," Huxley writes to Tyndall.

Like Bacon, whose attainments and character he unduly disparages ("that sneak Bacon"), he was wont to recast many times sentences and whole compositions, with an instinctive French feeling for style which consciously or unconsciously recognizes that there is one best way for expressing our thoughts, and that it is well worth striving for. His dislike of Bacon was probably intensified by Bacon's distrust of English as a literary instrument, he himself being passionately devoted to his native speech and having unbounded confidence in its possibilities.

With all his interest in science, Huxley felt that it was only a means to an end. To an intimate friend he once wrote concerning religion and politics: "In the long run these are the two things that ought to interest a man more than any others." This is a remarkable statement coming as it does from a man who invented the word "agnostic" as descriptive of himself, and it forms a fitting pendant to the concluding sentences of Herbert Spencer's *Autobiography*.

One further point, applicable to the present time, may be noted. He was fully aware of the low estimation in the popular mind of disinterested research as compared with the worldly success of the "practical" man. Accordingly he was always ready to champion the cause of the scholar and the man of science and to do what he could to prevent their being dominated by the clever practitioners of the professions.

Book Reviews

The Dramatic Values in Plautus. BY WILTON WALLACE BLANCKÉ.
Doctoral Dissertation. University of Pennsylvania, 1918.

The germ of Doctor Blancké's idea seems to have been found in those Plautine critics, Teutonic and otherwise, who have burdened Plautus with such thorny crowns as moral elevation (or didactic tendencies), successful realism, good character drawing, plot structure, subtle wit, and refinement of diction. Of most of these incumbrances Blancké relieves his author. "If then we can place Plautus toward the bottom of the scale, we relieve him vastly of responsibility as a dramatist and of the necessity of adherence to verisimilitude."

Constructively, Doctor Blancké has supplied a "solvent" for all critical difficulties in regard to Plautus. His *aqua regia* has a simple formula. Plautus was a "fun-maker," pure and simple—and mostly simple. Plautus regarded his comedies "merely as a rack on which to hang witticisms" (equulei, perhaps?). Horseplay was the one desideratum. Plautus made no attempt to trim or fit the awkward conventions which he inherited from the Greeks. He reveled in these hand-me-downs, turning the worst side toward his audience; a patch to him was only less funny than a tear.

In support of the above-mentioned thesis Doctor Blancké considers the rude and boisterous character of the Roman audience, the importance of gestures and lively action on the Roman stage, and, at greatest length, the nature of Plautus' comic effects. Here his classification may seem artificial, but comic effects are a hard thing to sort and we are not sure that anyone could do better. The material grouped in the body of this dissertation is all interesting and conveniently assembled. That it proves anything new, we are unable to see. Perhaps we should except the author's theory that the *seruus* or *parasitus currens* was avowedly a comic effect: "Consider the ludicrous spectacle of the rapidly moving legs and the flailing arms, with the actor's face turned toward the audience as he declaims sonorously of his haste to perform his vital errand, while making but a snail's progress." But we must remind Doctor Blancké that the chariot race in Ben Hur was, not so long ago, esteemed a triumph of realism. Doctor Blancké does not postulate a treadmill on the Roman stage.

In closing, our author admits that Plautus does at times fall into certain felicities. But that these are in any way germane to his purpose is emphatically denied. Judgments on individual plays may prove interesting. "The *Casina*, uproarious and lewd as it is, becomes excruciatingly funny if the mind is open

to appreciating humor in the broadest spirit." "I believe we may safely call the *Trinummus* the least Plautine of Plautine plays except the *Captivi*, and it is by no means as good a work. The *Trinummus* is crowded with interminable padded dialogue, tiresome moral preachments, and possesses a weakly motivated plot; a veritable 'Sunday-school play.'" The dissertation is brought up to date with numerous comparisons from vaudeville and derogatory references to German scholarship. As regards technique, it would be unfair not to accord Doctor Blancké the same license which he allows his author.

KEITH PRESTON

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

Musa Americana. Patriotic Songs in Latin Set to Popular Melodies, with English text. By ANTHONY F. GEYSER. Chicago: Loyola University Press. Pp. 31. Single copies, 15 cents, postpaid; 6 or more copies, 12 cents each.

Carmina Latina. Selected and edited by ROY C. FLICKINGER. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Pp. 14. Single copies, 11 cents postpaid; 6 or more copies, 8 cents each.

We are often asked by Latin teachers where popular Latin songs may be obtained suitable for the uses of various occasions. It has not always been easy to answer this question, since the material available has been rather scanty and scattered. In 1914 Calvin S. Brown edited a volume entitled *Latin Songs*, Ancient, Mediaeval, and Modern, with Music, published by G. P. Putnam's Sons. This was a very useful volume, but it did not fill the need of those teachers who desired to place a considerable number of copies of songs in the hands of their students. The publication of the two booklets named above will fill this need.

Musa Americana contains twelve songs: "The Star Spangled Banner" (*Vexillum Stellatum*), "America," "To Our Victorious Soldiers" (*Ad Milites e Bello Redeuntes*), "Columbia, Beloved, We Hail Thee" (*Columbia, Salveto, Dilecta*), "Hail to Thee, My Dearest Country" (*Salve, Patria Amata*), "Merrily, Merrily We'll Sing, Boys" (*Age, Cari Comites*), "Battle Hymn of the Republic" (*Rei Publicae Paeon Militaris*), "My Country" (*Patria Mea*), "Just Before the Battle, Mother" (*Ante Pugnam, Mater Mea*), "Hurrah for Our Banner" (*Ad Arma*), "Hail Columbia, Happy Land" (*O Columbia, Felix Es*), "The Minstrel Boy" (*Vates Iuvenis*).

Carmina Latina was first made public and used at the sixteenth meeting of the Chicago Classical Club in February last by Professor Flickinger, who was at the same time president of the club and editor of the booklet. In connection with each song, the history both of the original and of the translation is given. The Latin version only of the songs is given. They are as follows: "America," "The Star-Spangled Banner," *Adeste Fideles*, "Lead, Kindly

Light," *Antidotium contra Tyrannidem Peccati, Gaudeamus Igitur, Integer Vitae, Lauriger Horatius*, "Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star," "Northwestern University Hymn" (with music), *Nonne Dormis* (a round for four voices, with music).

F. J. MILLER

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Dream in Homer and Greek Tragedy. By WILLIAM STEWART MESSER, Ph.D. New York: Columbia University Press. Pp. 105. \$1.25 net.

In view of the number of dreams scattered through classical literature and of the striking function which they often fulfil in the economy of the plot, it seems strange that we have hitherto had no comprehensive study of them as artistic devices, used with varying success and in various ways by many writers. Like the *deus ex machina*, anagnorisis, divination, and many other motifs, for the most part introduced into literature as early as Homer, the dream has had a long, artistic career, which has at last found a critic and historian. In this essay we have but the first instalment of a larger work; for the author hopes to publish soon other studies on the dream, not only in its literary, but also in its non-literary, aspects. Here he deals with the dream solely "as an originating cause or directing principle of the action in poem or play." Beginning with the dream sent by Zeus in *Iliad B*—which seems in a way the father of dreams in classical literature—he takes up in turn the important dreams in Epos and Tragedy, discusses their character, and defines the part they play in the movement of the plot. For the present he refuses to be led astray into the discussion of psychological, philosophical, or other theories of dreams. Matters of this sort he relegates to footnotes, in several of which are outlined discussions which arouse a lively interest in the future investigations which are promised. It is to be hoped that these further studies may appear at an early date and that they may all be as clear and sane as this essay.

H. C. F. SMITH

AMHERST COLLEGE

The Greek Tradition. Essays in the Reconstruction of Ancient Thought. By J. A. K. THOMSON. New York: The Macmillan Co., n.d. (1915). 12mo, pp. xiv+248.

Professor Gilbert Murray, in an introductory note to this volume, mentions a reviewer of Mr. Thomson's earlier *Studies in the Odyssey*, "who, after four lines of earnest misdescription, concluded by expressing his grief that any university had published such a book." The Britons are used, if not hardened, to the irresponsible vagaries of a governmental censor of plays (we have just been reading again Christopher North's amusing account of that official in his ancient day). Evidently the reviewer aforesaid would like to see established in the scholastic field a similar infallible autocrat to lead erring delegates

and syndics in the way they should go. If Professor Murray had by any unhappy chance been appointed to the post, the *Studies in the Odyssey* would have gone through with the same applause with which he greets this book, and his judgment would have been *Tarpa latrante*, indeed, but *dis approbantibus*.

The present volume is composed of eight essays and a little and charming interpretative drama. They find their unity under the book-title through the relation of each to the constant vision of the Hellenic *ἥθος* in its varied spheres of activity. They can be read with keen interest even by one who knows little or nothing of Greek or Latin at first-hand, if he but have an eye to see and a heart to understand. But let him beware: for their sure effect will be to make him eager to emulate old Cato. They will help him to comprehend why ancient Greece yet lives—vividly, gloriously—instead of being, as he may have been inclined to think her, as the dust of our simian forefathers. Mr. Thomson does not make old things live again, like the dead bones in the valley; he but makes us see them as they are, forever deathless in compelling charm and beauty.

His chapters are: "On an Old Map"; "Thucydides"; "Greek Country Life"; "Mother and Daughter" (the little drama, on the finding of Persephone); "Alcestis and Her Hero"; "A Note on Greek Simplicity"; "Lucretius"; "The Springs of Poetry"; "Some Thoughts on Translation." There is also a note on authorities, and a sufficient index. Praised be the author's name for his excellent purpose admirably achieved.

E. T. M.

Latin Reader. Nature Study and Easy Stories for Sight Reading during the First Year in Latin. By A. B. REYNOLDS. New York: D. C. Heath & Co., 1918. Pp. xxiv+349.

The author's aim in this reader is to present to the student, at the very outset of his Latin study, connected paragraphs, made up of words from the usual high school authors, and dealing with subjects with which all high school pupils are more or less familiar. The earlier paragraphs contain readings in nature-study, with such titles as *De Tellure*, *De Sole*, and *De Ventis*. These are followed by a section on "Life in Ancient Italy," in which the pupil is introduced to two schoolboys in ancient Arpinum and follows them in their various activities at school and at play, at home and in travel. The readings are concluded by a story entitled *Arminius Puer Suebus*, in which a little romance is interwoven into a simplified narrative of some of Caesar's campaigns. An appendix contains forms, principles of syntax, and exercises in composition.

From the very nature of the author's aim, the book is based on the inductive method and consequently is not free from the defects which seem to be inherent in that method. Chief among these is a lack of clearness and simplicity. The pupil is plunged into indirect discourse in the first lesson and must pick up his forms piecemeal, and he is burdened with such hypothetical forms as *niguis* (for *nix*) and the development of *fertur* through *fertise*, *fertere*, *ferter*,

which seem to the reviewer to serve no useful purpose in a first-year book. Moreover, in the appendix, where the paradigms ought to make a clear-cut impression on the eye, the clearness is marred by the insertion of syntactical matter.

To offset these defects, however, are some admirable features, such as the use of boldface type in the early lessons to impress upon the pupil various case forms, numerous unusual but useful lists in the appendix, and a clearly worded summary of the commonest principles of syntax.

Typographical errors are very few, the most noticeable being Appolonius, repeated several times.

If the book will help to increase the beginner's power to read Latin instead of merely translating sentences, it is a welcome addition to our textbooks.

ALFRED M. DAME

MALDEN, MASSACHUSETTS

Recent Books

Foreign books in this list may be obtained from Lemcke & Buechner, 30-32 West 27th St., New York City; G. E. Stechert & Co., 151-55 West 25th St., New York City; F. C. Stechert & Co., 29-35 West 32d St., New York City.

CARUS, P. *Vergil's Prophecy on the Saviour's Birth*. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co. Pp. 97. Boards, \$0.50.

KERR, A. *The Republic of Plato*. A translation of the ten books. Chicago: C. H. Kerr & Co. Pp. xxxiv+599. \$2.00 net.

NICHOLS, M. *The Epistles of Erasmus*. From his earliest letters to his fifty-third year, arranged in order of time. English translation from his correspondence, with a commentary confirming the chronological arrangement and supplying further biographical matter. 3 vols. Vol. III. New York: Longmans. Pp. xviii+10+472. \$6.50 net.

PETERSEN, W. *The Lyric Songs of the Greeks*. The extant fragments of Sappho, Alcaeus, Anacreon, and the minor Greek monodists, translated into English verse. Boston: Badger. Pp. 192. \$1.50 net.

PLATNAUER, M. *The Life and Reign of the Emperor Lucius Septimius Severus*. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. vi+221. \$5.40.

REYNOLDS, A. B. *Latin Reader*. Nature-study and easy stories for sight-reading during the first year in Latin. New York: D. C. Heath. 12mo, pp. xxiv+349. \$1.20 net.

SABIN, F. E. *The Relation of Latin to Practical Life*. New edition. Madison, Wis.: F. E. Sabin. Pp. 124. \$1.55.

WYE, THEODORA E. *Primus annus vocabula explicata*. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 38. \$0.75.

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Editorial

THE ATLANTA MEETING

The Fifteenth Annual Meeting of our Association, held in Atlanta for three days beginning with Thursday, April 10, was a notable success. The local committee had made careful plans for our comfort and entertainment; the hospitality shown the visitors was such as would be expected in Georgia's capital. From the hour of arrival to that of departure, there was not a dull moment. As a fitting supplement to each day's rather strenuous formal program, wise and generous provision had been made for social relaxation. Our president, Professor Campbell Bonner, of the University of Michigan, was unavoidably absent on account of illness, but the duties of his office were tactfully administered by Professor Charles E. Little, of the George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville.

At the first session held Thursday afternoon in the auditorium of the Piedmont Hotel, Mr. M. L. Brittain, Superintendent of Schools for the State of Georgia, delivered an address on "The Value of Classics in the Schools." This address was of peculiar value as coming from a man who long was head of the department of languages in the Atlanta Boys' High School and who now is thoroughly conversant with the conditions and needs of the secondary schools throughout his state. He thinks that the arguments against classical training have had more weight in our higher institutions of learning than in the secondary schools. He feels

that not more than a fourth of the pupils in the high schools have any special aptitude for languages. Accordingly, in the larger schools, where there is a wide choice of electives, the classics will continue to have a prominent place; but in the smaller schools of the village and the country, science and the study of nature will of necessity be most emphasized.

The address of welcome was delivered Thursday evening by Bishop Warren A. Candler, Chancellor of Emory University, who emphasized the value of classical studies as a foundation for all learned professions. This he illustrated by citing the examples of numerous statesmen and men of science. Professor Little spoke in reply to Bishop Candler's very cordial address of welcome. At the same session, in the absence of Professor Thomas H. Billings, of the University of Chattanooga, who was on the program, Professor Alfred W. Milden, of the University of Mississippi, kindly consented to read a very instructive paper on "The Father of History."

Friday was a very full day. The morning session, held at Emory University, was devoted to "A Conference on Methods of Latin Teaching in High Schools and Normal Schools," under the direction of Professor Josiah B. Game, of the Florida State College for Women, Tallahassee. With his usual skill, Professor Game had already aroused much interest in the topics to be discussed, and when, after the formal papers, the numerous questions raised were thrown open for general discussion, it constantly required keen watchfulness to decide among the numerous contestants for the floor. Particularly noticeable was the interest shown by high-school teachers, who from personal experience had many practical suggestions to offer. While some spoke in defense of the standard Latin requirements, as indicated in our program, the majority seemed to favor a smaller amount of text with the consequent opportunity for more thorough preparation and drill. One eminent teacher from a preparatory school maintained, rightly I think, that the college had the right to set any standard for entrance which it saw fit, and the preparatory teacher, in turn, had a perfect right to teach as much of anything in any way as might enable the pupil to meet the standard of excellence required

by the college. Of special interest was the talk on "Some Suggestions for Teachers of Latin in the High Schools," by Professor Harry Clark, State Inspector of High Schools in Tennessee. Professor Clark is a classically trained man who is a teacher of Education in the State University, and Tennessee can indeed be congratulated that its secondary schools come under the inspection of a man of his deep sense of responsibility and of his high ideals.

At noon the members of the Association enjoyed a real, old-fashioned barbecue, prepared before their eyes, on the campus of Emory University. The carvers and the ladies in charge of the serving displayed all the generous traits of the *δαιτρός* and the *αἰδολή ταμὴν* of Homeric times. After they had dispelled their desire for food and drink, the members of the Association again assembled to hear the papers scheduled for the afternoon. At the close of this session, automobiles, provided by the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, were in waiting to carry us through the beautiful and historic city.

Friday evening a place of meeting was furnished by Agnes Scott College, and of considerable interest for the history of classical studies in America was the paper of Professor Milton W. Humphreys, of the University of Virginia, dealing with "The Roman Pronunciation of Latin." Professor Humphreys made it pretty clear that he, while a young teacher at Washington College, was really the first to introduce the Roman pronunciation of Latin into this country. At the conclusion of the program a very delightful reception was tendered the members of the Association by the faculty and the seniors of Agnes Scott College.

On Saturday morning Dean Andrew F. West spoke on "The Proposed Classical League," which was officially indorsed by our Association. Professor W. R. Webb, of the Webb School, Bellbuckle, Tennessee, read a paper on "Colonel William Bingham as a Latin Teacher." This paper called forth frequent applause, and it was voted that it be published as soon as practicable in the *Classical Journal*.

At the business session a question of vital importance came up—the desirability and feasibility of breaking up our Association into two closely related groups. Some members have long

felt that the extensive territory covered by our Association will always necessitate a place of meeting inaccessible to the great majority of the members. Some felt that in case there could be organized a Southern section and a Middle Western section, each could provide a place of meeting which would be within reasonable distance for all its members. The supporters of this plan pointed out that at the present time few high-school teachers are able to attend a distant meeting. They rightly feel that the cause of classical studies is closely bound up with the high school and that it is of the greatest importance that college teachers and high-school teachers should be able to meet and discuss their common problems. Others thought that at the present time the united effort of the larger territory should not be dissipated; that it was more inspiring to come in contact with teachers from somewhat remote places; that local advancement could be still more effectively brought about if the classical teachers, in addition to their work in our present organization, would ally themselves with any teachers' organization now existing in the various states; that experience elsewhere had shown that even within a restricted territory there are inevitable obstacles to prevent most teachers from attending even a nearby place of meeting; that after all, distances are merely relative. The proposal for separation came from certain members of the southern states and strongest opposition came from the same section. It seemed unwise to take final action before the general sentiment of the South was ascertained. A committee was appointed to report on this matter for action at our next annual meeting.

Saturday afternoon Director Charles Upson Clark, of the American Academy in Rome, gave an illustrated lecture, describing "How Italy Protected Her Works of Art."

The following officers were elected for the coming year: President, Professor Gordon J. Laing, The University of Chicago; First Vice-President, Professor G. C. Scoggin, The University of Missouri; Secretary-Treasurer, Professor Louis E. Lord, Oberlin College.

G. C. S.

THE FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CLASSICAL
ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND

This meeting was held at Wheaton College, Norton, Massachusetts, on Friday and Saturday, March 28 and 29. The least that can be said of it is that the Association has never held a meeting more successful in every way. In spite of the sudden return of real winter on Friday morning, 112 members and guests of the Association signed the registration book. Many others failed to register, though they were in attendance. We have had generous hosts in other years, but never has a more thoughtfully planned entertainment been lavished upon us. A part of this was referred to on Saturday afternoon by our President, when he said that the problem of the high cost of living seemed to be solved in Norton. He had been at Wheaton College for two days, and he had not been able to spend a cent. Many of the college students gave up three days of their vacation in order to assist in entertaining us.

Friday evening will be long remembered in the annals of the Association. After dinner there were brief but excellent addresses by President Cole, of Wheaton College, by Professor Howes, President of the Association, by Professor Knapp, the delegate from the Classical Association of the Atlantic States, and by Dr. Gallagher, of Thayer Academy. After this, in the room used for our regular sessions, Professor Charles R. Lanman, of Harvard University, gave an illustrated lecture on "Elementary Grammars: A Few Words on the Gentle Art of Making Things Seem Harder Than They Are." It was highly entertaining, as well as instructive. The address will appear in the columns of the *Journal*, where the charm of its delivery must be imagined by the reader. We then adjourned to the college chapel, and Professor H. G. Tucker gave an organ recital, which was highly appreciated by all. The evening's entertainment ended with a reception at the President's house, by President and Mrs. Cole.

The papers were of the usual high quality. Two innovations adopted this year seem to have met with particular success. First, the whole of Friday afternoon, after Professor Knapp had delivered the greetings from the Classical Association of the Atlantic States,

was devoted to Greek. Secondly, each paper was, at its conclusion, open for discussion, and all papers were discussed, most of them by many members. The discussions were never long and wearisome but always crisp, to the point, and illuminating.

At the business session on Friday morning the Association adopted the following resolution, which we hope will prove of interest to and be adopted by each of the other three regional Associations:

For the purpose of bringing about closer affiliation and co-operation between the four great regional Associations the adoption of the following plan is recommended: The constitution of the Secretary-Treasurers of the four Associations as the nucleus of a council to be called into full being when any joint action, in any direction, by the four regional Associations seems desirable and possible. To this nucleus may be added, by action of the Executive Committee of each Association, a desired number of other members to constitute the full council. The actions of this council shall not be binding on any one of the four regional Associations until said action has been approved, either by the Executive Committee of each Association, in the interim between the annual meetings, or by the annual meeting of the Association itself.

One matter in particular that might be done by the joint action of the four associations is the securing of an adequate series of measurements of Latin and non-Latin pupils. This is an undertaking too great for any one association to attempt. The four associations, working in unison, would need a vast amount of outside assistance. If properly done, it would command respect and be of tremendous value to our cause. A year ago the Classical Association of New England appointed a committee to study this problem. At this meeting the committee reported that no definite steps had been taken, owing to the fact that the experts who would have to conduct the investigations were all occupied with war work. Now that the war seems to be practically over, the task ought to be undertaken at once and with vigor.

On Saturday morning Dean Andrew F. West addressed the Association on the proposed American Classical League. After Dean West had finished his argument in favor of the League, the Association adopted by unanimous vote the following resolu-

tion: "That the Classical Association of New England approve the formation of the proposed American Classical League, provided the constitution of the proposed League shall contain a provision for representation from each of the four great regional Associations, said representation to consist of some member of each regional Classical Association chosen by the Association itself, at its annual meeting." After some discussion the following suggestion to the Classical Conference that is to meet at Milwaukee during the first week of July, in connection with the meeting of the National Education Association and to frame the League's constitution, was also voted without dissent: "That the Classical Association of New England recommend that the Executive Committee of the proposed American Classical League shall not contain more than twelve members in all and that the constitution shall definitely state that the annual meeting shall be held in connection with the annual meeting of the National Education Association."

The officers elected for the coming year were: President, Charles S. Knox, St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H.; Vice-President, Professor Haven D. Brackett, Clark College, Worcester, Mass.; Secretary-Treasurer, Professor George E. Howes, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.; Executive Committee (for two years), Professor Karl P. Harrington, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., and Miss Ruth B. Franklin, Rogers High School, Newport, R. I. The other members of the Executive Committee, whose terms expire in 1920, are Miss M. M. Pickering, Brimmer School, Boston, Mass., and Miss Lillian M. Sleeper, High School, Manchester, N. H.

The annual meeting in 1920 will be held at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.

M. N. W.

WAS ATHENS IN THE AGE OF PERICLES ARISTOCRATIC?

BY LARUE VAN HOOK
Columbia University

The majority of the numerous books which deal with Athenian political and social life in the latter part of the fifth century B.C. convey to student and to reader the general, but emphatic, impression that the *polis* Athens, while theoretically a democracy, was, generally speaking, an aristocracy. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the composite picture of Athens under Pericles, as represented in the traditional view of the handbooks, reveals a society brilliant in its achievements, but quite selfishly constituted, and gravely defective, save from the viewpoint of the favored few. Profound social distinctions, even among the citizens themselves, are insisted upon. The conception still is widely prevalent that the *élite* of Athenian society, few but fit, led a life of glorious but intensely selfish leisure, which was their lordly prerogative as the result of the ruthless exploitation of all professional men, artists, producers, traders, artisans, workers, resident aliens, and slaves. Almost everywhere we find the time-honored assertion that in Athens all work was despised, labor was contemned, the workers were disdained, and, in fact, that *any* service for which financial remuneration was received was in disrepute and branded the doer with a humiliating social stigma. The free man is supposed to have done little or no work, for surely the aristocratic citizen must have a completely independent and carefree existence for his manifold political, social, and religious duties.

Let me now present some typical quotations from some recent books on Athens which give this false, or exaggerated, as I think, impression of the nature of Athenian society in the second half of the fifth century B.C., in that they assert that it was essentially aristocratic. In the ninth edition (1915) of that very popular, widely influential, and, in many respects, admirable little book,

The Greek View of Life by Mr. Lowes Dickinson, we read (italics are mine in every case): "In the Greek conception the citizen was an aristocrat. His excellence was thought to consist in public activity; and to the performance of public duties he ought therefore to be able to devote *the greater part of his time and energy*. But the existence of such a privileged class involved the existence of a class of producers to support them; and *the producers, by the nature of their calling, be they slave or free, were excluded from the life of the perfect citizen*. They had not the necessary leisure to devote to public business; neither had they the opportunity to acquire the mental and physical qualities which would enable them to transact it worthily. They were therefore regarded by the Greeks as an inferior class. . . . In Athens the most democratic of all the Greek communities, though they were admitted to the citizenship and enjoyed considerable political influence, *they never appear to have lost the stigma of social inferiority*. And the distinction which was more or less definitely drawn in practice *between the citizens proper and the productive class* was even more emphatically affirmed in theory" (pp. 74-75). "The obverse of the Greek citizen, who realized in the state the highest life, was *an inferior class of producers who realized only the means to subsistence*" (p. 75). "The *inferiority* of the artisan and the trader was further emphasized by the fact that *they were excluded by their calling* from the cultivation of the higher personal qualities; from the training of the body by gymnastics and of the mind by philosophy; *from habitual conversance with public affairs*; from that perfect balance, in a word, of the physical, intellectual, and moral powers, which was only to be attained by a process of *self-culture, incompatible with the pursuance of a trade for bread*" (p. 82). "The existence of the Greek citizen depended upon that of an inferior class who were regarded, not as ends in themselves, but as means to his perfection." "The aim of modern societies is not to separate off a privileged class of citizens, set free by the labour of others to live the perfect life, but rather to distribute impartially to all the burdens and advantages of the state, so that every one shall be at once a labourer for himself and a citizen of the state. But this idea is clearly incompatible with the Greek conception of the

citizen" (p. 130). "It is because labour with the hands or at the desk distorts or impairs the body, and the petty cares of a calling pursued for bread pervert the soul, that so *strong a contempt was felt by the Greeks for manual labour and trade.*" "If then the artisan . . . in Athens never altogether threw off *the stigma of inferiority attaching to his trade*, the reason was that the life he was compelled to lead was incompatible with the Greek conception of excellence" (p. 134). "The Greeks, on the whole, were quite content to sacrifice the majority to the minority. Their position was fundamentally aristocratic; they exaggerated rather than minimized the distinctions between men, the freeman and the slave, the gentleman and the artisan, regarding them as natural and fundamental, not as the casual product of circumstances. The 'equality' which they sought was proportional, not arithmetical, not of equal rights to all." "In a modern state it is different though class distinctions are clearly enough marked, yet the point of view from which they are regarded is fundamentally different. They are attributed rather to accidents of fortune than to varieties of nature. The artisan, for example, ranks no doubt lower than the professional man; but no one maintains that he is a different kind of being incapable by nature, as Aristotle asserts, of the characteristic excellence of man" (p. 79).

In *Greek Ideals*,¹ by Mr. C. Delisle Burns, a study of Athenian social life of the period under consideration, the Greek aristocratic conception of individual liberty is likewise, I believe, over-emphasized. Thus we find the statements: "It seemed essential that liberty and equality should only be the right of *a few males*. . . . Slaves and *workingmen had no time and no developed capacity for the 'good life'*" (p. 76). "Society was conceived only in terms . . . of *a small social caste*" (p. 109). "The Athenian citizen might object to doing manual labour" (p. 112).

Similar assertions are common. Thus Mr. Edwards in Whibley's *Companion to Greek Studies*: "The prejudice against trades and handicrafts was most pronounced in Sparta: elsewhere, though the political disabilities might be reduced or removed, the *social stigma was scarcely diminished*—indeed, even the fullest develop-

¹ (1917) Reviewed by Van Hook in *Classical Weekly*, XI, 207.

ment of democracy at Athens did but stereotype the conventional horror of hard work, and proclaimed leisure, and not labour, to be the citizen's privilege. . . . The marvel is that, *amid all this depreciation*, mechanical skill and artistic taste should have attained so high a standard" (p. 437).

Gardner and Jevons, *Manual of Greek Antiquities* (p. 379), quote Aristotle and Plato to show the extreme *popular* prejudice against handiwork and the disesteem in which it was *universally* held—"only those too poor to buy slaves had to work themselves."

Gulick, in his excellent *Life of the Ancient Athenians*, says: "The class of artisans comprised callings which among us are regarded as the most dignified professions. Wherever one of these vocations *was in disrepute*, the cause is found in the fact that the person concerned *took money for his services*, and was to that extent not independent of others. Even the great artists, painters, and sculptors fell under *public contempt* simply because they earned money. A few artists, like Phidias, are said to have enjoyed the friendship of eminent men of aristocratic birth; but most of these stories of intimacy are later exaggerations which have not taken into account the conditions of ancient industrial life. Schoolmasters, teachers of music and gymnastics, sophists and even physicians were not highly regarded" (p. 233). "To the *emporos* attached some of the *stigma of personal labor*." "Ancient communities (e.g., Athens) whose *citizens despised trade and manual labor*" (p. 65). "Art, letters, and politics, claimed the interest of the ordinary citizen far more than they do today, because it was the policy of Pericles *to render the democracy of Athens a leisure class, supported by their slaves and the revenues of the Empire*" (p. 118).

But enough of such representative quotations, they might be multiplied indefinitely. It is the aim of this paper to endeavor to correct, or, at least, to assist in the modification of this all too general conception of an essentially aristocratic Athenian society, a conception which is certainly false in some of its aspects and exaggerated or overemphasized in others.¹

¹ Attention should be called to several books which sanely discuss the topics under consideration and to which the writer is indebted: Francotte, *L'industrie dans*

Before a consideration of the subject proper it may well be asked, why is it that this view of Athenian society as aristocratic, if erroneous, is generally held? The reasons are, I believe, as follows: (1) Athens, like other Greek states, at an early period in its history, in fact, until after Solon and Cleisthenes, was, in large measure, oligarchic and aristocratic both politically and socially. Modern writers mistakenly assume that these early conditions, particularly in social life, continued. (2) Certain Greek states, e.g., Sparta, Thebes, and Crete never suffered democratization. The strictly aristocratic conditions which were permanently characteristic of these states are sometimes thought of as necessarily existing also in Athens. (3) Modern writers have the tendency implicitly to follow Plato and Aristotle as authorities and imagine that actual fifth century Athenian conditions are accurately reflected in the pages of these philosophers even when the latter are discussing theoretical politics and imaginary and ideal societies. Caution must always be observed surely in the case of these "Laconizing" theorizers who, furthermore, were intense aristocrats and distrusted democracy. (4) It is true that Athens was conservative in the granting of full and technically legal citizenship to foreigners and slaves. (5) Slavery was, of course, a recognized institution from time immemorial throughout the ancient world and Athens as well. (6) Physical *drudgery* was not relished by the Athenians. The ground is now cleared for our discussion.

I. POLITICAL CONDITIONS

Was Athens in the Age of Pericles really a political democracy? We are fortunate in having no less an authority than Pericles himself to testify for us; Pericles, the aristocrat, as reported by Thucydides,¹ the aristocrat. "Our government is *not copied*" from those of our neighbors; we are an example to them rather

la Grèce ancienne; Guirard, *La main d'œuvre industrielle dans l'ancienne Grèce*; Clerc, *Les mêtèques Athéniens*; Meyer, *Die Sklaverei im Altertum* in his *Kleine Schriften*; Ferguson, *Greek Imperialism*, chap. ii; Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth* (especially chaps. vii and xv). See also Croiset, *Aristophanes and the Political Parties at Athens* (trans. by Loeb); Van Hook, *Classical Journal*, XI, 495.

¹ Bk. II, *The Funeral Oration*; see Zimmern, *op. cit.*, pp. 196 ff.

² I.e., from Sparta.

than they to us. Our constitution is named a *democracy*, because it is in the hands not of the few but of *the many*. Our laws secure *equal* justice for *all* in their private disputes, and our *public opinion* welcomes and honors talent in *every branch of achievement*, not for any sectional reason, but on grounds of excellence alone. And as we give free play to *all* in our public life, so we carry the same spirit into our daily relations with one another. We are obedient to whomsoever is set in authority, and to the laws, more especially to those which offer protection to the oppressed and those unwritten ordinances whose transgression brings admitted shame. Wealth to us is not mere material for vainglory but an opportunity for achievement; and *poverty* we think is *no disgrace* to acknowledge but a real degradation to make no effort to overcome. *Our citizens attend both to public and private duties, and do not allow absorption in their own various affairs to interfere with their knowledge of the city's*. We differ from other states in regarding the man who *holds aloof from public life* not as quiet but as useless. In a word I claim that our city as a whole is an education to Greece, and that her members yield to none, man by man, for independence of spirit, many-sidedness of attainment, and complete self-reliance in limbs and brain."

In Athens, then, if not in Sparta and Plato's *Republic*, the state existed for the individual and not the individual for the state. It is unnecessary to do more than briefly to cite the facts which reveal Athens as a political democracy. *All* citizens over eighteen years of age were members of the Assembly; *all* citizens over thirty were eligible to membership in the Council of Five Hundred, the members of which were elected annually *by lot*; *all* citizens over thirty were eligible to election *by lot* to serve as jurymen in the Heliastic law courts. As Warde Fowler says: "Every citizen had the right to hold all offices, with the doubtful exception in 450, of the archonship; to serve on the Council; to take part in the Assembly; to sit as judge. There was no privileged class, no skilled politicians, no bureaucracy. The whole Athenian people were identified with, actually were the state. All shared equally in the government, education, and pleasures."¹ For this complete

¹ *The City State*, pp. 152 and 156.

political equality we may let Mr. Dickinson himself eloquently testify. Although he tells us (p. 83) that the artisan and the trader were excluded by their calling from habitual conversance with public affairs,¹ later he says (p. 112): "Among the free citizens, who included persons of every rank, no political distinction at all was drawn. All of them from the lowest to the highest had the right to speak and vote in the great assembly of the people which was the ultimate authority; all were eligible to every administrative post; all sat in turn as jurors in the law courts. The disabilities of poverty were minimized by payment for attendance in the assembly and courts. And what is more extraordinary, even distinctions of ability were levelled by the practice of filling all offices, except the highest, by lot. The citizenship was extended to every rank and calling; the poor man jostled the rich, the shopman the aristocrat, in the Assembly; cobblers, carpenters, smiths, farmers, merchants and retail dealers met together with the ancient landed gentry." "Politically the Athenian trader, and the Athenian artisan, was the equal of the aristocrat of purest blood" (p. 115).

We know that the power of the early Athenian aristocracy had been seriously curtailed by the legislation of Solon and Cleisthenes. After the Persian Wars its influence as an organized party became extremely small because of the democratic reforms of Ephialtes and Pericles through the blows dealt to the prestige of the Areopagus, the exile of Cimon, and the complete ascendancy of Pericles. There was, then, in Athens in the Age of Pericles complete political equality among the citizens; poverty, wealth, station, family, occupation, and prestige all were of no consequence.

II. SOCIAL CONDITIONS

1. *Social status of citizens in general.*—Let us now turn to an examination of the social conditions of Athenian life and scrutinize it for evidences of caste, class, snobbery, inequality, or injustice. In the city the house of the rich man and that of the poor man

¹ As a matter of fact the Assembly was largely constituted of these very elements, which indeed formed the majority; see Plat. *Prot.* 319 D, Plat. *Rep.* 8. 565 A. From Xen. *Mem.* 3. 7. 6 we learn that the Assembly was composed of fullers, cobblers, carpenters, smiths, farmers, wholesale and retail dealers.

differed little in appearance. Private unostentation as contrasted with public magnificence was the rule.¹ In fact, it was considered a breach of good taste to build and occupy a house of conspicuous cost or size. In the next place, simplicity in dress was general. Only the young (and, in particular, the Knights) dared to provoke possible derision or to invite popular prejudice by foppery of attire or appearance. Young Mantisheus² apologizes to the Senate for his long hair and Strepsiades³ is disgusted with his son's "dandyism." Wearing the hair long might arouse suspicion of Spartan or aristocratic sympathies. An ancient witness⁴ testifies that "the Athenian people are not better clothed than the slave or alien, nor in personal appearance is there any superiority." Of course the nature of the employment might influence the quality and nature of the costume.

In all forms of social activity all the citizens participated on a parity. All could attend the theater; all joined in the public festivals and in religious sacrifices and observances. In fact, if any element in Athens was favored it was the poor and lowly. Listen to the testimony of that unregenerate old Aristocrat (just quoted) who is bitterly opposed to Democracy as an institution but admits that it really exists in Athens. He says that if you *must* have Democracy Athens is a perfect example of it, "I do not praise the Polity of the Athenians, because the very choice involves the welfare of the *baser* folk as opposed to that of the *better* class. The poorer classes and the people of Athens should have the advantage over the men of birth and wealth because it is the people who row the vessels, and put around the city her girdle of power. Everywhere greater consideration is shown to the base, to poor people, and to common folk, than to persons of good quality—this should not surprise us, this is the keystone of the preservation of the democracy. It is these poor people, this common folk, this riff-raff, whose prosperity, combined with the growth of their numbers, enhance the democracy. All the world over the cream of society is in opposition to the democracy. The objection may be raised

¹ Dem. *Ol.* 3. 25-26.

² Lysias 16. 18.

³ Ar. *Clouds* 14.

⁴ [Xen.] *Polity of the Athenians* (trans. by Dakyns), composed about 425 B.C. falsely attributed to Xenophon. Cf. Botsford and Sihler, *Hellenic Civilization*, 222 ff.

that it was a mistake to allow the universal right of speech and a seat in council; privileges which should have been reserved for the cleverest, the flower of the community. But if only the better people sat in council blessings would fall only to that class and the baser folk would get nothing. Whereas it is the other way round. The people desire to be free and to be masters and their bad legislation is the very source of the people's strength and freedom." The happy lot of the common people in ancient Athens is further described by this contemporary witness: "The rich man trains the chorus; it is the people for whom the chorus is trained. The rich man is trierarch or gymnasiarch and the people profit by their labors. The whole state sacrifices at public cost a large number of victims; the Attic Democracy keeps holiday. They build at public cost a number of palaestras, dressing-rooms, bathing establishments; the mob gets the benefit of the majority of these luxuries rather than the select few or the well-to-do. In the theater the people do not like to be caricatured in comedy; it is the wealthy or well-born or influential man who is lampooned."

Enough has been said to show that the door of opportunity was open to all in Athens at this time. Worth, ability, character, not accident of birth or position counted. The rich did not grow richer while the poor grew poorer. Surplus wealth was not at the disposal of the few. It was expended for the good of all upon religious observances, the drama, gymnasia, the navy, public buildings and their adornment, and the state support of orphans and those physically incapacitated for earning a living. The wealthier classes were expected, and, in fact, were compelled, to contribute according to their means to the common welfare through the various liturgies and taxes.

2. *The social status of the producer, artisan, etc.*—We come next to a study of the social and economic position of the workers of various kinds. As we have seen, the handbooks in general tell us that all work was regarded as degrading, every activity for which one was paid was condemned, and producers, artisans, and all workers were branded by a humiliating social stigma. No adequate proof of such a condition of affairs is forthcoming; indeed, the actual situation seems to have been otherwise in democratic

Athens of the time of Pericles. Why then is there this general mistaken notion? It is largely because of certain pronouncements in Plato and Aristotle. In the *Laws* and the *Republic* Plato insists on the gulf that should separate the citizen from the mechanic or trader. His ideal state rests upon agriculture and all the citizens are landed gentry forbidden to engage in trade. In this ideal *polis* trade and commerce are to be insignificant and the productive class is actually debarred from all political rights. A caste system is presupposed; governors and governed are sharply differentiated and each class is trained for its predestined position in the state. Aristotle, too, in his ideal state divides the population, on the one hand, into a ruling class of soldiers and judges and, on the other, into a subject class consisting of artisans and producers. As a mechanical trade renders the body and soul and intellect of free persons unfit for the exercise and practice of virtue Aristotle denies to the artisan the proper excellence of man on the ground that his occupation and status are unnatural. In an extreme Democracy the mechanic and hired laborer must needs be citizens; this is impossible in an Aristocracy in which virtue and desert constitute the sole claim to the honors of state. Other radical statements of Aristotle are that the producer only differs from a slave in being subject to all instead of to one man and that the sedentary and within-door nature of the crafts unfitted the man who exercised them for war and the chase, the most dignified employments. Physical labor is condemned by him in that it is cheapening to work for another for pay or material profit as this reduces one to the rank of a slave.¹ This would seem to be the chief source for the curious statement everywhere repeated that all Athenians who did anything for pay were condemned. That Aristotle did not represent Athenian opinion is conclusively shown by his condemnation of agriculture as preventing leisure which is at the basis of virtue. But no one doubts that agriculture was generally and highly esteemed by the Athenians. In Xenophon² in a passage which is represented as spoken by Socrates those base mechanic arts are condemned which ruin the bodies of all those engaged in them, as those who are forced to remain in sitting

¹ *Politics* 5. 1337b8.

² *Oec.* 4. 2-3.

postures and hug the gloom or crouch whole days confronting a furnace. This results in physical enervation and enfeebling of the soul and the victims have no leisure to devote to the claims of friendship and the state. Such will be sorry friends and ill-defenders of the fatherland.

It is absolutely wrong to accept these passages as conclusively proving that the Athenians regarded work as degrading and workers as social outcasts. (1) These writers do not claim to be describing actual Athenian conditions. (2) They are postulating an "ideal" society. (3) They are ever admirers of Spartan,¹ and not their own Athenian polity. (4) They were intense aristocrats in sympathy and mistrusted democracy. (5) They despised the body and its needs. (6) They had particularly in mind soul-destroying drudgery, not reasonable labor and skilled work; corrupt and petty business, not necessary and honest trade and affairs. Frequently they were contrasting the philosopher-statesmen set apart for ruling with the defective yokel. We can, indeed, if we wish, invoke the above-quoted writers in defense of work and the dignity of producing. Plato says in the *Laws*:² "Retail trade in a city is not by nature intended to do any harm, but quite the contrary; for is not he a benefactor who reduces the inequalities and incommensurabilities of goods to equality and common measure? And this is what the power of money accomplishes, and the merchant may be said to be appointed for this purpose." Plato goes on to observe that many occupations have suffered ill-repute because of the inordinate love of gain and consequent corrupt practices on the part of the unscrupulous. He concludes: "If . . . we were to compel the best men everywhere to keep taverns for a time, or carry on retail trade, or do anything of that sort; or if, in consequence of some fate or necessity, the best women were compelled

¹ Cf. Livingstone, *The Greek Genius*, etc., ch. vii. "All the political thinkers of Greece, with the exception of Plato, speak of the state as existing for the individual. Plato is not typically Greek. If Hellenism had been a persecuting religion, it would have been bound to send him to the stake. He is no admirer of freedom and is not a genuine humanist. The chief features of Plato's state are borrowed from Lycurgus with the three castes: labor, military, and governing." See Bury, *History of Greece*, II. p. 148.

² xi. 918, Jowett's trans.

to follow similar callings, then we should know how agreeable and pleasant all these things are; and if all such occupations were managed on incorrupt principles, they would be honored as we honor a mother or nurse." Aristotle in the *Politics* condemns agriculture as we have seen, yet elsewhere¹ he declares: "We honor the generous and brave and just. Such we conceive to be those who do not live upon others; and *such are they who live by labor* . . . chiefly agriculturists, and chief among the agriculturalists, the small farmers." Now these small farmers tilled their own fields;² in the remote districts of Attica slavery had scarcely penetrated. Xenophon³ tells the story of Eutherus, an old friend of Socrates, who, in poverty, as his property had been lost in the war, was gaining a livelihood by bodily toil. Socrates warns him that such employment in his case can be only temporary because of lack of necessary physical strength and urges him to secure a position as assistant to a large proprietor as manager of an estate. Eutherus fears the work may be servile. Socrates replies that heads of departments in a state who manage property are regarded not as performing undignified work but as having attained a higher dignity of freedom. Eutherus still demurs on the ground that he does not like to be accountable to anyone. Socrates replies that it is difficult to find work that is devoid of liability to account. It is difficult to avoid mistakes or unfriendly criticism. "Avoid captious critics," he says, "attach yourself to the considerate. Whatever you can do, do it heart and soul and make it your finest work." Another interesting and significant opinion of Socrates on this subject is reported by Xenophon⁴ which was expressed in a conversation between the philosopher and Aristarchus. The time was during the régime of the Thirty when economic and political conditions were very bad. Aristarchus' house was full of his indigent female relatives, fourteen in all. As these ladies are all expert needlewomen, skilled in the making of garments, Socrates advises his friend to put them to work; Ceramon, for example, with a few slaves, is very prosperous. Aristarchus objects to this proposal; the situations are not comparable; the members of his

¹ *Rhet.* 2. 1381a.² *Mem.* 2. 8.³ *ol. abroupyol.*⁴ *Mem.* 2. 7-8.

large household are not barbarian slaves but are kinswomen and free-born. Socrates replies: "Then, on the ground that they are free-born and relatives you think they ought to do nothing but eat and sleep? Or is it your opinion that free-born people who live in this way lead happier lives and are more to be congratulated than those who devote themselves to such useful arts of life as they are skilled in? Are work and study of no value? Did your relatives learn what they know merely for useless information or as a future asset? Is the well-tempered life and a juster one attained rather through idleness or the practice of the useful? If they were called upon to do some shameful work, let them choose death rather than that; but it is otherwise. It is suitable work for women. The things which we know are those we can best perform; it is a joy to do them, and the result is fair."

Plenty of evidence is available to show that work was esteemed, not only in the times portrayed by Homer in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and Hesiod in his *Works and Days*, but in Athens of the fifth century, B.C.¹ In Athens there was actually a law directed against idleness.² That it was long in force is shown by the fact that Lysias wrote a speech in connection with a prosecution for ἀργία³ for which the penalty on conviction was a fine of one hundred drachmas and ἀτιμία if the accused were thrice convicted. Plutarch⁴ tells us that a son who had not been taught a trade by his father was thereby released from the obligation to support his parent in old age. We have already quoted Pericles to the effect that not poverty but indolence is degrading.

Now the old-fashioned assumption that the Athenians found abundant leisure and opportunity for the *real life* (i.e., art, literature, politics, and philosophy) only because hirelings, slaves, and women did everything for them and the state treasury liberally supported them in *dolce far niente* is ridiculous.⁵ One thing is certain from all we know of the Athenians; they were not indolent; they were energetic in mind and body. Certainly in any state the

¹ See Guiraud, *op. cit.*, 37 ff.

² Attributed to Solon by Hdt. 2. 177 and Diodor. 1. 77.

³ Lysias, frag. 17 (Teub.).

⁴ Sol. 22.

⁵ Cf. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 61 ff., to whom I am here indebted.

wealthy are but a minority of the total population and even upon these rests the duty to manage their property and care for investments. Participation in public life and fulfilment of the demands and duties of good citizenship did not exact from the average Athenian anything like the major part of his waking hours. The Assembly met four times in each prytany (or tenth of a year period), i.e., less than once a week. As the attendance was voluntary only a fraction of all who were entitled to attend were ever present, as convenience or interest dictated. The Council was limited to five hundred citizens and no one might serve more than twice; furthermore, fifty only of the Council (οἱ πρυτάνεις, the standing committee) were continuously on duty so that the majority thus were free to attend to their private affairs. The Heliaea, or Courts of Justice, drew their dicasts or judges for jury service from a list of six thousand citizens. These were usually men of advanced years who had volunteered for such service. Universal military service at this time was not obligatory. Festivals and contests were generally attended but they occurred probably not oftener than once a week on the average. It has been estimated that a total of from two to three years of every citizen's life were required for deliberative and administrative duties. Many writers have emphasized the huge number of citizens who were supposedly pensioners luxuriously supported, apparently permanently and completely, by largess from the Periclean treasury. We have seen that public duties were not constant. As for the compensation it must be remembered that the daily living wage for the workman was from one drachma (about 18 cents), to one and a half. Now at the time under consideration Assemblymen received no compensation; jurymen received two obols (about six cents) daily for service; members of the Council of Five Hundred, elected annually by lot, were paid five obols (about fifteen cents). In the light of these facts how can it be claimed that Pericles *corrupted* the citizens generally by gifts of money, making them idle, cowardly, and greedy¹ or to assume that these citizens were all dependent on public pay and could entirely support their households on these meager stipends. Mr. Grundy² declares:

¹ So Plat. *Gorg.* 515 E.

² *Thucydides and the History of His Age*, p. 107.

"A condition of things in which a large proportion of a community is either practically or wholly dependent on the community for subsistence is unhealthy from both a social and political viewpoint." But only a minority of the fifty to sixty thousand adult male citizens received any state pay. The remuneration given was not a living wage; it was merely a contribution to support by which Pericles provided that *all*, and not merely the well-to-do, might participate, in turn, in civic affairs and obtain that benefit and culture from active personal public service to which he eloquently refers in the Funeral Oration. Nor was the remuneration intended as a sop to placate the discontented and starving proletariat. As Ferguson¹ says: "Pericles did not intend to create a class of salaried officials; nor yet to make an advance toward communism. His ideal was political, not economic, equality—to enable all, irrespective of wealth or station, to use the opportunities and face the obligations which democracy brought in its train. Like all the great democratic leaders who preceded him, he was a nobleman by birth and breeding, and, like them, he did not doubt for a moment that the culture that enobled the life of his class would dignify and uplift that of the masses also. His aim was to unite the whole people in a community of high ideas and emotions. It was to make them a nation of noblemen." If this were not the case, Pericles' noble speech, which stands in history by the side of Lincoln's Gettysburg address, is the most hypocritical document preserved to us from the past.

Since the number of wealthy citizens was small how did the ordinary citizen gain his livelihood? It was by means of agriculture, handicrafts, trades, wholesale and retail business, and daily labor. No occupation was more respected and admired than agriculture. Farms were small, tenancy almost unknown. The small farmer tilled his fields with his own hands. In the arts and crafts and in labor no one needed to be idle for the state policies of Pericles and the great building operations not only gave employment to all the residents of Athens, whether free men or slaves, but attracted workers from far and near. Thousands of citizens, perhaps a third of the whole, gained a livelihood by labor. While

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

commerce was largely in the hands of the resident-aliens, and the heaviest drudgery was performed by slaves, the mass of the skilled workers were free citizens. Stone-cutters, masons, and sculptors had their shops or yards where they worked privately with their apprentices, or they might be engaged in public work, as the building operations on the Acropolis, working side by side with other citizens, with metics, and with slaves.¹

Modest means, even poverty (certainly *paupertas*), was the rule in Athens and was no bar to achievement and distinction. Life and its needs was simple, and money in itself as an accumulation was not desired. A uniform wage was paid practically to all skilled workmen alike. Everyone who had skill or art was an artist, a term applied to sculptors, painters, physicians, and cobblers. Our handbooks generally assert that every occupation or profession which brought any financial return was despised and its practitioner was socially held in contempt. Slight reflection should show the absurdity of this thesis; there is no actual evidence to prove it. Plato, to be sure, who was wealthy and an aristocrat, sneers at those sophists and teachers who were compelled to take money for teaching. Of course there were some charlatans in this profession, but we may be certain that such sophists as Gorgias, Protagoras, Isocrates, and Alcidamas (all professors who accepted tuition from countless students who were only too glad to pay it) were held in high esteem in Athens. So were lawyers and speech-writers for pay, such as Antiphon, Lysias, and Isaeus. Literary men who accepted pay, poets who received purses for prizes, and actors who profited financially by their labors stood in the highest social esteem. The prestige of physicians depended on their skill and personality. The ignoramus and the charlatan were contemned; the skilled and public-spirited surgeon might be richly rewarded and given an honorary crown and public thanks.² The elementary-school teacher, the music and gymnastic instructor, were not highly regarded, not because they received money for their services, but because most of them were ignorant men and often of inferior breeding. As for the great artists, sculptors, and

¹ Cf. Zimmern, *Greek Commonwealth*, chap. vii.

² See Hermann, *Lehrb. d. Griech. Privataltertümer*, pp. 351 ff.; cf. Michel, *Rec.*, 120.

painters it is simply impossible to believe such a statement as this: "Even the great artists, painters, and sculptors fell under public contempt simply because they earned money."¹ Could this be true of a Phidias, a Polygnotus, an Ictinus, or a Mnesicles? But we know that Phidias was a warm and extremely intimate personal friend of Pericles.² In fact, the statesmen admired the sculptor so highly that the latter was entrusted with the greatest powers in superintending the ornamentation of the great temples. As for Polygnotus, a native of Thasos, he was the personal friend of Cimon,³ and was actually honored by the Athenians with citizenship. Expert potters and vase-painters were very numerous. While some of these were resident aliens (e.g. Amasis and Brygos), very many were citizens. Thus we find such names of prominent vase-makers as Klitias, Ergotimos, Nikosthenes, Epiktetes, Pamphaios, Euphronios, Hieron, and Megakles. A typical vase-making establishment would engage the services of some twelve persons who might be citizens, metics, and slaves all working side by side in equality.⁴ Citizen artists and artisans proclaim with pride, and do not conceal in shame, their occupations. Vase-painters and makers signed their wares. A scene (The Workshop of a Greek Vase-Painter) on a vase⁵ shows two Victories and Athena herself crowning the workmen, as Pottier says: "a poetic symbol to glorify the fame of Athenian industry." Indeed, artisans regarded themselves as under the special protection of Hephaestus, the smith, and of Athena, mistress of the arts and crafts, and were proud to claim descent from these deities.⁶ The potter, Euphronios, when making an offering to Athena calls himself in his dedication, *κεραμεύς*,⁷ and the same procedure is followed by the fuller Simon, the tanner Smikros, and the potters, Mnesiades and Nearchus.⁸ On a funereal bas-relief a cobbler was represented in a heroic attitude holding the insignia of his trade.⁹ In the neighborhood of the Agora shops were especially numerous. These places served

¹ Gulick, *op. cit.*, p. 234.² Plut. *Per.* 13. 9.³ Plut. *Cim.* 4.⁴ Cf. Pottier, *Douris and the Painters of Greek Vases*.⁵ *Ibid.*, Fig. 2.⁷ *CIA*, IV, 1, p. 79, no. 362.⁶ Plato *Laws* II. 920 D.⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 88, 101, 103.⁹ Conze, *Attische Grabreliefs*, T. I, Pl. 119.

as centers of gossip and of news for Athenians generally, as we are told in a graphic passage in an informative speech of Lysias.¹ It was among these craftsmen that Socrates, who had himself started in life as a stonecutter, spent much time in conversation. When he was, on an occasion, in search of a gentleman, he did not hesitate to go the round of various good carpenters, bronzeworkers, painters, and sculptors.

The comedies of Aristophanes are sometimes taken as proof of great social distinctions and inequalities existing among the citizens of Athens. Thus Mr. Dickinson,² in an endeavor to maintain his thesis that Athens was politically democratic but socially intensely aristocratic, quotes at length the passage from the comedy of the *Knights* where the sausage-seller is assured that his crass ignorance, boorish vulgarity, and dense stupidity are the strongest possible recommendations and assets for the highest political distinction. We are apparently to infer that Aristophanes was himself a deep-dyed aristocrat who despised the people and their rule and that he was the spokesman for a large aristocratic section of Athenian society who were extremely hostile to democratic government. These views are unwarranted and, indeed, have been wholly discredited.³ Aristophanes was not a partisan; he was a conservative. He was not an opponent of democracy nor yet an aristocrat. It is true that he was a well-educated man of keen discernment, a friend of the *Knights*, and was doubtless on good terms with members of the aristocratic element in Athens. But he was friendly to the cause of democracy and sincerely wished to do it a favor by fearlessly revealing those defects to which a democratic form of

¹ *On the Cripple* (No. 24), 19-20: "My accuser says that many unprincipled men gather at my shop. But you (the large jury) all know that this accusation is not directed at me more than other artisans, nor at those who frequent my place more than those who go to other shops. Each of you is accustomed to visit the establishment of the perfumer, or the barber, or the leatherworker, etc. If any of you shall condemn my visitors then he must condemn the frequenters of other places; and if these, then *all the Athenians*. Certainly *all* of you are accustomed to frequent these shops and spend time somewhere or other."

² Page 113: "We may quote a passage from Aristophanes which shows at once the influence exercised by the trading class and the disgust with which that influence was regarded by *the aristocracy whom the poet represents*."

³ See Croiset, *Aristophanes and the Political Parties at Athens*, trans. by Loeb.

government is especially liable and to give warning of possible dangers. This he constantly does in his plays with that exaggeration and caricature which are characteristic of the Old Comedy. In the opinion of the poet grave danger to the democracy might arise from unscrupulous demagogy as represented by such knaves as Cleon. In the case of Cleon, who is lampooned in the play of the *Knights*, Aristophanes is actuated by intense animus as a result of previous personal encounters. Thus Cleon is excoriated as a vulgar, coarse, and despicable individual, and the dramatist tries to discredit his influence and popularity. It is a great mistake to take Aristophanes' savage attacks on vulgar demagogues and criticisms of weaknesses in democratic government as proof that Aristophanes was an aristocrat who condemned and arraigned the people as a whole for vulgarity and incompetency. That he did not despair of the democracy and that he sympathized and fraternized with the "lower classes" is shown by those plays in which the chief personages, although of low degree, are "sympathetic characters," e.g., Dicaeopolis, the charcoal-burner of the *Acharnians* and Strepsiades, the rough countryman of the *Clouds*.

In the opinion of Croiset, "the best Athenian society was the most open-hearted, most variously constituted, and most liberal society that has ever existed. The Athens that Plato shows us is a sort of talking place, where everybody is supposed to know everybody else, and where each person has a perfect right to make acquaintance with those he meets."¹ As typical illustrations of this social democracy he refers to two social gatherings of which we have admirable accounts. In Xenophon's *Symposium* we have a description of a banquet held in 421 B.C., in the house of the wealthy Callias, son of Hipponicus, of a great and rich Athenian family. The guests include all sorts of people, rich, poor, philosophers and ignoramuses, and all converse familiarly on terms of equality and intimacy. In the same way, Plato, in his *Symposium*, an account of a dinner held at the house of Agathon in 416 B.C., reveals the same intermixture of classes and professions.

3. *The status of the metics*.—We have now completed our discussion of the essentially democratic political and social status

¹ Croiset, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

of Athenian citizens. It remains to consider briefly the other two classes of the inhabitants of Attica who are commonly regarded, along with the poorer citizens, as the exploited victims of the Athenian aristocracy. These elements are the metics (resident aliens) and the slaves.

The rapid commercial growth and naval expansion of Athens early caused a shortage of workers and helpers of all kinds. The citizen population was numerically inadequate to assume these new duties in addition to the performance of their regular occupations and the prosecution of agriculture. This demand was met by extending a welcome to foreigners and this policy was continued and encouraged by Pericles. Their exact number in the year 431 B.C. is unknown. Meyer's¹ estimate is adult male metics 14,000 to about 55,000 adult male citizens; Clerc² estimates them at 24,000, followed by Zimmern;³ Ferguson⁴ gives the number of adult male citizens as 50,000, and a total population of Attica of 300,000 of which one-sixth was foreign and one-third servile. There may have been, then, one adult male metic for every two citizens.

What was the lot of the metics? It has been asserted that their social position was humiliating and that they were disliked and even despised by the ordinary citizen.⁵ But contemporary evidence does not indicate this. Pericles says: "We open our city to all and never drive out foreigners." The scene of Plato's dialogue, *The Republic*, is the house of Cephalus, a prominent and influential man, but a metic who had been invited to Attica by Pericles himself. Another contemporary⁶ speaks of "the equality between the metics and the full citizens, because the city stands in need of her resident aliens to meet the requirements of such a multiplicity of arts and for the purposes of her navy." Thucydides has Nicias say to metic sailors that they and not any friends or allies outside were the "only free partners with the Athenians in the Empire."⁷ The metics participated fully in the social and reli-

¹ *Kleine Studien*, p. 129.

² P. 409.

³ *Les mêtèques Athéniens*, p. 373.

⁴ P. 42.

⁵ Gulick, p. 65, and Headlam, *J.H.S.* (1906), p. 273.

⁶ [Xen.] *Pol. of the Athenians*, I, 12.

⁷ 7. 63. 3-4.

gious life of the city. Neither in dress nor appearance could they be distinguished from the citizens. They attended the theater,¹ they had a prominent place and dress in the Panathenaic procession,² they were demesmen and worshipped the same deities as the citizens.³ Like the citizens they defrayed the expenses of the liturgies and served in the army and the navy. When any list of Athenian inhabitants is given the metics are always named as an essential element of the population.⁴ They worked in large numbers side by side and for equal pay with the citizens in all kinds of work⁵ as, for example, the construction of the Erechtheum.⁶ They are found engaged in all the occupations, as workers and artisans of all kinds, as merchants at Peiraeus and at Athens, as bankers and capitalists, as painters, sculptors, and artists, as architects, and as philosophers and orators. Many of the famous pupils of Isocrates were metics, and no less than three of the celebrated Canon of the Ten Orators were resident aliens, namely, Isaeus of Chalcis, Lysias of Syracuse, and Deinarchus of Corinth.

The fee of twelve drachmas (about \$2.16) required of metics was a petty matter, a legal formality of registration and license and not an onerous tax burden, as it is often regarded. The liability to taxes beyond those required of citizens was not great. Perhaps the most serious limitation imposed upon aliens was the inability legally to own real property. But metics might be placed on equal terms as to taxation and the owning of property with the citizens thereby becoming *ισοτελεῖς*, and full citizenship might be conferred by vote of the Assembly. For example, an inscription⁷ is preserved which records the grant of full citizenship on those metics who participated in the return of the democrats from Phyle (in 404-3) and helped in the restoration. In the list occur some strangely sounding foreign names, e.g. *Βενδιφάνης* and *Ψαμμῖς*, and their occupations as given are decidedly humble, such as cook, gardener, carpenter, fuller, etc.

The Athenians have been harshly criticized for not freely and generally granting citizenship to the metics. At first thought the

¹ Haigh, *Attic Theater*, pp. 364 and 376.

⁴ See Guiraud, *op. cit.*, pp. 152 ff.

² Harpoc. and Suidas, s.v. *Σκαφηφόροι*.

⁵ See Clerc, *Les métèques Athéniens*.

³ Cf. Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, vol. 22.

⁶ *CIA*, I, 324.

⁷ Hicks-Hill, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 161 ff.

criticism may seem valid and Athens illiberal. But the citizenship to the Athenian was not merely a political privilege; it was a sacred and usually an *inherited* possession. Loss of citizenship was to be feared more than death itself. Athens was a small and homogeneous community and the Athenians regarded themselves as autochthonous, like their favorite and symbolic cicada, sprung from the very soil of Attica itself. There is danger to a state in a too rapid influx of aliens who are given the powers of citizenship before real political and social assimilation has taken place. Even free America requires a term of years of probation before naturalization, and one of our greatest problems surely is this very one of the assimilation of the large number of our resident aliens. As Aristotle¹ says: "Another cause for revolution is difference of races which do not acquire a common spirit; for the state is not the growth of a day, neither is it a multitude brought together by accident. Hence the reception of strangers in colonies has generally produced revolution." It is true that the metics of Athens were not on full terms of political equality with the citizens but it has been shown that the yawning social and economic gulf postulated by modern writers between citizen and resident foreigner did not really exist.

4. *The status of the slaves.*—The institution of slavery existed throughout the ancient world from the earliest times. The Athenians, with but few exceptions, regarded slavery as natural and justifiable. It is again Aristotle, the fourth-century theorist and philosopher, who is made the starting-point for most modern discussions of slavery among the Greeks and the iniquity of the institution as maintained even by the cultured Athenians of the time of Pericles. In his treatment of this subject Aristotle² characterizes in a cold-blooded legal fashion the slave as being merely "a breathing machine or tool, a piece of animated property" (*ἐμψυχον ὄργανον, κτῆμά τι ἐμψυχον*) and asserts that some men are so inferior that they may be regarded as slaves by nature. It is interesting to note, however, that Aristotle in another passage³ admits that there were some who protested against such a view. He says: "Others regard slave owning as doing violence to nature

¹ *Politics* 1303a.

² *Politics* 1253b; *Eth. Nic.* 1161b.

³ *Politics* 1253b.

on the ground that the distinction of slave and free man is wholly conventional and has no place in nature, and therefore is void of justice, as resting on mere force." Plato,¹ too, regards slavery as natural and justifiable but would forbid the enslavement of Greeks;² he admits, however, that "a slave is an embarrassing possession, the distinction between man and slave being a difficult one and slaves should be well-treated and not abused or insulted."³ Aristotle, also, advises good treatment for the slave.⁴

Recent writers have been very severe in their strictures on the Athenians for tolerating slavery. Professor Mahaffy⁵ writes: "Our real superiority lies in our moral ideals, in our philanthropy, our care of the poor and the sick."⁶ I do not know whether the existence and justification of slavery as a natural institution are not the main cause of this difference. Xenophon tells us of the callous and brutal attitude to slaves and prisoners. If it was true then it must have been true ten times more in the colder, harsher, and more selfish society of the preceding generation. The milk of human kindness seems to have run dry among them. . . . The association of the good with the beautiful and the true seems incomplete. The latter two are attained in no ordinary degree. The former, which is to us the most divine of the three, was but poorly represented." Mr. Dickinson⁷ goes so far as to say that Athenian slaves had *no political and social rights at all*. It is true that a minority of the slaves in Attica must have had an unenviable existence. These were the men who, in large numbers, slaved in the silver mines at Laurium. But what was the lot of the majority of the slaves in Attica? A contemporary⁸ testifies: "An extraordinary amount of license is granted to slaves . . . where a blow is illegal, and a slave will not step aside to let you pass him on the street. . . . The Athenian people is not better clothed

¹ *Rep.* 5. 469.

² *Laws* 777b.

³ *Rep.* 563b.

⁴ *Politics* 1255b.

⁵ *A Survey of Greek Civilisation*, p. 150. But see Gulick, *Humanity among the Greeks in Harvard Essays on Classical Subjects*.

⁶ Charity on a scientific basis, to be sure, is a modern institution, but we should not forget that Athens supported at public expense war-orphans (cf. Thuc. *Per. Funeral Speech*), also gave aid to the poor who were physically incapacitated for work (See Lysias, *On the Cripple*) and maintained public physicians. (See Boeckh, *Staatsk.*, I, 308 ff.)

⁷ *P.* 76.

⁸ [Xen.] *Pol. of the Athenians*, I, 10-12.

than the slave or alien, nor in personal appearance is there any superiority. . . . Slaves in Athens are allowed to indulge in luxury, and indeed in some cases to live magnificently.¹ . . . We have established an equality between our slaves and free men." Newly acquired slaves were received into the household with showers (*καταχύσματα*²) of confections. They participated as members of the family in religious rites and sacrifices.³ They might attend the theater.⁴ They worked side by side with their masters in the workshop or might even be permitted to work on their own account exercising an independent profession (*χωρὶς οἰκοῦντες*) either paying a commission to their masters or actually purchasing their freedom and gaining thereby the status of metics. The law protected a slave from being the victim of *ὑβρις* and the aggressor was subject to fine. The slave might not be put to death; a free man who had killed a slave was subject to prosecution for manslaughter. Refuge from a cruel master was afforded by flight to a temple as sanctuary,⁵ namely, to the Theseum, the Sanctuary of the Erinyes, and the altar of Athena Polias. Freedom might be granted outright by the master, while the state at times enfranchised slaves who had fought for Athens.⁶ In case of illness a slave might be affectionately cared for and at death mourned as a relative.⁷

It is certainly a false assertion to claim that Athenian society *rested on slavery* and that slavery was the *dominant* factor in Athenian economic life. The slaves were in the minority⁸ in the total population at this period and the prosperity and greatness of the state was due to the industry, the initiative, and the efficiency of citizen and metic. Mr. Grundy⁹ says that "the ultimate controlling fact in Greek politics of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. is the evil economic condition of the lower classes due to the competition of slave labour as competition with slave labour was impossible for the free proletariat." But this was not the case in the

¹ Cf. Aesch. 1. 54.

² See Suidas, s.v. and Sch. to Ar. *Plut.* 768.

³ Aesch. *Agam.* 1037, *χαρίτων κοινωριον*.

⁴ Haigh, *Athic Theater*, pp. 364, 368.

⁵ See Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 42, and Whibley, *Comp. to Greek Studies*, § 541.

⁶ *Thucydides and the History of His Age*, p. 106.

⁵ Michel, *Rec.*, 557.

⁶ Xen. *Mem.* 2. 4. 3.

⁷ For example, Arginusae.

fifth century. There was no unemployment in Athens in the Age of Pericles. As we have seen the demand for labor was so great that extensive immigration was encouraged and there was a living wage for all. It is undoubtedly true, however, that in the fourth century and later the competition of slave with free labor gave rise to economic distress at a time when the citizens had decreased in number but the slaves had enormously increased. Mr. Grundy further declares that all hand-labor became associated with slavery and hence became incompatible with the dignity of the free man. The absolute falsity of this conception has already been established.

CONCLUSION

As a result of this study the following conclusions may be made:

1. Perhaps the greatest error and most unscientific procedure of many writers is to disregard or underestimate local conditions and, in particular, the chronological factor. Far too often authors indulge in generalizations regarding "the ancient Greek." It is no more possible to make general sweeping statements correctly characterizing the institutions of "the ancient Greek" than it would be accurately to estimate the civilization of "the modern European." Sparta and Athens were as far apart politically and socially in numerous respects as Germany and America, while Athens of the second half of the fifth century B.C. in its political, social, and economic conditions was by no means the Athens of the sixth or fourth centuries.

2. The ideal, aristocratic conceptions of Plato and Aristotle must not, and cannot be taken literally to reflect actual Athenian conditions. Certainly Aristotle should not be taken as having "an average Greek mind" in his attitude toward society¹ nor is he, or Plato, representative of fifth-century popular belief.²

3. The time-honored tradition that Athenians despised all work and looked down upon all workers is false and our handbooks

¹ As might be inferred from Mr. Dickinson, p. 76.

² Cf. Guiraud, *Etudes économiques sur l'antiquité*, p. 52: "Les philosophes avaient beau alléguer que le citoyen, pour être vraiment à la hauteur de ses obligations, doit être comme à Sparte, un homme de loisir, et que, s'il ne peut pas vivre entièrement du travail d'autrui, il doit tout au moins s'interdire les professions manuelles, qui ont le double inconvénient de dégrader le corps et l'âme; cette opinion était en désaccord avec le sentiment public et la législation des démocraties."

need revision in their treatment of this topic.¹ It is true that in Athens, as with us, some occupations were thought less desirable and less dignified than others. In no land and at no time is the day laborer esteemed as highly as the statesman. Drudgery and menial employment the Athenians disliked and avoided; so do we. But the citizen who earned his living in some honest way and accepted money for his services was the rule and not the exception, nor was he as a result a social outcast but was a member, in good political and social standing, of the commonwealth.²

4. The disabilities of the metics are generally exaggerated. Their position in Athenian society was not humiliating. While the resident aliens did not have full participation in political duties and privileges they did share, in a remarkable measure, the life of the citizens.

5. Slavery was, of course, an Athenian institution, and the right of owning slaves was, in general, not questioned. It is clear, however, that as a rule they were treated by their masters with humaneness and consideration, with the exception of the lowest class of public slaves who were employed in the mines.

6. It would be absurd to claim perfection for the Athenian democracy of the Age of Pericles, or to pretend that the Athenians had completely and happily solved the innumerable and complicated social, political, and economic problems which still vex the world and which still await solution even today. Athens was not, of course, at any time a perfect democracy. But that it was far more democratic and far less aristocratic in the time of Pericles than is generally assumed and asserted is certain.

¹ Tucker, *Life in Ancient Athens*, is, in some respects, an exception.

² Guiraud, *ibid.*, p. 53: "Nul n'y rougissait de son métier, à moins qu'il ne fût notoirement sordide ou immoral."

LATIN EXAMINATIONS AS TESTS OF INTELLIGENCE¹

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Among the romances of my early reading that linger pleasantly in my memory is Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Oldtown Folks*. It is a simple yet vivacious description of life in New England as the eighteenth century gave place to the nineteenth, and it appealed to my imagination then, as in certain moods it does still, through its pictures of the part that religion, or rather, perhaps, theology, played in the daily life and thought of those times. One of the most engaging figures is a certain Jonathan Rossiter, the head of an academy at which the four young people of the story are educated. Nearly one hundred pages are devoted to the experiences of the years that they spend under his instruction, but a single quotation may serve to suggest the intellectual atmosphere of their school world.

He scorned all conventional rules in teaching, and he would not tolerate a mechanical lesson, and took delight in puzzling his pupils and breaking up all routine business by startling and unexpected questions and assertions. He compelled everyone to think, and to think for himself. "Your heads may not be the best in the world," was one of his sharp off-hand sayings, "but they are the best God has given you and you must use them for yourselves."

To tell the truth, he used his teaching somewhat as a mental gratification for himself. If there was a subject he wanted to investigate, or an old Greek or Latin author that he wanted to dig out, he would put a class on it, without the least regard to whether it was in the course of college preparation or not, and if a word was said by any poor mechanical body, he would blast out upon him with a sort of despotic scorn. "Learn to read Greek perfectly," he said, "and it's no matter what you read"; or, "learn to use your own heads, and you can learn anything."²

We read presently that it was a matter of pride with Mr. Rossiter that his boys should go to Cambridge more than ready, and we are

¹ A paper read at the fourteenth annual meeting of the Classical Association of New England, at Wheaton College, Norton, Mass., March 29, 1919.

² Stowe, *Oldtown Folks*, chap. xxxiii.

not surprised. His whole training aimed at the development of alert intelligence and individual initiative in the use of it.

However modest we may be, the present war has given us just ground for pride in the intelligence of the American soldier. His resourcefulness has been much in evidence. And certainly never before has the science of psychology been so utilized to ascertain the fact and the degree of the presence of intelligence with a view to securing by proper assignment to duty the greatest military efficiency. The tests¹ used in the Army were prepared by a committee of the American Psychological Association and of the National Research Council, and up to November 1, 1918, approximately 1,500,000 men had been tested. Professor E. L. Thorndike has given us recently² a very interesting account of some of the results of these tests. He raises the question: "If for the sake of war we can measure roughly the intelligence of a third of a million soldiers a month, and find it profitable to do so, can we not each year measure the intelligence of every child coming ten years of age and will not that be still more profitable?"

It is important to note at this point that the tests used in the Army were intended to measure one thing only, namely, intelligence.

The rating a man earns furnishes a fairly reliable index of his ability to learn, to think quickly and accurately, to analyze a situation, to maintain a state of mental alertness, and to comprehend and follow instructions. The score is little influenced by schooling. Some of the highest records have been made by men who had not completed the eighth grade.³

"The score," it is officially claimed, "is little influenced by schooling." It would however, I should think, be discouraging to feel that study in school or in college dulled the edge of this native intelligence. It would, in fact, seem to be quite unfortunate if any subject in the curriculum should be so taught as not to call into play for the quicker mastery of its problems this general responsiveness to the facts of life. We Latinists certainly must hold with Matthew Arnold⁴ that Montesquieu was right in saying

¹ *Army Mental Tests* (Nov. 22, 1918). Office of the Surgeon General, Washington, D.C.

² "Scientific Personnel Work in the Army," *Science*, XLIX (Jan. 17, 1919), 53-61.

³ *Army Mental Tests*, p. 5.

⁴ *Culture and Anarchy*, chap. i, p. 6.

that "the first motive which ought to impel us to study is the desire to augment the excellence of our nature and to render an intelligent being yet more intelligent." We must agree with Professor Barrett Wendell when, in an article¹ justifying by purely practical considerations the old system of classics and mathematics in comparison with anything newer, he says:

Education is a matter partly of information and partly of training. The latter phase of it seems to me the more important. A satisfactorily educated man distinguishes himself from an uneducated one chiefly because for general purposes his faculties are better under his control. An educated man, in short, when confronted with new or unexpected problems, can generally use his wits better than an uneducated one. Here we are on purely practical ground.

If, then, the study of Latin actually furthers the use of one's wits, actually renders a pupil more resourceful when confronted by a problem within the general range of his physical and mental experience, one may reasonably expect to find satisfactory evidence of this throughout the years of the Latin course, and in particular in the examinations in which he has opportunity to use alike his information and his training. Please do not think that these remarks portend a jeremiad. "Are we down-hearted? No!" I need only present to you an analysis of statistics given on pages 20 and 21 of Professor Fiske's Report covering the examinations of June, 1918. The ordinary examinations in seventeen different subjects were taken by 9,889 candidates with the following result for the first eight places:

Subject	Number of Candidates	60-100 Per Cent
1. Greek.....	698	67.5
2. Mathematics.....	11,646	62.9
3. Latin.....	8,314	59.9
4. Botany.....	58	58.6
5. French.....	4,664	58.0
6. Physics.....	1,829	52.9
7. Chemistry.....	992	52.2
8. Zoölogy.....	14	50.0

In these seventeen subjects the Board held fifty separate examinations, e.g., Mathematics A2, Latin 3, French A. If we consider

¹ "Our National Superstition," *North American Review*, CLXXIX (1904), 388-401.

examinations that were taken by at least ninety-nine candidates (one per cent of the total number), we shall find that in twenty-two of the fifty more than one-half of the candidates secured 60 per cent or higher. If we arrange these twenty-two separate examinations in the order of their superiority, as Professor C. H. Forbes did at the close of his admirable paper on "The Sham Argument against Latin," we shall note with satisfaction the following result: Greek BG, Greek CH, Mathematics A₂, Mathematics A, Latin 3, Mathematics B, Latin 4, Latin 5, French A, Latin 6, Mathematics D, Greek A₂, Latin 2, Mathematics F, Mathematics C, Latin 1, 2, 4, English 1, French B, Physics, Chemistry, Greek A₁, German A. In other words, out of the first five places Greek has two, Mathematics two, Latin one; out of the first ten places, Latin has four, Mathematics three, Greek two, French one; out of the first fifteen places, Mathematics has six, Latin five, Greek three, French one. Only one of the Latin examinations taken by any considerable number of candidates failed to secure a place among these eighteen, viz., Latin 1, Grammar, in which, alas, only 43.9 per cent out of 1,024 candidates secured 60 per cent or higher. We may, however, console ourselves by the fact that Latin 3, Second-Year Latin, involving translation at sight only, with relevant questions on grammar and composition, stood fifth in the entire list of fifty examinations and only 28.9 per cent of 1,901 candidates failed to secure 60 per cent or higher. It is, then, beyond cavil that, so far as the statistics of the Board for 1918, covering the performance of nearly 10,000 individual pupils, throw light upon the results of secondary education, Mathematics, Latin, and Greek are easily the best taught subjects in the United States. Let us present our respectful compliments to Dr. Abraham Flexner.

Can we do better? I think we can and should. We can and should in the translation of every Latin sentence in the classroom throughout the entire course call into play as our most potent helper that general intelligence, that mother-wit, the possession and use of which distinguishes a human being from a parrot. With mother-wit on the alert, *ex pede Herculem* becomes possible; without mother-wit, even a very fair amount of information about syntax may lead to an incorrect translation. A knowledge of

vocabulary is in general absolutely indispensable, but even here intelligence can in not a few cases make good a temporary deficiency, not by any haphazard guess, but through the logical compulsion of the words that are known. Why should we fear to train as at least a by-product of our work something that is akin to the scientific imagination? Some scientists claim that "the development and discipline of the imagination is the best gift of science to our intellectual life, and hence to liberal education."¹

Let me make my meaning clear by a few sentences taken from First-Year Latin Books, with some *variae lectiones* of my own. I shall assume an intelligent pupil who knows the meanings of the Latin words, who has a decent knowledge of the forms and their simple meanings as given with the paradigms, but whose acquaintance with case and mood constructions is extremely limited. With this relatively slender equipment he relies as much as possible upon his mother-wit; but, having come to regard his teacher as a sensible person, he obeys the three commandments that have been declared to be necessary to salvation: (1) Rely upon the order of the Latin words as a sure clue to the meaning of the sentence; (2) Never identify a Latin word with one single English word. Words are at best only symbols. The English rendering² should vary according to the context. (3) Distrust every apparent meaning of a sentence which does not agree with ordinary common sense.

Listen to such a pupil as he comments on some Latin sentences. *Aquam nautae amant.* Only one meaning possible. *Vitam nautae amant:* "Sailors love life." Perhaps; but 'so do other people. Why then say so? "They love a sailor's life." Much more sensible, and therefore more likely. But I can not be sure until I know what circumstances called forth the remark. *Decem annis Caesar multa bella gessit:* "For (during) ten years Caesar waged many wars." Possibly, but he must have had his hands full in

¹ See Professor E. B. Wilson's noble address, "Science and Liberal Education," *Science*, XLII (Nov. 5, 1915), 625-30.

² See H. C. Nutting, "The Translation of Latin," *Classical Journal*, V (1910), 165-70. Professor Nutting gives an interesting list of fifteen different renderings of *magnum*.

fighting many different foes at once. "In (within) ten years Caesar waged many wars." Much more sensible, and therefore more likely. *Decem annis Caesar duo milia hominum interfecit.* Only one meaning possible, viz., "In (within) ten years" *Urbem defensoribus vacuum reppererunt.* Let us suppose for a moment that he ignores the forms almost absolutely. He writes down the English equivalents of the Latin words in their order: "city defenders empty have found." Do these words mean "The defenders found the city empty"? Unlikely. One would expect the assailants, not the defenders, to find the city empty. "The city found the defenders empty"? Nonsense! Intelligence is thus forced to a correct translation with almost no help from the forms. *Avari milites aras spoliaverunt donis:* "Greedy soldiers altars have despoiled gifts." Every combination nonsensical except one. Again a correct translation with almost no help from forms. *Ipsius Sullae domum deleverunt, filios et uxorem fuga salutem petere coegerunt:* "Himself Sulla home they destroyed, sons and wife flight safety to seek they compelled." One bit of syntax is here requisite, viz., the case of home, for it might be *at home*. This determined, every combination, as before, is nonsensical save the right one. *Omni rebus ad profectionem comparatis diem constituunt qua die ad ripam Rhodani omnes conveniant:* "all things to (for) departure procured day they fix which day to bank Rhone all they assembled." As *comparatis* obviously goes with *rebus*, this collocation leads to an inevitable result except for one momentary doubt. Do they all *actually* assemble? Then why not Indicative Mood? Ah! one naturally fixes a day for a meeting, a day on which to meet. "They fixed, then, a day on which they are all to assemble at the bank of the Rhone." Quite sensible!

Consider now parts of two sentences from the passage set last June for translation at sight on Latin 5.

. . . fluctibus actos
atra subegit hiems vestris succedere terris

"waves driven black has forced winter (storm) your to approach lands." Evidently X (identity not yet clear) "has forced" Y (identity not yet clear) "to approach your land." What next?

What further slight acquaintance with grammar will yet suffice? Simply this, that *actos* is accusative plural, while *fluctibus* is not, *subegit* is singular, and *atra* and *hiems* are both nominative. Only one translation is now reasonable.

Sive fide seu quis bello est expertus et armis

"Whether good faith or anyone war has tested and arms." "Whether . . . or" gives a choice between two different things. "Good faith" then is clearly different from "war and arms," and must express some friendly relation. The words then yield apparently perfectly good sense: "Whether anyone has tested good faith or war and arms." But the nouns because of their forms cannot be the objects of the verb, and one commonly makes a test "by" some means or "in" some way. The object of the verb must now be sought in the main clause, and is clearly the idea expressed in the preceding verse in the words *dextram potentem*. Our pupil, however, will perhaps be content with the following translation: "Whether anyone has made a test in friendship or in war and arms." The correct translation is thus forced with only slight help from syntax; yet both these sentences, especially the second, caused great difficulty last June to fourth-year candidates.

Latin abounds in whole sentences or whole clauses whose meaning can be determined by the exercise of intelligence in the manner that I have roughly sketched. Shall we, then, eliminate the study of syntax? *Di meliora duint!* But it is certainly tragic if information about syntax, instead of helping intelligence to operate more swiftly and more confidently actually confuses it, or even tends to its disuse. A fully inflected language like Latin provides constant guide-posts to the meaning that are lacking in a comparatively uninflected language like English. I beg your consideration of a number of English passages for whose meaning the reader is forced to rely wholly upon mother-wit. With the exception of some from Milton's *Paradise Lost* these passages are all taken from books in the lists upon which the Board's entrance examinations in English are based. On the paper in English 2—Literature, for last June you will find a passage of seventeen verses from Book I of *Paradise Lost* which opens as follows:

. . . . Darkened so, yet shone
Above them all the Archangel: but his face
Deep scars of thunder had intrenched, and care
Sat on his faded cheek

Is "face" the subject or the object of "had intrenched"? There are only two possibilities, and there is for an intelligent pupil only one sensible answer. If such a pupil should read further in Book I he would of course find no difficulty in

Him the Almighty Power
Hurled headlong flaming from the ethereal sky.

English here gives at the outset the help of inflection that is characteristic of Latin. But presently he would meet

There the companions of his fall, o'erwhelmed
With floods and whirlwinds of tempestuous fire,
He soon discerns.

Until our pupil reaches the third verse, he cannot be sure of the construction of "companions," for clearly Milton might have written "Him soon discerned."

That glory never shall his wrath or might
Extort from me.

The roof was fretted gold. Not Babilon
Nor great Alcairo such magnificence
Equalled in all their glories.

The context makes the meaning clear in much the same way as it does for the verse

nec Troiam Ausonios gremio excepisse pigebit.

In spite of the logic of the facts, aided by the caption of the sight passage, this verse troubled the candidates in Vergil last June.

. . . . ; or faery elves,
Whose midnight revels, by a forest-side
Or fountain, some belated peasant sees.

In the last passage the verb "sees," when it comes, makes the connection between "revels" and "peasant" perfectly clear. If, instead of "sees," Milton had written "charm" or "fright," the relation between the two nouns would have been reversed, but this

relation would have been understood with equal ease from the nature of the ideas alone.

But let us now turn to the books in the English list:

"It is the last time—'tis the last,"
He muttered thrice,—“the last time e'er
That angel voice shall Roderick hear.”¹

Write “cheer” for “hear” and note the result of the change.

From Chillon's snow-white battlement
Which round about the wave inthrals.²

But change “wave” to “doomed” or “lost.”

Hands, that the rod of Empire might have swayed.³

But Gray could have said, “Hearts, that the joys of Empire might have swayed.” Note now a few verses that might cause a moment's, but only a moment's, hesitation.

Now in the Castle-park drew out
Their chequered bands the joyous rout.⁴

Gently he dried the falling tear
And gently whispered hope and cheer.
Her faltering steps, half led, half staid,
Through gallery fair and high arcade
Till at his touch, its wings of pride
A portal arch unfolded wide.⁵

A blither heart, till Ellen came,
Did never love nor sorrow tame.⁶

And all the air a solemn stillness holds.⁷

Whose turf, whose shade, whose flowers among
Wanders the hoary Thames along
His silver-winding way.⁸

¹ *The Lady of the Lake*, III, 30.

² *The Prisoner of Chillon*.

³ *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard*.

⁷ *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard*.

⁸ *On a Distant Prospect of Eton College*.

⁴ *The Lady of the Lake*, V, 22.

⁵ *Ibid.*, VI, 25.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 25.

Prancing in pride of earthly trust,
His charger hurled him to the dust,
And, by a base plebeian thrust,
He died his band before.¹

While the cock, with lively din,
Scatters the rear of darkness thin,
And to the stack, or the barn-door,
Stoutly struts his dames before.²

Observe that in the last three passages the prepositions "among" and "before" follow the nouns that they govern. Why in the sight passage on Latin 5 last June should

Fata per Aeneae iuro dextramque potentem

cause more than momentary hesitation?

The Chief in silence strode before.³

Suppose that the poet of the *L'Allegro* passage had been a feminist, and had written the last verse thus:

Stoutly strut his dames before.

Ability to distinguish a verb in the plural from a verb in the singular is all that is needed to understand at once the altered picture. The change in the function of the word "before" causes no difficulty at all.

Can a pupil, if intelligent, see in advance as he reads a sentence the idea, though not necessarily the exact words, with which that sentence must reasonably close? Yes, in not a few cases.

Th' applause of list'ning senates to command,
The threats of pain and ruin to despise,
To scatter plenty o'er a smiling land,
And read their history in a nation's eyes,

Their lot forbad. . . .⁴

The last three words might have been different, but not the general idea. For eight stanzas Gray has been describing "their destiny obscure." The close of the following is in like fashion inevitable.

¹ *Marmion*, V, 31.

² *Lady of the Lake*, V, 11.

³ *L'Allegro*.

⁴ *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard*.

. . . . Yet not the more
 Cease I to wander where the Muses haunt
 Clear spring, or shady grove, or sunny hill,
 Smit with the love of sacred song; but chief
 Thee, Sion, and the flowery brooks beneath,
 That wash thy hallowed feet, and warbling flow,
 Nightly I visit. . . .¹

Read the third and fourth stanzas of *Lycidas* and see how confidently one may predict the verse

Fanning their joyous leaves to thy soft lays.

Let us return to the Latin. As one reads the opening paragraph of the first speech against Catiline and declaims to himself the fourth sentence with its six times repeated *nihil*, is he not sure, long before he reaches it, of the general idea of the verb with which the indignant question must close? *Patere tua consilia non sentis? Constrictam iam* The reader knows full well what is coming. "We've got you, Catiline, because we know everything (*patere tua consilia* is repeated in *horum omnium scientia*); don't you see it?" (How much do we know?) *Quid proxima, quid superiore noctem egeris, ubi fueris, quos convocaveris, quid consili ceperis*—How will the speaker end? Inevitably with the idea, in whatever words it may be expressed, of *horum omnium scientia*, "we all know." Both sentences, like the five that precede, are cast in the interrogative form, and this, too, is practically inevitable.

Let me add two further instances from the paper in Latin 4 last June. *Quo igitur animo esse existimatis aut eos qui vectigalia nobis pensitant aut eos qui* In the detailed argument which Cicero has for some time been making about the *vectigalia*, what two classes are most likely to be thus bracketed together? Surely those who have to pay and those who must collect in order not to lose money by their contract with the State. *Itaque, credo, si civis Romanus Archias legibus non esset.* The rest of this sentence, *ut ab aliquo imperatore civitate donaretur, perficere potuit* is practically inevitable, for Cicero has just told the jury that Pompey gave citizenship to Theophanes, *scriptorem rerum suarum*.

¹ *Paradise Lost*, Book III, ll. 26-32.

In these two sentences, as in hundreds of others, the course of Cicero's thought is so sequent that an alert intelligence cannot well lose the scent. The path too is well marked. The principle of balance is almost everywhere observable. This aspect of his style is so familiar to you all that I need not here enlarge upon it. I have recently read the whole of the speech *Pro Lege Manilia* with sole reference to this symmetrical grouping of facts and ideas, and I am convinced that Cicero has used it almost to excess. The path is often very simply marked, e.g., by *et . . . et, neque . . . neque, non solum . . . sed etiam, non tam . . . quam, non . . . sed, maiores nostri . . . vos*, or by connectives standing at or near the beginning of the sentence, *quae res, tamen, igitur, cum vero*; but the signboards are perhaps too numerous and too clear. One thinks at times, regretfully, of the pleasures of an intellectual cross-country tramp where one might now and then get lost, and be forced to use one's wits quite carefully in order not to stay lost.

As I pointed out in the early part of this paper, the tests used in the Army were devised to discover, together with other things, a man's ability "to analyze a situation and to maintain a state of mental alertness." It is obviously a new and unexpected situation that gives intelligence its opportunity. In war, as in ordinary life, intelligence is most conspicuously shown "under fire." It has been a matter of some pride that since 1911 the question papers in Latin showed no misprint. We were sore distressed, therefore, last June at the mistake in the numbering of the verses of the first passage for translation on Latin 5, Virgil. Let me say here in passing that the examiners recovered their peace of mind when they found that the final proof on file in Professor Fiske's office showed both numbers (95-100) in their correct position at the side of the passage. But of this the candidates were unaware. How then did they meet the unexpected and disturbing situation? The numbers at the righthand side indicated verses 93-102, the numbers at the end verses 92-101. "Mental alertness" was needed to discover which numbering was correct. Four of the questions involved specific Latin words, after each of which was placed in parentheses the number of the verse in which it stood. These four numbers all agreed with the numbers given at the end of the

passage, viz., 92-101. If the numbers at the side were right, there were six misprints, four of them in four separate questions. If, however, these numbers were right, the two numbers at the side were misplaced. I submit that the "mental alertness," desiderated by the Army tests, should have "analyzed the situation" correctly. But "mental alertness" seems to be put to flight by the artillery of examinations. Of course, no candidate was allowed to suffer because of the dislocation of the side numbers.

One question upon the paper in Cicero deserves some special comment. "Describe the method of collecting the *vectigalia* of the province of Asia; and explain in this connection why *familiae* were kept *in saltibus*, *in agris*, and *in portubus atque custodiis*." You will recall that Cicero devotes sections 14-19 inclusive (two and one-half pages out of thirty, Oxford text) to a detailed discussion of the stability of the Roman financial system as affected by the war. He has already (in sections 14 and 15) said: *Asia vero tam opima est ac fertilis ut et ubertate agrorum et varietate fructuum et magnitudine passionis et multitudine earum rerum quae exportentur facile omnibus terris antecellat. . . . Nam cum hostium copiae non longe absunt, etiam si inruptio nulla facta est, tamen pecuaria relinquitur, agri cultura deseritur, mercatorum navigatio conquiescit. Ita neque ex portu neque ex decumis neque ex scripura vectigalia conservari potest.* He has thus already three times explicitly described the three sources of revenue that in the passage set last June for translation he again describes for the fourth time by the phrases *in saltibus*, *in agris*, and *in portubus atque custodiis*. The candidate has just defined in his translation the two classes that are endangered by the war, *aut eos qui vectigalia nobis pensitant aut eos qui exercent atque exigunt*. I have just examined again the notes on these sections of ten school editions of Cicero's *Orations*, including, I think, all that are widely used. All ten editions give clear and definite notes upon the three kinds of taxes, eight of the ten state that the *familiae* were the agents or assistants of the *publicani* in collecting these taxes, and seven of the ten distinguish by translation into English *exercent* from *exigunt*, adding that the first word refers to the *publicani* who make the contracts with the state, and the second to their agents who actually collect the money.

Like so many other questions that appear upon these papers, this question that I am now discussing sought to ascertain whether the candidate was dealing in his translation with words, or with facts and ideas. A correct answer involved nothing beyond a reasonable understanding of the concrete meaning for Roman life of the words which he had just translated. The question was poorly answered, and revealed striking ignorance of the relation of the *publicani* to the state and to the tax-payer, of the function of the *familiae* as the fiscal agents of the *publicani*, and of the three sources of revenue which, as I have reminded you, Cicero specifically describes four times within the limits of a single page of the Oxford Text. The *publicani* were not interested in landscape. They kept their *familiae* in three kinds of places for professional reasons, and if they had agents in each place, it was because each place had necessarily its own business significance.

Let me give you one example of an unintelligent answer: "The families were kept in marshes, fields, and safe places so that they could escape these wicked tax-collectors, and also to evade the armies of Mithridates and Tigranes."

Sulla's activities as a salesman were remarkable. One of the readers collected the following list:

"Sulla was selling—offices in the province—souvenirs for the benefit of the soldiers—citizenships—works of poets—possessions of a man who had run into debt—rewards to the people—assignments to the different provinces—patents to the Romans—public offices—centurionships—many copies of the writing of the poets. Sulla was exchanging money of the different foreign nations. Sulla had at one time been a sort of peddler (*sic*). Sulla demanded tribute of him, saying that he had no right to go there and sell his verses for so much money because he was not a Roman citizen. Sulla bought all the books which he had on his stand. Sulla was praetor and therefore auctioneer. Sulla allowed the poems of the wicked to be sold in the public places of the city."

One of the readers made the following list of the *duo reges*: "Mithrades, Mithridates king of Syria, Tiranés, Tyghrenes, Tigranes king of Tigranocerta, Tigranes and his son-in-law Mithradates, Ariobarzanes, Arizzobanes, Antiochus III, Pompey, Lucullus,

Crassus, Murena, Julius Caesar and Augustus Caesar, Marius, Sulla, Sertorius, Jugurtha, Spartacus, Ariovistus, Pyrrhus, Archimedes, Cyrus, Artaxerxes, Datis, Alexander, Attila, Nicomedes, Appius, Agamemnon, Astyanax, Pontus, Numidicus, Cyzicus, Regius, Arzontheus, Andramitus, Siaticus."

Listen now to two good answers.

"*Fato*: Death by fate would be a natural death, in which she had no power at all. If the gods decreed that she should die, it would be death by fate. There were three Fates or *Parcae*—one which held the distaff, one which spun the thread of life, and one which cut it off. *Merita morte*: refers to death that may or may not have been planned by the Fates. Had Dido done anything contrary or displeasing to the will of the gods, she would have merited death even though the Fates had not thus decreed it for her. The *merita morte* depends more directly on the will of the gods and on her manner of life."

"From the passage assigned we gain the idea that Aeneas was not afraid of death. He envied those who had been able to die gloriously. He thought that those men who had died there were much better off than he, who had lived. The idea expressed by Vergil is precisely that of Coningsby Dawson in *Carry On*, namely, the man who dies in a glorious cause on a battlefield dies in a moment of elevation of character at the height of his career. As Dawson says, Aeneas' idea was 'It doesn't matter when or where you die, but how and for what cause.'"

In this last answer, with its impromptu correlation of ancient and modern feeling, that intelligence which is the subject of this paper is seen actively at work. Let us commend it, in all the forms in which it may display itself, to the fostering care of every teacher of Latin, and let us so commend it by our practice as well as by precept. Let us combine "information and training," grammar and intelligence. But let us never forget that the object of all education is "to render an intelligent being yet more intelligent." The acquisition of information is a means to this end. Except, perhaps, in the education of slaves, it is not an end in itself.

RHYTHM VERSUS RHYME¹

BY KARL P. HARRINGTON
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In Professor Karl Breul's recent elegant edition of *The Cambridge Songs* he remarks that "only a few verse translations of certain poems have so far been made, in spite of the undoubted literary merit of at least a dozen of them," and adds:

It is hoped that the present edition of this earliest Latin songbook, made up from various sources by a versatile Rhenish goliard, may tempt some congenial spirit, after the lapse of nearly 900 years, to render *con amore* in one of the modern vernaculars all such of the old Cambridge Songs as are of undoubted literary value and of abiding human interest.

The latter qualities are certainly present in several of these poems, but, supposing an irresistible temptation to try his hand at this venture attacks a "congenial spirit," in what mood and tense shall he seek the divine afflatus so as to produce at least the impression that he has essayed the task "*con amore*"?

The only English patterns available for these particular poems appear to be, on the one hand, Philip Allen's prose version of the amorous complaint addressed by a Verona schoolmaster to the object of his affection, and, on the other, the dainty rendering by John Addington Symonds of the invitation extended by a young man to his lady love to come to a little supper at his apartments. The latter translation, found in the introduction to *Wine, Women and Song*, and beginning,

Come therefore now, my gentle fere,
Whom as my heart I hold full dear;
Enter my little room, which is
Adorned with quaintest rarities,

in ordinary "long-meter" rhymed couplets, is skilfully adapted to reproduce the original both in its keeping of the rhymed couplets

¹A paper read before the American Philological Association, at Columbia University, December 27, 1918.

and in its maintenance of about the same length of verse; since the original, a sort of crude anapaestic form, has usually nine syllables, and sometimes eight:

Iam, dulcis amica, venito,
quam sicut cor meum diligo;
Intra in cubiculum meum,
ornamentis cunctis onustum.

The problem is, however, not always so simple. The Latin meters are, to be sure, all based on an accentual reckoning and are frequently rhymed; but they include Sapphic strophes, six-verse Adonic stanzas, ordinary iambic dimeters, long sonorous trochaic tetrameters catalectic, and various more or less puzzling and formless "sequences." In the case of these sequences, indeed, one might well be pardoned if he cut the Gordian knot by resorting to that simplest solution of the question, English blank verse. But the desire to produce something less monotonous and more winning will in the study of most of the poems lead to some sort of an attempt to imitate in one way or another the forms of the original.

Taste and theories have differed widely in the notable examples available of English versions from Latin poets. At one extreme stands the *tour de force* of the late Robinson Ellis, in which are exactly reproduced, not only the feet, verses, and stanzas of the original in the English, but also even the un-English quantitative basis of the feet. Though we might hesitate to accept Ellis' own phrase forecasting the possible judgment of the critics, and call his work "an elaborate failure," the impression made all too often by his amazing ingenuity is that the result is more learned than pleasing; and even Ellis was forced to admit that he could not maintain consistency throughout in the endeavor to follow his own rules.

On the other hand, the most recent of the many translators of Horace, Mr. Cudworth, lays down a principle of certain arbitrary compromises. Granting that an approximation to the shape of the Horatian stanza is imperative, he declines on the one hand to imitate the rhythms of Horace but on the other hand insists on universal rhyme; and having fixed upon a verse-form that pleases him, to represent a given stanza of Horace, he maintains that

particular form without exception for every one of the original poems in that stanza. For example, the Alcaic strophe, Horace's favorite measure, which has verses of unequal length formed on a trochaic basis, a verse of highly artistic rhythmical variety, he translates in every one of the thirty-seven odes by the plain and monotonous iambic eight-syllable, or ordinary "long meter," English stanza, relying for relief only on the common end-rhyme between the first and third and the second and fourth verses. This method of procedure does scant justice to Horace's carefully worked-out stanzas. More attention to the rhythm and less to the rhyme would produce a much fairer and perhaps equally attractive reproduction of the original; for if we admit that no translation is really as good as its original, is not the corollary of that proposition that the purpose of an English translation should be to suggest the original, so far as is consistent with graceful and readable English? And if rhythm is an important element, especially in lyric poetry, is it not highly desirable, so far as possible, to recall in translation the rhythm of the original?

Of course the extent to which translation becomes paraphrase depends more or less upon the meter chosen; but, aside from that consideration, we must all acknowledge that for a mere reproduction of the thought of the author it makes little difference what meter is employed by a translator, so far as bringing out the thought is concerned. Take, for example, Horace's familiar Ode 9 of the first book, in the Alcaic measure, a lyric in which the poet in Epicurean mood invites an imaginary friend to join him in convivial defiance of the winter's cold without, and of the winter of old age that infallibly follows life's little summer day:

Vides ut alta stet nive candidum
 Soracte, nec iam sustineant onus
 silvae laborantes geluque
 flumina constiterint acuto.

Mr. Cudworth puts it into this form:

See how Soracte's jutting crown
 Looms white and deep with drifted snow;
 Ice sags the laboring forests down;
 Keen frost arrests the rivers' flow.

Let us try at random half a dozen other meters on it:

1. *Dactylic hexameter* (accentual, of course, following all modern verse-standards):

See how Soracte is covered with snow lying deep on the hillside!
Scarce can the trees bear their burden; the waters stand still in
their courses.

2. *Iambic dimeter* (double-rhymed):

Soracte stands so white and still,
Snow-covered deep upon its hill!
The forests toil to bear their load,
The stream's stock-still, a frozen road.

3. *Trochaic dimeter*, alternating with *trochaic dimeter catalectic* (second and fourth verses rhymed):

Look! how beautiful Soracte
Glistens 'neath its load of snow!
Trees are struggling with their burden;
Frozen streams no longer flow!

4. *Anapaestic trimeter* (double-rhymed):

Do you see how Soracte all white
Stands enwrapped with a mantle of snow,
While the trees find their burden not light,
And the cold, ice-checked streams cannot flow?

5. *The greater Asclepiad* (à la Horace, accentual, however, to remain *English* verse):

Séel Sorácte the fáir || snów-covered móunt || stands up against the ský,
While its fórest-clad slópes || gróan with their load, || nór can the stréams
rush by.

6. Horace's own *Alcaic* (accentual basis, of course):

Behold Sorácte! shróuded with snówy dépths,
Its bénding treetops gróaning beneath their load,
Its bábbling stréams no lónger vócal,
Tight in the gríp of the kéen ice-crýstall!

The use of this original meter is adapted to reproduce the thought without padding to meet mere metrical exigencies; and it recalls to both eye and ear the stanza of Horace. In what way,

amid these superiorities, is it inferior to more familiar forms? It lacks rhyme, it may be said, and is cast in a less common mold than most English poetry; but can this be taken as a serious objection in an age when supposedly reputable periodicals purchase and print the prosaic drool dignified unduly by the name "free verse"? Rhyme is certainly an important and attractive feature of most mediaeval and modern verse, but it never has been recognized as an essential of poetry, as compared to rhythm. If in Latin lyrics rhythm plays a commanding part, it should certainly be a distinct merit, in any attempt to transfer the song into another tongue, that this rhythm should as far as possible be maintained, in preference to the introduction of any element like rhyme, which cuts no figure in the forms of which a version is being made.

The acceptance of such a criterion, that is, as close an approximation as possible to the form of the original, consistent with the ordinary laws of English verse, will involve varying degrees of difficulty due to the elaborateness of the original scheme, the intricacy of rhymes to be imitated, or the length of the verses employed. All these difficulties can be easily illustrated by examples taken from *The Cambridge Songs*, which we started to consider with a view of making some versions of them. No. 8 of the collection is a fragment of Rachel's lament for her children, in a four-verse stanza, the first three verses being fifteen-syllable trochaics with a caesura after the eighth syllable, and the fourth a fourteen-syllable trochaic with rhyming halves. Besides this there is end-rhyme throughout, each verse ending in the letter *a*. Additional refinements are onomatopoeitic alliteration and frequent assonance. The first stanza runs:

Pulsat astra planctu magno Rachel, plorans pignora,
queriturque consolari, quos necavit improba;
dolet, plangit, crines scindit ob sororis crimina.
uxor sine macula, casta servans viscera.

Some approximation to similar achievements in an English stanza might perhaps be reached by dint of much titillation of the scalp—possibly after some such fashion as this:

Weep the stars with woeful wailings for the woman Rachel's babes,
Who rejects all consolation for those slain by wicked knaves,
Grieving, sobbing, tresses tearing, at her sister's cruelty:
Spotless wife and mother she, faithful in her purity.

Even so, the pattern has varied slightly, in despair of perfect success in meeting the requirements. The scheme of uniform end-rhyme, by itself, can to be sure be followed. No. 18, for example, a congratulatory address to a queen just recovered from illness, begins:

Gaudet polus, ridet tellus, iocundantur omnia,
angelorum sacra canunt in excelsis agmina,
quorum psallit imitatrix in terris ecclesia;
mundus plaudit et resultat letus de te, regina;

which may be rendered:

Heaven and earth are full of gladness, gaiety is everywhere,
Bands of holy angels singing anthems in the upper air,
While the church on earth is chanting hymns in emulation, rare:
Thee, O queen, the earth applauds, exultingly, now freed from care.

Even some of the "sequences" admit of a fair amount of imitation in form. No. 13, a dirge on the death of Emperor Henry II, has a four-verse stanza of general trochaic character, with middle-and-end rhyme (frequently two-syllabled), and a one-verse refrain in dactylic hexameter. It begins:

Lamentemur nostra, socii peccata;
lamentemur et ploremus; quare tacemus?
Pro iniquitate corruimus late;
scimus celi hinc offensum regem immensum.
Heinricó requiem, rex Chríste, dona perhennem!

Similarly we may write:

Let us be lamenting, for our sins repenting,
As we sorrow for our failings, why hush our wailings?
Through our sad wrongdoing ruin has been brewing,
Hence to God, by deed unfounded, offense unbounded.
Grant to Henry, Christ, King Omnipotent, rest everlasting!

No. 17, Wipo's dirge for Conrad II, combines rude trochaics and iambs with middle-and-end rhyme and a fifth verse refrain in trochaics:

Qui habet vocem serenam hanc proferat cantilenam
de anno lamentabili et damno ineffabili,
pro quo dolet omnis homo forinsecus et in domo,
suspirat populus domnum vigilando et per somnum:
Rex deus, vivos tuere et defunctis miserere!

Under these circumstances one may feel at liberty to use consistently either iambic or trochaic verse, provided he adheres otherwise to the general form, and may therefore write:

Let him who hath a voice serene sing forth this mournful cantilene,
Bewail the year lamentable, our loss sad and ineffable,
For whom there grieveth every soul at home and through the country's
whole!

The people for their ruler sigh, waking, or if in sleep they lie:
O God, our King, save those who live, and to the dead thy mercy give!

No. 16, the coronation ode for Henry III, refuses to be confined within any hard-and-fast rhythmical bounds but maintains middle-and-end rhyme quite consistently. As a kind of rude Adonic seems to be the basic measure on which the half-verses are founded, perhaps it might be allowable to keep that form steadily in the translation; but in so short a metrical unit rhyme becomes exceedingly difficult to carry on and may be omitted. The poem begins:

Ó rex regum qui, solus in évum
régnas in célis Héinricum, nobis
serva in térris ab inimicis;

and a version may not unfittingly go thus:

O King of all kings, who alone ever
Reignest in heaven, save for us Henry
From every foeman throughout earth's borders!
Him thou hast chosen for thy rich blessing
And coronation at Aquasgranum,
Done by the hands of Archbishop Piligrim.
O King of all kings, etc.

But when one reaches No. 5, a resurrection hymn built of antiphonal hexameters, highly alliterative, suddenly interrupted by three long lines of question and answer in prose, and concluding with an elegiac distich, he throws up his hands in palpable defeat and suggests prose as the medium of expression in such a case! The sonorous verses begin:

Hec est clara dies, clararum clara dierum,
hec est sancta dies, sanctorum sancta dierum,
nobile nobilium rutilans diadema dierum.

No doubt a version could be constructed along parallel lines, but it may be doubted if the product would be sufficiently homogeneous to make it worth while.

The difficulties which a very short, or a very long, verse throws about rhyme may be seen by an example of each extreme. No. 29 recounts with gentle satire in Adonics the story of the nun Alfraed and her pet she-ass, beginning:

Est unus locus
Hoinburh dictus
in quo pascebat
asinam Alfræd
viribus fortem
atque fidelem.

Now if the attempt is made to reproduce this measure in English with the rhyme, two perplexities arise: (1) The accent calls for a double rhyme most naturally in English, unless one is willing to rhyme the unaccented syllable alone, a proceeding which is liable to disturb the rhythm. (2) If so much of each verse is taken up with necessarily rhymed syllables, there is small leeway left for the accurate expression of the rest of the thought. A language like Latin, of regular inflectional character, makes final-syllable rhyme easy, as compared with English; but the double rhyme is rather cramped in such narrow quarters. In the following version of the poem it may be seen how various modes work out, double-rhyme, single-rhyme, different arrangements of occasional rhyme, and consistent rhythm without the rhyme, which latter form seems perhaps here again to vindicate its claim as a superior one to give a fair reminiscence of the original:

I

There is a city
Which in my ditty
Homburg is called.
There dwelt with Alfraed
A sturdy she-ass,
Faithful in her class.

II

As the ass scampers
Over the campus,
Lo, a wolf running,
Hungry and cunning!
Her head she fended,
But tail extended.

III

Up runs the bad wolf,
Bites the poor tail off!
Whereupon each hoof
Struck out in full proof,
Wolves she could still fight,
Even in that plight.

IV

When her strength she felt
Gradually failing,
Loud brayed the donkey
With a great wailing,
Thus with her last breath
Her mistress hailing.

V

At the cries noisy
The ass was making
Alfraed came quickly,
"Sisters," exclaiming,
"Hurry to help me,
Help me in this thing.

VI

"My precious donkey
Out in the pasture
I can hear bawling,
Mournfully calling.
I 'spec she's fighting
Some cruel wolf there."

VII

The sisters' screaming
Heard in the cloister
Brought out a big crowd,
Men-folks and women,
Hoping to catch the
Wolf all red-handed.

VIII

Sister Adela
Called in Rikila;
Agatha she found;
So Alfraed's sisters
Rushed to lay prostrate
This foe so lusty.

IX

Meanwhile the beast ate
 Ribs of the she-ass,
 Swallowed the carcass,
 Drank at a great rate
 All the blood reeking—
 The woods then seeking.

X

When all the sisters
 Beheld him vanish,
 Tearing their hair out,
 Beating their bosoms,
 Mourned they for this poor
 Innocent donkey.

XI

Alfraed then got a
 Nice little coltie;
 Petted him gently,
 Shed fond tears for him,
 Hoping in some way
 He would have offspring!

XII

Gentle Adela
 And sweet Fritherun
 Both came to strengthen
 Her expectations,
 Comfort and cheer thus
 Kindly imparting:

XIII

"Sister, forget her!
 Do not regret her!
 No wolf-like critter
 Heeds tears, though bitter.
 God will provide a
 She-ass just like her!"

The other extreme of length is seen in No. 31, a poem on the nightingale, in fifteen-syllabled trochaics, beginning,

Aurea personet lira clara modulamina!

Every one of the forty-eight verses ends in the letter *a*. If we disregard that, however, and use merely rhymed couplets, we find that the chief trouble lies in the fact that we have usually space to spare after translating every word, and are tempted to pad the verses somewhat, since it does not take as many syllables in English, as a rule, to convey a given idea, as in Latin. On the whole, however, the difficulty is not very serious, as it tends rather to enrich than to impoverish the version. After the introduction the main theme of the poem is attacked as follows:

Cum telluris vere nova producuntur germina
 nemorosa circumcirca frondescent et brachia,
 flagrat odor quam suavis florida per gramina,
 hilarescit philomela, dulcis vocis conscia;
 et extendens modulando gutturi spiramina,
 reddit voces. ac estivi temporis ad otia
 instat nocti et diei voce sub dulcisona;
 soporatis dans quietem cantus per discrimina,
 nec non pulchra viatori laboris solatia, etc.

A version might run thus:

When in springtime tender buds burst forth, new progeny of earth,
 When in woodland nooks the branches bring their foliage to birth,
 With a perfume how delicious through the flowery meads and brakes,
 Conscious of her gift of song, the nightingale to gladness wakes,
 Tests her throat with constant practice, opens up her dainty thrills,
 Lifts once more her voice melodious, summer's peaceful moments fills,
 Pouring forth her notes mellifluous in the day and in the night,
 Sweetening slumber for the sleeping, ordering the tones aright,
 And the traveler's weary footsteps comforting with beauty rare, etc.

The mediaeval Sapphic strophe was commonly entirely accentual. Such Sapphics should be translated into accentual Sapphics of like form. Thus No. 30, describing summer, and beginning,

Vestiunt silve tenera merorem
 virgulta suis onerata pomis;
 canunt de celsis sedibus palumbes
 carmina cunctis,

may be rendered after the same pattern,

Delicate leafage clothes the sylvan shadows,
Low droop the branches with their fruitage laden;
From their high perches gently croon the pigeons
Songs for all comers.

It is by methods such as these that the mood of the original is best transmuted into English, and the illusion of antiquity or mediaevalism is best preserved.

Notes

[Contributions in the form of notes or discussions should be sent to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

SIDON AND THE SIDONIANS IN HOMER

Practically all the commentators of Homer have noticed the fact that Tyre and the Tyrians are not mentioned in either of the Homeric poems, and that the inhabitants of Phoenicia are either called Phoenicians or Sidonians. The Sidonians being peculiarly the people who produced fine raiment and artistic metal work.

Gladstone, *Homer and His Age*, p. 177, undertook to date the poems by assuming that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* must have been composed before Tyre became prominent.

Papenheim, *Philologus*, Supplementband 2, p. 44, assumes that the poet is reproducing a tradition prior to 1208 B.C. for he dates the eclipse of Sidon in that year, and he thus assumes the poet or poets intentionally archaizes.

Finsler, *Homer*, p. 18, is likewise of the opinion that Homer tries to reproduce a condition which was far anterior to his own times, since in the age during which the poems came into being Tyre was the great city of Phoenicia; "In der Zeit, aus der die homerischen Gedichte stammen, war Sidon längst von Tyros in den Schatten gestellt."

The last edition of Christ's *Gr. Lit. Gesch.*, p. 66, also asserts that Homer in calling the Phoenicians Sidonians instead of Tyrians is trying to reach back into a remote past, "in weit frühere Vergangenheit zurückreichen."

The substance of these comments is that Homer should have referred to Tyre and the Tyrians, and not exclusively to the Sidonians, if he were really describing the conditions of his own time.

Fortunately there are parallel and intimate accounts of the Phoenicians, which are uninfluenced by the poems of Homer, and the Bible which contains these accounts belongs to the same age as Homer whether we make him a contemporary with the fall of Troy or with the life of Archilochus. In all parts of the Bible written before the seventh century B.C. the word Sidonian equals Phoenician. Hiram, the friend of Solomon and therefore early in the tenth century, was king of Tyre, yet his people are called Sidonians, I Kings 5:6, and in the same book chap. 11, vss. 1, 5, and 33, the Phoenicians are called Sidonians, for it is clear that in each passage the entire nation is included, the inhabitants of Tyre as well as of Sidon.

Professor Eiselen in his book on *Sidon*, Vol. IV, "Columbia University Studies," has shown with his characteristic thoroughness that the usage of the

Bible is exactly the same as it is known to be in *Homer*, p. 18. "In the Old Testament the terms Sidon and Sidonians occur in thirty-eight passages, of these probably not a single passage older than the seventh century B.C. refers to the city of Sidon. Sidonian was equivalent to Phoenician."

In not a single passage in the Bible are the inhabitants of Tyre or any part of Phoenicia called Tyrians, at least Young's *Concordance* gives no example of that word.

The cool assumption that Homer pictures a condition which ceased at 1208 B.C. with a hypothetical collapse of Sidon and a corresponding rise of Tyre is without basis of fact, since sacred and profane history show that Sidon maintained her prominence until well in the seventh century.

Sidon was a dominating city of Phoenicia until overthrown by Sennacherib, and even this overthrow seems to have been only partial, for on the death of that monarch Sidon attempted a revolt which was frustrated by his successor, Esarhaddon, who destroyed the city utterly in 677 B.C. The city must have been of great importance at that time for the king in the inscription in which he boasts of his victory says: "The treasure of his palace, in great quantities I carried away. His men, who were without number I brought to Assyria."

Professor Eiselen, p. 55: "The destruction of Sidon by Esarhaddon could not have been more complete. The inhabitants of Sidon who managed to escape probably fled to Tyre. The deities and sacred traditions of their native city they carried with them, and Tyre became the sole heir of everything that survived that awful catastrophe."

All this is a beautiful vindication of Homer, the poet, and proves that he was no archaizer, and also that he used the conditions of his own day as the background for his poems.

The employment of the term Sidonian as an equivalent for Phoenician proves only that Homer pictured the conditions as they existed prior to 677 B.C.

Any theory which sees in Homer a historian, a theologian, or an archaeologist is wide of the mark, for his sole aim was poetry, with incidentally the poet's reward in marketable wares.

JOHN A. SCOTT

SOME CORSICAN ILLUSTRATIONS OF GREEK LITERATURE

The Reminiscences of Raphael Pumpelly,¹ one of the most delightful of recent biographies, is not without some passages of special interest for the Hellenist. One of the earliest of the author's unusual adventures was a somewhat casual trip to Corsica which extended to an exploration of that wildly picturesque island, in the company of Corsican peasants and shepherds. He reports that the shepherds lived in the "Homeric state of culture." Their manner of life seems to have some striking analogies with that of the Cyclops, rather than with that of the civilized Achaeans. "It came to my mind," he

¹ *My Reminiscences*, by Raphael Pumpelly. New York: Holt, 1918.

says, "that I had dropped into a stage of society that had come down unchanged from remotest time: for these people were self-sufficient, needing absolutely nothing beyond what their own efforts produced—cheese, milk, and clothing from their goats and sheep, and bread from their own chestnut trees" (Vol. I, p. 71). For supper they offered him sheep's milk in a wooden pail, from which the dog drank after he had finished. In the morning the shepherd gave him *braccio* (Vol. I, p. 73) "a neat basket-bowl filled with a snowy-white substance lying on leaves. It looked something like our cottage cheese, but it was a dish for the gods. It was made in some way by curdling the fresh, sweet milk of sheep." This seems like the delicious *gíavouri* which the traveler in Greece and Turkey enjoys. But did not Polyphemus drink ewes' milk for supper, perhaps, from a wooden pail like the Corsican's? and did he not curdle half the milk and put it away "in woven baskets" (Odyssey ix. 246-49)?

αὐτίκα δ' ἤμυσεν μὲν θράψας λευκοῖο γάλακτος
 πλεκτοῖς ἐν ταλάροις ἀμυσόμενος κατέθηκεν,
 ἤμυσεν δ' αὖτ' ἔστησεν ἐν ἄγγεσιν, ὅφρα οἱ εἴη
 πίνειν αἰνυμένῃ καὶ σὸ ποτιδόριον εἶη

Among the dramatic—and usually tragic—stories of Corsican vendetta which Mr. Pumpelly relates is one which presents a parallel to the tradition of Antigone (Vol. I, p. 140). It is too long to be repeated here: but briefly, it tells of a young woman who stole the body of her lover, which had been publicly exposed after his execution for conspiracy; and after dragging it to the altar of the church, removed single-handed the heavy slab which closed the man's family tomb, and laid the body within.

In a more general sense the whole book is a classical parallel. Raphael Pumpelly, geologist, explorer, archaeologist, is a sort of modern Odysseus, a man of many devices, who has seen the cities and learned the minds of many men, from Corsica to Arizona, from the Rocky Mountains to Turkestan. One of the last enterprises of his long and active life has been the search for the beginnings of Indo-European civilization on the plains of Central Asia.

SIDNEY N. DEANE

SMITH COLLEGE

CAESAR vi. 23

"Robberies carry no reproach, provided they be committed outside their own territories." Mr. B. W. Mitchell in his article on "Ariovistus and William II" (*Classical Journal*, February, 1919) has used this passage to show that robbery and plundering were characteristic of the Germans in ancient as well as in modern times. Had he desired, more of this ancient evidence could have been collected, for it is well known and has often been cited, not however to show the peculiar wickedness of the Germans, but rather the character of primitive society to which they then, and perhaps more recently, belonged.

The point was properly made by Grotius, in his work *De Jure Belli et Pacis* (II, 15, 15, note), to illustrate the statement in his text, that in primitive times it was considered lawful to commit robbery and to drive away plunder from foreigners without declaration of war. The translation of the note with insertion of references to chapters and sections follows:

Caesar says of the Germans (*B.G.* vi. 23. 6), "Robberies committed outside of the boundaries of the state occasion no disgrace." Tacitus is added as a witness (*Germania* 14. 6, and 26. 2), and Saxo (*Gesta Danorum*, Book xiv, pp. 259-60 and elsewhere: v, pp. 159, 170; xiv, p. 310, etc.). Likewise Servius to Virgil's *Aeneid* has written about the Etruscans (viii. 479; x. 184) and other peoples (l. 317, 527). Diodorus Siculus (v. 34. 6) says the same of the Lusitanians, and with him Plutarch agrees (*Marius*, 6, p. 408): "Up to the present robbery is considered among the most noble professions." Similar is the fact that the Jews deny that loss ought to be made good which has been caused to one who is neither a Jew nor allied to the Jews (*Baba Kama*, 1, 2, p. 13).

This general feeling about brigandage has survived until modern times among some peoples or in some localities. A good illustration is the rage the Greeks felt at Edmond About's *Le Roi des Montagnes*, the satire of which they did not grasp, through fear that the exaggeration might be believed to be the truth.

H. A. SANDERS

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SELLING OURSELVES

In these days of expert advertising and salesmanship, business men often seem to put more stress upon the advertising of their goods than upon the excellence of the goods themselves. They recognize that even though they may have the best of wares in stock these must be brought to the attention of the buyer if they are to be sold. "It pays to advertise." All business men now recognize this principle. There is no longer any such thing as business modesty or propriety or dignity to prevent an enthusiastic presentation of a merchant's wares to a buying public.

In professional circles, however, this method of advancement is still frowned upon. Self-respecting doctors, lawyers, preachers, teachers, count it as decidedly *infra dig.* to seek to gain success by business methods. We honor them for this stand; for, after all, theirs is a far different case from that of the merchant. The latter may without immodesty sing the praises of his wares, but the wares of the former are the men themselves, and these they may not with dignity advertise before their public.

And yet, while professional dignity may prevent us from bringing ourselves before the public in a business advertising way, this fact does not on the other hand excuse modesty to the verge of self-effacement, nor professional dignity that freezes and diverts even that small stream of interest which would naturally flow in its direction. If we may not push ourselves into public notice, at least we need not shrink away from this as if we had an apology to

make for our profession, need not avoid contact with our public where contact is natural and desirable. Above all things, if we may not push ourselves, we may at least without any hesitation push and exalt our profession and, if teachers, our particular departments, and hence in this entirely impersonal way we may "sell ourselves."

There are thousands of teachers of Latin in this country who have not as yet attached themselves to any one of the great Classical Associations, though these in nearly all cases have been in active and helpful existence for many years. Why? Is it through ignorance of the existence of these associations and their purpose? Is it through a feeling of aloofness and self-sufficiency? Is it because of indifference? lack of ambition? laziness? Whatever the reason, it must be evident that this voluntary self-withdrawal from the great body of one's most alert fellow-professionals is not only to the detriment of the cause itself for which we work but in the end is sure to limit the advancement of the teacher himself. What doctor can afford to "flock by himself," attend no medical conventions, read no medical journals? What minister dares be a recluse? No more can a teacher succeed if he is not zealous not only to lay hold on all the world that is significant to his subject but to bring himself and his work in all proper ways before his own public, the public of his school and of his town. The result of this hopeful and energetic "self-salesmanship," as has been illustrated again and again in pages of the *Journal*, has been large and many-sided. We have seen the study of Latin in high schools made popular among students, and win favor among parents, all because of the optimistic zeal and thorough belief of a teacher in her subject. We have also seen this teacher's experience expressed in thoughtfully worked out articles, which have found a wide audience through the pages of the *Journal*.

IUSTITIA TENAX

Out of Armageddon order is beginning to appear. The clash of arms is wellnigh stilled; and through the clash of opinions, now at its height, the voice of sanity, clear and insistent, may be heard. It is indeed heartening to read the address of Mr. Frederick Allison

Tupper before the Headmasters' Association of the United States, entitled "The Irrepressible Conflict," as published in the *Journal of Education*. After discussing the conflict between rank materialism and humanism in society and politics, Mr. Tupper takes up the conflict in education. He concludes:

We have compromised, we have yielded here, we have yielded there. Our line has been pierced at several points. We have been too quiescent and too acquiescent. If any of us said that German is a superb substitute for Greek, we have our reward. It is now time for us to fight with our backs to the wall. Though the world thunders with asseverations that there are short, easy, characterless ways of mastering the supremely fine and difficult art of living, we know that every such statement is as false and baneful as hell itself. We know that, if you neglect the study of Greek or Latin, or Science or Art or Mathematics, or anything else worth studying, you simply deprive yourself of the lasting advantages and satisfactions derived from those subjects. There is no substitute for Greek or Latin or any other literature or art, or any other important subject. Must we always be children amused first by one little toy and then by another? No! It is time to be men and to put aside childish things.

With our backs to the wall let us stand—

For real education, instead of false imitation;

For the inherent value of every important subject;

For thoroughness as opposed to superficiality and sham;

For the overthrow of educational Bolsheviks, hypocrites, charlatans, mountebanks, impostors, and incompetents, though their name be Legion;

For a life instead of a living;

For our priceless heritage from the past;

For the eternity of the soul and its proper nurture for the highest, the broadest, and the deepest usefulness, as against the mortality of the body and the meanly trivial shifting, and shift devices of ephemeral, always self-centered and self-motivated opportunism;

For the "fairy tales of science," if you please, but mainly, "for the long results of time," as a proper training, not only for the here and now, but for the vast forever.

AMERICAN CLASSICAL LEAGUE

The idea of an American Classical League has now been before the public for nearly a year, having been first brought forward at Pittsburgh last July. The formation of such a league has been proposed by Dean West to the various classical associations and these have all expressed themselves as favorable to the proposition. The next step will be taken at Milwaukee where a National Classical

Conference will be held in connection with the annual meeting of the National Education Association, on Wednesday, July 2, and Thursday, July 3. The program is being prepared and the other arrangements are being made in co-operation with the National Education Association. The formal organization of the American Classical League will take place at the conference on Thursday, July 3. Further public notice will be given when the program is ready for announcement.

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN THE ANCIENT POLITIES

BY TENNEY FRANK
Bryn Mawr College

When Freeman wrote his elaborate *History of Federal Government* he could with the evidence then available enter a general denial that no ancient polity presented an example of real representative government. Though the bulk of historical material added since his day is not large, the new papyri and inscriptions have been relatively generous with data on the point at issue. A paragraph on the interesting Boeotian constitution, new details from the Athenian proposals which borrowed suggestions from it, inscriptions containing legal records from the more obscure leagues, not only have provided explicit evidence but have also aided in the interpretation of available sources not quite fully understood before. Even now we may not be permitted to say that any one ancient constitution had elaborated all the consequences of the principle of representation, but we may now at least see it at work under conditions so varied that we cannot longer deny that it was recognized as a useful and practical idea.

To be sure, the ancient philosophers did not submit the idea to a special analysis, but that is because they were usually concerned with the primary classification of polities, whereas the machinery of indirect government appeared to be only a convenient mode by which democracy might occasionally prefer to work. That as a method of procedure it should create qualitative differences in polities was not at once apparent.

In ancient days as in modern the device developed its possibilities very slowly and by way of compromise, a compromise that has entailed a surrender of privileges on the part of the sovereign and has therefore had to develop its possibilities despite the opposition of the sovereign. It would be difficult to point to any hereditary autocracy that has ever voluntarily shared its powers

and privileges with the representatives of the people. Similarly when the people themselves hold the reins of government they are loath to surrender their hold even to drivers selected by themselves. King Edward apparently asked for delegated representatives of the people only because this offered the easiest way of securing the support of the people when he was in danger, and it took centuries before this body of indorsers became a responsible government. Nor did the democratic Swiss states at first intrust any but strictly circumscribed functions to the envoys they sent to a common Diet, and only after centuries of mistakes could this council of envoys grow into a parliament of a sovereign union.

It was not a philosophic argument in favor of a natural-sized polis, nor was it a temperamental egoism in the race which created the Greek city-states and kept them from merging into a territorial state. The Amphictyonic Council with its system of delegations seems more than once to have suggested the machinery by which Greece could be unified. But the nature of the Greek migrations and the physiographic barriers of the land had militated from the first against unification, until indeed linguistic differences, peculiar local folk-ways, and diversity of economic needs grew into barriers that were even stronger. Among the village communities in each group there was usually one that attracted inhabitants more quickly than the rest because of some natural advantages, and such a village, if near the center of a group not too large, readily became a gathering-place for common tribal meetings and the seat of the tribal cult. Thus city-states grew—not as some a priori philosophers supposed who posited sophisticated city founders.

Here and there, however, several villages increased apace in different parts of such a dialect group. If none gained clear predominance and the ancient consciousness of tribal unity encouraged by external dangers still persisted, a federation of such cities was a natural result. In Boeotia, for instance, there were several fairly prominent cities in a naturally bounded plain some fifty miles long. Thebes was indeed strong enough at times to exert leadership, but there were also other towns of importance which proved quite unwilling to lose their identity. When therefore distance and the local patriotism of the cities militated against a government by a tribal

assembly, while at the same time the common welfare and common worship favored a single government, it was only natural that this should be carried on by a relatively small group of delegates apportioned to the members of the federation according to population. And in fact a fragment of a Greek historian found in Egypt (*Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, 1909) proves this to be the case in the Boeotian League in 397 B.C. The league then consisted of eleven units, of which Thebes with its subject cities reckoned as four, Orchomenus and Thespieae as two each, Tanagra as one, and two groups of three small cities each also as one. Each unit contributed one boeotarch, sixty senators, and its quota of judges to the common government, while there is no trace of a popular assembly, which is usually the sovereign body in the Greek states. This common senate was therefore the responsible deliberative body of the league while the eleven boeotarchs formed its executive council, and both of these bodies apparently deserve to be called truly representative. Had this central government been allowed to live long enough to merge the league members into a thoroughly unified state, as for instance the Diet of the Swiss Confederation did in the nineteenth century, the Boeotian League would have stood out as a clear example of representative government in a sovereign territorial state in the fullest modern sense.

To be sure, there is still some doubt about the method of selecting the sixty deputies from each unit, and the prevailing view seems now to be that they were chosen by lot. The question is of course not very vital. If electoral qualifications were generally placed high—and in Boeotia a hoplite's census was probably required—choice by lot might be depended upon to secure men capable of presenting the views of their constituents. Selection by vote does not necessarily secure fair representation. However, there is no particular reason for supposing that the Boeotian units chose their delegates by lot rather than by vote, especially since the boeotarchs were elected. Since the units that furnished the senators were not the local administrative bodies and did not coincide with the cities which had senates of their own, it was not easy to make up the federal senate by the casting of lots among or by the local senates. It would seem then that the citizens of each unit, or at

least, of each district, must meet for this one task of selecting their delegates; and considering the importance of the senate and the aristocratic tendencies of Boeotia we may reasonably assume that the people were asked to elect suitable men by direct vote. Such an assumption is strengthened by the fact that the proposed Athenian constitution of 411—which was directly influenced by the Boeotian one—devised methods of choosing relatively large numbers of representatives by popular elections.

Thucydides indeed reveals the fact that the council of eleven generals was prone to make its own decisions when in the field, assuming that the senate would ratify its action, but the senate did not always acquiesce humbly to such treatment. It was indeed easily overawed, but *de jure* it was the responsible federal legislature which had in its hands the ultimate decision on all questions of foreign policy and on many matters of domestic concern; and, what is rarely found in Greece, its decisions were apparently final and did not have to be referred back to the local senates for ratification. If this is true, the senators were responsible representatives and not, as is more usual in Greece, merely instructed delegates, or delegates bound to refer back for instructions in each individual case.

The judgments of history fitted together from incomplete sources prove somewhat unstable when the people that was for centuries the synonym of stupidity finally is proved by a crumbling fragment of papyrus to have "anticipated substantially the whole modern system of government—a representative parliament, an elective executive, and a supreme court." Had Freeman known this constitution he would probably have read the fragmentary evidence regarding the other Greek leagues with a mind open to interpretations which he thought precluded, and his conclusions would of course have been different.

The Boeotian constitution bore direct fruit in the Hellenic confederation which Philip of Macedon called into being at Corinth after Chaeronea in 338 B.C. Philip, who had spent his youth at Thebes, had apparently learned the forms of the old Boeotian constitution there. This new league was of course to be subservient to the master, the king of Macedon, but that fact was not

apparent in its charter. As in Boeotia, districts (which in this case might be groups of adjacent states, or whole leagues) were given proportional representation, and the resulting senate had the power to elect its president and to act upon all questions of common interest without referendum to the constituent districts. Philip's own predominance and his disregard for local patriotism in shaping the units precluded the possibility of this league growing into a unified Pan-Hellenic state, but, except for that, the idea had many new possibilities. When Antigonos Doson revived the league he surrendered much of the federal strength by reinstituting a referendum of the decision to the constituent states, but by doing so he also won adherence to his idea more quickly. The later Hellenic League, therefore, though less truly a representative state than Philip's league, was a more practical approach to a unified Greece. Philip V, who at first made use of Antigonos' methods, soon brought the league upon the rocks by involving it in his own attack upon Rome, and thus vanished the one promise of a great Hellenic state under constitutional government.

The Aetolian League also employed the principle of representation, although the body of delegates did not here form as important a part of the government as in Boeotia. Whether this federation had borrowed the idea from Boeotia we cannot say, though this assumption would be reasonable, since the Aetolian League was constantly in close political touch with Boeotia during its period of formation and growth. However, the employment of deputies was so obviously the natural course when a widely extended democratic tribe without a dominating central city tried to preserve its unified existence against foreign pressure that borrowings need not be posited. If suggestions were needed the ancient Amphictyonic Council, to which Aetolia also sent delegates, was always a standing object-lesson. Now in Aetolia the citizens were jealous of their right to decide at first hand all important questions of state, but they could obviously not gather from the four corners of the far-spreading league to discuss every matter that must be decided. Their stated meetings were held but twice a year. Hence the council (*boule*) which ordinarily existed to shape and formulate measures for the popular assembly was ever more depended upon

to decide serious questions in the intervals between the larger assemblies. In fact, when the final break with Rome came, the council was so dominant a factor in Aetolian politics that the Romans held the councilors responsible for the behavior of the state toward Rome. That the councilors were true representatives of the people in Aetolia is evidenced by an inscription which records a treaty arranging that each of two towns formerly united should in the future be represented in the federal council by members in proportion to the population of each (Michel, No. 22).

In studying the behavior of this league in its wars with Macedonia and with Rome, we notice clearly that as the league expanded and its foreign complications became ever more frequent and more intricate, the council of wiser heads and its select committee of *apocletoi* constantly assumed increasing importance, just as at Rome the senate grew from a council into a directing power when Rome had to face foreign questions that were beyond the scope of the populace. Had the Aetolian League met a less formidable enemy than Rome, so that it might have survived, a few generations of this kind of experience must have made the representative senate supreme in Aetolia also. At any rate the normal machinery which naturally develops into representative government in federal polities was there.

Of the corresponding federation in the Peloponnesus, the Achaean League, very little definite information is at hand. In general, however, the constitution seems to have been modeled upon the Aetolian. Here also the ordinary, though not the most vital, business of the federation was conducted by a council provided in some unknown manner by the member cities. We do not yet know whether these councilors were real representatives or whether they were merely fractions of the citizen body of each state. This league also ran athwart the path of Rome and suffered the inevitable fate; but the history of its last years proves that it, like the Aetolian League, was then well on the road toward a centralized government conducted by a select body rather than by a cumbersome primary assembly.

There were many other leagues—more than a score—which were growing up in the remoter districts of Greece when the famous

city-states were waning, but most of them are known to us only from fragmentary inscriptions. These records usually prove that primary assemblies bore the responsible burden of government, but they also tell of senates, and these were probably in many cases bodies of delegates chosen by the communities that constituted the federation. The evidence for such a method is fairly strong in the case of the Magnesians and the Lycian leagues, though in both cases the phraseology is inconclusive. At least the historian must now assume that the method was so widely in vogue that in the case of leagues which compassed much territory he may assume that the convenient machinery was accepted without prejudice. In two bodies at least—neither sovereign in political matters—delegated senates conducted all the requisite business, since the distances involved precluded the use of primary assemblies. The old Amphictyonic Council consisted of delegates sent by the several states of Greece. Athens elected her delegates by show of hands (the priestly members of the delegation being chosen by lot). Aetolia also elected by direct vote, while in autocratic states like Macedonia the delegates were doubtless chosen by royal appointment. This council, however, dealt mainly with sacred matters and had of course no direct means of securing the execution of its resolutions. A league of Aegean Islands (Nesiotēs), conducting its business through delegates, also subsisted for some time during the third and second centuries for the protection of maritime commerce. An actual sovereign state this federation never was, but it supported a fleet of its own through indirect contributions. At any rate, all its affairs had to be conducted by a senate of representatives. The formation of the league was very loose; it was so dependent for practical support upon stronger states and its members were so far severed by diverse political and economic interests that it could not even under the most favorable circumstances have developed into a new state; but it did at least prove to a certain extent the prevalent belief in the practicability of united action through delegates.

The representative principle was then freely used by the Greeks when needed. It was not lack of political insight that prevented them from drawing all the logical consequences from the idea.

Rather there were separatistic factors of physical geography and consequently of linguistic and social differences that propagated the city-state ideal; and even when the tribe was clumsily large the primary assembly clung to its right of ultimate decision upon the most vital questions, partly because men are men and trust themselves rather than delegates, partly because the Greeks had emerged from regal government to democracy through the oligarchic form, and disagreeable associations therefore clung to the thought of a powerful senate. Nevertheless the Boeotian League proved that Greeks when not completely wedded to democracy knew how to use the appliances of representation in federal government for all the administrative functions of a sovereign state; the Hellenic League formed by Philip of Macedon, though hampered by overstrong leadership, demonstrated how the device becomes a necessity when widely separated peoples attempt to form an effective confederacy; and finally the Aetolian League illustrated how the body of delegates tended to grow into a governing Diet when the league expanded beyond the limits within which the gathering of a primary assembly became a striking inconvenience, and when it met with intricate questions with which the populace could not well cope. If no Greek state employed all the advantages of representative government at one time, at any rate every essential element of the principle was put to the test. In Boeotia, Aetolia, and the Hellenic League at least the deputies were fairly proportioned to the population. Direct election of the delegates by the citizens was probably the usual procedure. Finally, in several instances the senators were more than delegates bound to instructions or circumscribed in power by the necessity of securing subsequent ratification of action taken; they were true representatives of their constituents.

The Roman polity early set out on the imperial road, along which it advanced with confident step for centuries. Here in the one all-including state there were but few opportunities to experiment in new forms of government, since so vast an empire was at stake in each throw. However, the Romans also came to recognize the advantages of the representative in more than one instance.

In Latium the tribe segregated early into city-states. Raiding expeditions from the neighboring mountains compelled the village

communities to concentrate in defensible positions so that the original village groups—some fifty, we are told—gradually aggregated to a half-dozen cities. Then the old feeling of tribal unity naturally waned, and a new patriotism centering in the several cities came into being. Presently, under the temporary leadership of Etruscan princes, Rome as a city-state won a position of leadership among the Latin cities, and when discontentment and jealousy resulted Rome assumed hegemony in the group by force of arms. It was not long before Rome's power extended a hundred miles southward over peoples which could not effectively exercise a franchise at the city, and Rome had to devise some form of government that would at the same time be liberal enough to invite the subject and strong enough to control. It might seem that this was the proper moment to introduce the idea of representation, and according to Livy (viii. 5. 5) the subjected Latins at least asked for a fair quota of places in the senate; but apart from the fact that a controlling group seldom cares to part with or share its power, there were reasonable objections to it. The Roman populace had then been struggling for over a century to wrest control of politics from an oligarchical senate and had almost won their battle. They saw no doubt that a representative congress would soon outweigh the primary assembly of the city in strength, and oligarchy would return. Again, if Rome was to be liberal in the extension of the franchise the day would soon come when a system of proportional representation would bring the government into the hands of non-Latin peoples. We can readily see that Rome might soon have lost control of the government, and an inharmonious and futile federation would have displaced the strong state which had developed a consistent policy and a splendid organizing power. So far as Italy itself is concerned, the representative principle might have been tried in the Gracchan days when the allies had been fairly well Romanized, but it would have paralyzed the state if tried before.

Consequently, when the proposal of the Latins was made Rome preferred to adopt a different course. She formed a federation of several classes of citizen municipalities and dependencies, graduating them according to the requirements of each individual case.

The nearer peoples when well Romanized were admitted to full Roman citizenship; others were probationally accorded a share of such rights with a promise of ultimate full rights; while the more distant communities were attached to the federation by more or less favorable alliances according to circumstances, always with the promise of improved status in case of loyalty. This constitution, perhaps the most liberal and statesmanlike method of state-building of ancient times, proved for some decades thoroughly adequate to the task of unifying and Romanizing Italy. The logical consequence should have been representative government when the treaties were finally exchanged for full citizenship. But when the proper time came the vast extension of the external empire had trained the Roman nobles to look upon provincial offices as their fair spoils. The state was then already a parasitic tyranny. Even in the Second Punic War, when a prudent senator, Carvilius, proposed that the Latin municipalities be given a representation of two members each in the senate at Rome (Livy xxiii. 22)—and at that time the senate was practically the government—the aristocracy refused to share their responsibilities in any way that threatened to diminish their individual privileges, and the proposal fell through.

However, the Romans found the principle of representation suited to their needs when they were called upon to organize governments for the liberated Greeks after the Second and Third Macedonian Wars. When Flamininus had defeated Philip V, he, with the commission representing the Roman senate, had the task of setting up new states for several of the peoples freed from Macedonian rule, and in many cases they found the tribal cohesion so strong that the obvious solution lay in organizing a number of city communities into a federated state. The problems presented were often very intricate. In Thessaly, for instance, many influential cities desired autonomy, and the Roman senate naturally preferred to deal with the several cities rather than with dangerously large states; on the other hand, common rites, common language, historical precedent, and the need of a cohering power against the possible encroachments of Macedonia pointed to the advisability of federating the Thessalian cities into a union.

Another consideration was of moment. Flaminius and the commissioners were Roman aristocrats representing a senate which traditionally distrusted democratic forms. In fact the Greek democracies were suspected all the more because the Greek demos distrusted the aristocratic leanings of the Rome of that day. Now Flaminius so far humored the Greek populace in Thessaly as to give the individual cities a fairly democratic charter. He offered them the usual primary assembly, with a probouleutic council. The only aristocratic provisions were that certain property qualifications were stipulated for officials, and that proposals to the populace must come through the magistrate. However, for the federal government he combined Greek and Roman ideas in such a way as to preserve native forms to some extent and yet secure the aristocratic régime consonant with Roman senatorial ideas. He solved his difficult problem by placing the central government in the hands of a single senate—synedrion—made up of representatives of the cities.

This Thessalian federal government managed the affairs of a legally independent state for about fifty years. Inscriptions show that it performed its functions normally through that period at least, supporting a military force, legislating, settling disputes between member cities, sending and receiving deputations on matters of foreign policy, granting citizenship, etc. In fact, however, Thessaly was essentially a Roman protectorate, since it hardly dared to alter any of the arrangements made by Flaminius without consulting Rome (*Inscriptiones Graecae*, IX, 2, No. 89). At about 146 B.C.—after the reorganization of Greece—Thessaly became a part of the Roman province of Macedonia, but the league government persisted, though without political power, in its old form for several hundred years. For instance, in the early empire the senate was requested by Rome to arbitrate a dispute between two member cities, and the vote on that occasion records 334 representatives present (*Inscriptiones Graecae*, IX, 2, No. 162).

This form of government first made for Thessaly seems ultimately to have become the standard form for all leagues dependent upon Rome. Certainly the Boeotian League, which had long been democratic, was reorganized on those lines when it fell completely

under Rome's power after 146 B.C. The league of the Phocians was also managed after 146 by representatives of the member cities, in so far as it continued to exercise any power. However, these leagues apparently attained to this form of government only after their independence had completely vanished.

A more important and interesting example of representative government organized by the Romans is that which, in imitation of Flaminius, was bestowed by Aemilius Paulus and his commission upon the republics which they set up in Macedonia at the end of the Third Macedonian War in 167 B.C. After removing the king as prisoner to Rome the senatorial commission and the general divided the territory into four republics, drew up charters for the cities and a definite constitution for the states, laid down certain general regulations concerning revenues, armament, and coinage, then left the new states to work out their own salvation. In general, we know that the national constitution of the four states provided for an executive of each to be elected annually by the primary assemblies which gathered at the respective capitals, and that there was a senate in each state, to which very important, if not all, legislative functions were given.

The functions and composition of this senate deserve attention. It will be remembered that in most of the Greek states the senate was merely a counseling body which shaped the ordinances that were to be submitted to the deciding vote of the sovereign primary assembly of all qualified citizens. Not so in Macedonia. Livy says explicitly that the senate was formed to preserve the state from the mistakes of popular rule, "*ne improbum vulgus libertatem ad licentiam traheret*" (xlv. 18), and that the magistrates should govern in accordance with its decisions, "*quorum consilio res publica administraretur*" (xlv. 32). Polybius also (xxxi. 12), who describes the Achaean League as wholly democratic, though it had a senate, calls this particular constitution "democratic and senatorial," implying apparently that the populace now had the right to elect magistrates, and that the senate was the governing body of the state as in the Thessalian League formed by Flaminius.

How the senators were chosen for these important legislatures we are not explicitly told, but we are able to eliminate certain

possibilities. Direct election by the one primary assembly is out of the question, both because that would have thrown control into the hands of the *improbum vulgus* and because Livy mentions only the magistrates as subject to election at the general meeting (xlv. 29). Furthermore the senators were not procured as in Italian municipalities by virtue of some office in a municipality or of some property qualification, "synedros legendos" (Livy xlv. 32). Again, it is impossible to think that Paulus would have approved of selection by lot, an inefficient democratic method which never appealed to the Romans, and which they discouraged even at Athens when they became influential there. After eliminating these possibilities there is little doubt that the several municipal senates (which we know existed: Pol. 31. 26) were required to elect a definite number of representatives, subject doubtless to certain qualifications regarding age, occupation, and wealth. It would seem then that the government of these republics was in the hands of a unicameral representative senate and elective magistrates subject to the orders of this senate.

There is one more point in which these republics differed vitally from the older Greek republican leagues and also from the Thesalian government formed by Flaminius. The leagues had of course been federations of city-states approaching more or less closely to national unities, but after all not one of them, despite the efforts that it may have exerted, ever succeeded in merging its constituent units into a thoroughly welded central government. The citizens of the Achaean League were "Achaeans," to be sure, so far as coinage or war was concerned; but they never lost consciousness of the fact that they were also citizens of what had been separate, independent city-states, city-states which at any moment might again have to stand alone. Not so in Macedonia. The Macedonian people, because of their common language, their supposed kinship, and their strong centralized government, had long shared in the benefits of a homogeneous *territorial* state. They had been classed according to cities by the Macedonian kings only for administrative purposes. As regards citizenship, they were always "Macedonians." It lay then in the nature of the case that when the new Macedonian republics were formed they could and of necessity must be unified states with a strong central

government, and that these states would be in no danger of disintegrating into separate city-states—a danger which was always imminent in the leagues. It is in this respect that the new states were perhaps most unlike other ancient republics.

It is a great misfortune that this fruitful experiment failed to develop into a standing object-lesson in republican government. It was only some sixteen years after its formation that a pretender to the inheritance of Perseus called upon the Macedonians to unite under the old regal forms of Alexander. They were well enough satisfied with Paulus' constitution to refuse the call, but the pretender raised an army in Thrace, invaded Macedonia, and destroyed the republics. To save itself from the recurrence of such accidents the Roman senate, now led by more hard-headed men than Paulus, reorganized Macedonia into a Roman province, and the memory of one of Rome's most brilliant experiments in government gradually faded from the records.

We have attributed these experiments to Flamininus, Paulus, and the two commissions that worked with them. It may be worth noting that these men, like most Romans, were far from being theoretical experimenters, and that they kept their feet on the solid ground of experience. These men realized from their experiences with the Achaeans, Aetolians, and Boeotians that the primary assemblies of the Greek leagues were not very friendly to Rome; also that such assemblies were difficult for Roman legations to deal with when quick action was necessary. They discovered furthermore that autocrats like Philip and Antiochus, who opposed Rome, always appealed to the populace against the aristocracies for support. Indeed the Romans all through their imperialistic career—except perhaps during the brief Gracchan epoch—labored to gain dominance for the propertied classes, who of course were most favorable to firm government and the régime of peace which Roman intervention usually procured. The Roman charters drawn up for Sicilian cities in 193 and in 131 B.C. were decidedly aristocratic. Mummius followed the same principle in making charters for the cities of the Peloponnesus when he wrecked the Achaean League in 146, and several inscriptions containing legislative acts of Greek

cities under Roman sway are signed simply by the senate without the concurring vote of a primary assembly. It is clear, therefore, that Flaminius and Paulus were working along orthodox Roman lines when they placed the power in a senate and excised the usual Greek primary assembly. However, since Rome offered no model for a senate which could equitably represent several widely separated cities, and which could be depended upon to speak reliably for all parts of an extensive territory, these constitution makers were glad to accept a Greek device which accomplished this purpose. Both of them dealt frequently with the synedria of the Aetolian and Achaean leagues, and it was probably one of these leagues that furnished the model for the new senates.

There is one more constitution which is believed by some students to have made important use of the representative principle, namely the one shaped by the Italian allies that revolted from Rome in 90 B.C. when their request of Roman citizenship was refused. To be sure Diodorus (37. 2), our chief authority, adds the disparaging statement that the constitution was essentially a copy of the Roman polity, and Mommsen interprets his evidence in the spirit of that statement. However, we need not hastily assume from what we know of Diodorus that he was capable of making a discriminating analysis of vital elements that may have existed beneath certain superficial resemblances. The Italians apparently adopted the double consulship and the board of praetors from Rome; they also, as at Rome, intrusted the election of magistrates to a primary assembly, although some of the voters lived more than two hundred miles away. But they did at least comprehend a fact which the Romans had refused to acknowledge in their own government, that a primary assembly under such circumstances could not represent all sections of the nation fairly. Accordingly, despite strong democratic leanings, they frankly laid the task of governing upon a senate of five hundred.

Though this is all we know definitely, we may be permitted to examine possibilities regarding the composition of the senate. It is entirely conceivable that the first senate was selected by a committee, and that in the future vacancies were to be filled by censorial

selection from the ex-magistrates, as was the custom at Rome. If that was the case, the senators were in no sense true representatives of the tribes.

However, we know that tribal sentiment was very strong among the Samnites, the Marsi, and the other tribes. They had long had local self-government, had had assemblies, senates, and magistrates of their own, had always fought in the Roman armies by units under their own officers, and had dealt with Rome, at least formally, as well-organized states. Now it is difficult to think that the strong Samnite tribe, for instance, of whose citizens but few could afford to go to the elections at Corfinium, would acquiesce in a government whose ruling body consisted *ex officio* of men elected solely by those who could readily assemble at Corfinium. If the statesmen who made the constitution placed the government in the hands of a senate rather than in the hands of a primary assembly in order to obviate the dangers of a government managed by the citizens near Corfinium, they probably also took the next logical step and organized the senate in such a way that it would be representative of all the tribes. The idea could not have been entirely beyond their vision, since the Latins had at least twice proposed that scheme to Rome, since all the Italic tribes were accustomed to elect men for delegations that went to Rome to consult the Roman senate on matters of common interest, and since furthermore the constitutions devised by Flaminius and Paulus still existed in several states of Greece. It is very likely, therefore, that this senate of five hundred was to consist of deputies to be elected by the various tribes and cities of the league, apportioned according to the population of each. Whether such elections would be held by the local tribal senates or by the local assemblies is a matter of less importance, though considering the democratic learnings of most of these tribes, we should naturally suppose that the people elected directly.

This new government was wrecked, not because of any inherent weakness—it conducted the war with great skill—but partly because Rome was supported by the resources of a vast empire and partly because Rome confessed herself in the wrong and granted the allies their original demands. The result was the destruction of a con-

stitution which if not conforming to all the requirements of representative government contained all the essentials that might readily have developed that form.

The Greeks and Romans, then, were well aware of the advantages of government by deputies and frequently employed parts of its machinery. It is largely due to accident that no state of importance drawn upon a free use of the principle survived for long. After Rome became supreme in the Mediterranean world there was no room for political experiments outside of the empire, while the world-state itself was too unwieldy and contained too many heterogeneous elements to permit a thoroughgoing application of the principle.

In conclusion we may recall that the interesting provincial concilia made up of delegates sent by the various provincial communities to annual meetings held at the provincial capitals prove that the ideas of Flamininus and Paulus bore fruit in the empire, even though these concilia were supposed to concern themselves solely with religious matters. In the late empire, at least, these councils often discussed temporal matters as well, and their recommendations to the emperors had no small influence upon the policies of the government. Ultimately the councils of the church adopted the machinery of these pagan concilia, and it is not improbable that such church councils first suggested the machinery that finally developed into the parliaments of modern states.¹

¹ See the following:

Swoboda, *Griechische Staatsaltertümer*, 1913 (with excellent bibliography).

Freeman, *History of Federal Government* (ed. by Bury, 1893).

Bonner, "The Boeotian Federal Constitution," *Class. Phil.*, V, 405; X, 381.

König, *Der Bund der Nesioten*, 1910.

Ferguson, *Greek Imperialism*.

Articles on "Amphictyony" and "Concilia" in Pauly-Wissowa.

Frank, "The Macedonian Republics," *Class. Phil.*, IX, 49.

ROME AND HER SUBJECT PEOPLES

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Among the causes of the disintegration of the Russian Empire and of Austria-Hungary one of the foremost has been the failure to solve in any adequate way the problem of the proper treatment—political, military, economic—of their various subject peoples. This problem was handled apparently with much greater success by ancient Rome, if success may be measured by the number of years of continued existence, and by the evident satisfaction of subject peoples with imperial rule.

In more than one respect no doubt Rome's problem was comparatively simple. For the most part there was no strong self-conscious feeling of separate individual nationality among the conquered. Where such feeling did exist, as for example in the Jewish people, Rome's success was often only a qualified one. It must be recognized, too, that after Rome had won her empire there was no other well-governed state to serve (as does the United States today) as an example worth imitating by any part of the Roman world which might want to set up an independent government. The shrewd general, Agricola, was of the opinion that it would be of advantage to the Romans in Britain if Ireland, too, were subdued, and liberty taken out of sight. Democratic government was known to be sure in Greece, but only as applied to a small unit, the city-state. Aristotle considered a roster of not more than 10,000 citizens ideal for a democracy. Poor communications, the lack of newspapers, a low level of education, made impossible the formation of public opinion, as we know it today, in the Roman Empire as a whole or in any considerable section of it, a public opinion to oppose or to guide the imperial government.

These conditions, while they facilitated Rome's governing independently from the center, resulted naturally among provincials

and Roman citizens alike in an absence of any feeling of responsibility in the state. In fact for the most part there was no conception of responsibility. When the troops of Vespasian and Vitellius were fighting in the streets of Rome for the rule of the world, the people looked on as at a gladiatorial combat and applauded.

There were other difficulties. At the beginning of our era after some three centuries of expansion, Rome now under an emperor was sovereign in all lands bordering on the Mediterranean, and more. This vast empire had been won partly by "peaceful penetration," partly by annexation at the desire of those annexed, and partly, or largely, by annexation due to "military necessity." But the people of Rome had not grown politically with their empire's territorial growth. Up to the time of the emperors the senatorial ruling class, and the common people too, had viewed and used the provinces as a means to "get rich quick," as something belonging to Rome, but not of Rome's political life. The historian Tacitus tells us that as late as the middle of the first century a war of revolt in Gaul between the natives and the Roman legions was looked upon as a foreign war by the citizens of Rome. There was no feeling of unity of empire at that time even among the Romans themselves.

Lack of union was from another point of view inevitable in an empire composed of so many various peoples. Rome was a conglomerate in a far greater degree than Austria-Hungary has been. More languages were spoken within her borders than ever at the tower of Babel. Her population was heterogeneous in the extreme. And these various peoples were in all stages of civilization, from the very primitive African or Briton to the Greek, who was intellectually the superior of his Roman ruler. And yet this ununified empire lived on for centuries, was never broken or seriously troubled by revolt of subject peoples within, but became more unified as time went on, so that in the year 400 the poet Claudian from the Greek East could say of the people of the whole empire, "We are all one nation." And another poet, Rutilius Namatianus of Gaul, declares in an apostrophe to Rome, "You have made of diverse races one fatherland."

In the Roman Empire government emanated from the center, Rome. All governors, judges, military commanders, officials of

the treasury, were appointed by the emperor or the senate, the provincials and the Roman people having no say in the matter. The most they could do was to exercise a kind of control over these officials by their legal right to send formal approval or disapproval of them to the emperor and to bring them to trial at Rome for flagrant misrule or extortion. The success of this part of the system depended largely on the character of the ruling emperor. A representative government of the provincials at Rome was not even thought of. The very idea was scarcely known in the ancient world, and was never widely applied. None of the provincial peoples had ever lived under such a form of government, and few under any form of democracy. Many of them had always been subject to an irresponsible government, and for them Rome's rule was generally far less arbitrary.

The provincials were not, however, absolutely excluded from all opportunity to share in the government. Rome was among ancient peoples comparatively free with grants of citizenship which carried with it greater legal, political, and business rights and privileges. What that citizenship might mean to an individual is seen in the case of St. Paul during his imprisonment and trial in Judea. And that citizenship could lead to high position. Gauls sat in the Roman senate before the middle of the first century, Greeks were governing provinces, and a Moor is known as a general of very high rank in the reign of Trajan. Freedmen, former slaves, held important posts in the bureaus of the imperial government at Rome. The emperor Trajan was a Spaniard by place of birth, if not by blood, and in the early part of the third century a Moor, and again a Syrian, gained the imperial power. It is significant that in this period—the third century—citizenship was granted finally at a stroke to all the inhabitants of the empire.

During the period of the republic Rome had filled the ranks of her armies largely with Romans and with Italians of kindred stock; but under the empire she drew more and more on the provincials. In fact Romans and Italians were finally exempted from service as a privilege of the ruling race. So too the Greeks generally were exempt, regarded as they were by the Romans as unwarlike. This policy, a terrible mistake especially when applied to Rome's own

people, was kindness itself to the individuals concerned. They lived in security for which they never had to fight. Though Rome claimed the right to conscript in the provinces, and exercised it on occasion, generally speaking her forces were maintained by the volunteer system. And gradually she came to use particularly men of the less civilized and more warlike races, Moors, Celts, and Germans. Many divisions of native troops were flattered by being enrolled under their racial name, so that we read of cohorts of Thracians, of Syrians, of Spaniards. Some of the subject tribes were rewarded for large and warlike contingents by exemption from all taxes. The army was altogether a professional one, for service in it was for a long period up to 25 years. The discipline was strict, but the pay was good, and at the end of the period of service a grant of land and of money was in order. If the soldier was not already a Roman citizen he was further rewarded, at the end of his service, by grant of citizenship to himself and all his family.

The number of Rome's troops was about 300,000. By the end of the first century most of them were stationed on the northern and eastern frontiers. Only at a few points within the empire was there any considerable force, in itself an indication that revolt of the subject peoples was little feared. In many parts of the empire men lived their lives without seeing even a corporal's guard of Roman soldiers. This force was not for conquest. In the words of a historian, the Greek Appian, "The emperors on the whole aimed to preserve the empire by prudent measures rather than to extend their sway indefinitely." This force was for the protection of the empire. It made possible the *pax Romana* with its attendant economic prosperity. These were Rome's greatest gifts to the ancient world. Of peace and prosperity the poets sang in Augustus' day. But even a generation or more earlier, in the last days of the republic, Cicero could write to his brother, who was governor over Greeks in Asia Minor, "Asia should think of this point (when she would complain of the taxes) that she would be free from no calamity of foreign war and civil strife, if she were not a part of this empire. But since this empire cannot possibly continue without taxes, Asia should calmly with some share of her income purchase lasting peace and quiet." This was from the Roman point of view.

It is interesting to compare with the statement of Cicero the sober judgment of a subject Greek, Plutarch, a century and a half later: "Now you know that peace, liberty, prosperity, large population, harmony are the greatest blessings of a state. In these times the Greek people need no statesmen to secure them peace; for war has gone from us and has vanished absolutely; and of freedom the people have as much as the emperors think best, and more would probably not make conditions better." Fifty years after Plutarch, Aristides, a Greek lecturer, could say: "The earth has been made the home of all by the Romans. Greeks and barbarians can travel everywhere freely. No longer are we terrified by wild mountains, or by the Arabian desert, or by hordes of barbarians. The Romans have made Homer's saying true, that the earth is common to all. They have bridged rivers, made roads through mountains, made deserts inhabitable, and by custom and by law have governed the world." Expressions of opinion on the Roman Empire are rare. The peoples are for the most part inarticulate. And yet in every section of the empire stone tablets containing honorary inscriptions to Rome and her emperors are found. Not all of them surely are hypocritical. In a little town in Andalusia an inscription has been discovered which reads, "In honor of the emperor Caesar Trajan, greatest and best ruler, preserver of the human race." This was set up after the emperor's death. An instance, by contrast, of what Rome's protection meant is found in the description of the condition of the inhabitants of Britain on the withdrawal of all Roman forces in the fifth century. St. Gildas writes of an appeal for help from Rome, "The barbarians drive us into the sea; the sea throws us back on the barbarians; so two ways of death assail us—we are either put to the sword or are drowned."

To praise Rome's rule for the peace and prosperity it brought under the protection of her armies is not to praise all the conditions prevailing in the empire. Evils there were, for example the dreadful slave system which was kept up as long as Rome stood, and the serf system of the time of Rome's decline. But it was protection that Rome guaranteed her subjects. For almost three hundred years, beginning with Augustus, she made good her guaranty satisfactorily, and for another two hundred years with indifferent suc-

cess. In return for this protection, or rather to make it possible, in addition to enrolling provincials in her legions, she levied taxes. In the time of the republic, to enrich the Roman treasury, taxes were exorbitant, and in the time of her decline, to support a dying state, they were intolerable. But in the heyday of Rome, the first two centuries after Augustus, taxes were moderate and were levied, generally speaking, fairly, and simply to supply the state's needs. The emperor's attitude is clear in a letter of Tiberius to an extortionate governor of Egypt, "It is the duty of a good shepherd to shear his sheep, but not to flay them." In times of calamity, such as a great fire or an earthquake, the emperor sometimes remitted taxes for as long as five years. The empire was not a money-making scheme for the Roman nobility. As the historian Appian states, "On some of the subjects the Romans lose money, but are ashamed to give them up however costly to themselves."

The imperial government was carried on almost entirely without direct participation by the subject peoples. That is not to say that the provincials had no share at all in their own government. Local self-government was the rule to a very large extent wherever Rome found a people capable of it. Combined with this policy, an active encouragement of local pride and patriotism developed a healthy municipal life. And in the various localities the people were allowed to live under their own laws to which they were accustomed. Local laws, local customs, local religions—all were respected by Rome as long as they were not in opposition to her government. In this respect Rome resembles most nearly the British Empire, and seems very much superior to modern Russia or Austria. The letters of the emperor Trajan to his governor, Pliny, show the almost painful efforts that were made not to interfere with the provincials' peculiarities. A particularly interesting illustration of this policy is found in an imperial rescript of the emperor Valerian still existing on stone. It was written about 255 A.D. to confirm rights and privileges which had been originally granted to a religious association in Syria by a Greek monarch more than three centuries earlier. Rome tried to adapt her rule to conditions of government as she found them. In the East she used largely as a unit of local government the Greek city-state, and

in the West various tribal divisions. Few general principles were everywhere alike enforced. Some localities for various reasons were favored above others, for instance Athens, looked upon almost with reverence as the seat of culture, had practically complete freedom. Some emperors, as Hadrian, honored her by becoming Athenian citizens, and by holding city offices as a Greek.

Rome made little attempt to force her own language on her subjects. In this particular Rome's methods, if studied by German statesmen, might have saved them from some of their blunders in their repressive treatment of Poland and Alsace-Lorraine. Naturally the official language of the government and of the military establishment was Latin. To serve in any official capacity under the imperial rule necessitated the learning of Latin sooner or later. And among the non-official classes Rome strongly encouraged the learning of her own tongue. Her success in this policy of encouragement is evidenced by the fact that during the whole course of the empire's existence many of the greatest writers came from the provinces, particularly from Gaul and Spain and Africa, and still more by the fact that the French and Spanish languages today are largely Latin in origin. In the East the spread of Latin was not general. In fact Rome apparently made small effort to spread it there. Greek civilization was dominant, and the Greek language became the language of the Roman East, though other languages also persisted. Aramaic was spoken by the Jews, Coptic by the Egyptians, and Punic in the territory of Carthage even down to the fall of Rome.

Protection from foreign invasions, prohibition of civil strife in cities or between cities, the resulting feeling of security, the possibility of economic prosperity, combined with the Roman policy of non-interference with local ways of living, made the subject peoples content under Roman rule.

THE STRUCTURAL SIMILARITY OF *ILIAD* AND *ODYSSEY* AS REVEALED IN THE TREATMENT OF THE HERO'S FATE

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The essential principle of classic art, whether plastic or literary, is form or law. As applied in poetry it may be called the bridle rein of Reason guiding and controlling the celestial steeds which draw the chariot of the imagination. It is the application of *Λόγος* to the creative faculty of the mind, and consists in the choice and arrangement of material according to a clearly indicated design which results in structural unity, *εὐξύνετον ξύνετον*. This principle is most easily recognized in the Dorian ode and in Attic tragedy, but the germs are to be found in Homer, the quickener of every Hellenic poet. The architectonic features of the two Homeric poems, although differing widely from those of Attic drama, for example, are nevertheless quite as characteristic, but the laws of the Homeric epic and the matchless art of the poet are such that the many obscure the one for those whose eyes are fixed so closely on the parts of the structure that they lose the impression of the edifice as a whole. The purpose of this paper is to call attention to a remarkable similarity of structural motif, hitherto unnoticed, between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. But before doing this it is necessary to sketch roughly a few features of the architecture of the two poems which can hardly be accounted for otherwise than by assuming that one great mind—that of the great poet—created them both. I will begin with what is known to all—the unity of time, of theme, and of plot.

An epic poem has been compared to a journey down a picturesque river. The natural way to make this journey is to start at a given point and travel continuously without much reference to the scenery of either the upper stretches of the stream or the part

below the journey's end. This is what is done in the folk-epos and in all Greek epic poems except the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. In these alone the actual journey covers only a little more than 1 per cent of the entire length of the river—six or seven weeks out of ten years. It is as if our sail down the Danube, for instance, were to begin a few miles above, and end a few miles below, the Iron Gates. Yet after reading the two poems we feel, to continue the figure, that we have gained a good impression of the whole stream, for in the *Odyssey* one knows the river from the beginning, we may say, tells us of its upper reaches, and in the *Iliad* we find that the most interesting and significant features of the whole river valley are massed together in the few miles which we travel. I mean, of course, that the duel between Paris and Menelaus, the marshaling of the hosts, the description of the Greek heroes from the wall above the Scaean Gates, and a few other features, which really belong at the beginning of the ten years' war, are placed by the poet near its close.

In the selection and treatment of the theme, too, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* resemble each other to a remarkable degree, and differ radically from other Greek epic poetry of which we know. The *Iliad* is the best account which we have of the Trojan War as the *Odyssey* is of the return of the heroes of that war;¹ yet the themes of both poems offer a striking contrast to those of the rest of early Greek epos. For example, the two great poems of the Theban Cycle apparently took for their subject the Seven against Thebes and the Epigoni, respectively.² In the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, on the other hand, one hero is selected, and even then the poet is not content, but delimits his theme still further: in the *Iliad* it is the wrath of Achilles; in the *Odyssey*, not ἀνὴρ, but ἀνὴρ πολυτροπος, the *crafty* Hero—a master-stroke which can hardly have been the work of different poets even of the same school. We shall return to this point later. But first let us consider a

¹ The πόστοι of Odysseus, Nestor, Menelaus, and Agamemnon are told at length; the fate of the two Ajaxes and the safe home-coming of Idomeneus, Diomedes, and Neoptolemos are at least referred to in the *Odyssey*.

² Cf. the first lines of the two poems:

Thebais, frg. 1 (Kinkel), Ἄργος ἔειδα, θεά, πολυβίβιον, ἔσθα ἔνακτες—
Epigoni, frg. 1 (Kinkel), Νῦν αὖθ' ἐπλοτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἀρχώμεθα, Μοῦσαι.

few features in the handling of the plot which illustrate the architectural similarity of the Homeric poems. (1) The *Odyssey* falls naturally into two parts, Return and Vengeance. Now the *Iliad* likewise divides in twain, (a) the Wrath and its results, (b) the Reconciliation and its results. (2) The climaxes of the two poems show many similarities: in both cases the *peripeteia* occurs in the antepenultimate episode (or the twenty-second book) of the poem; the events of the day of the climax are most fully described; the psychological state of the hero is pictured before the day begins; most of the characters, including the gods in the *Iliad*, and Athena, the only divinity concerned, in the *Odyssey*, are massed on the stage for the dénouement, and the heroines, Andromache and Penelope, are removed from the scene until the issue is decided. (3) As Professor Scott has pointed out,¹ in the conclusions of the two poems the stage is crowded, and in both poems there is a balance between opening and closing scenes.

These examples may serve as illustrations of what I mean by structural resemblance. Now let us consider a feature of both poems, never before remarked so far as I am aware, which concerns the theme, the arrangement of material, and the fate of the hero.

Aristotle says that a poem to possess a unity which can easily be appreciated must have a beginning, middle, and end. Now the beginning ought at least to introduce the theme, the end to indicate the ultimate working out of that theme, and the middle to show the relation between the theme and the outcome. Miss Stawell² remarks that the end of the Homeric epic is peculiar: in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* the poet leaves in our minds a suggestion of what is to come. More especially, we may say that a poem about a great hero should give us some inkling of his fate, and that a great poem about such a hero should also link his fate with that peculiar trait of his character which forms the theme and is the thread by which the plot hangs together. If the structural middle of the poem reveals this link, so much greater should be our admiration for the architectural skill of the poet. Wecklein³ in defending the Homericity of the ninth book of the *Iliad*, which is

¹ *Classical Journal*, XII, 400, 403-404.

² *Homer and the Iliad*, pp. 187-89.

³ *Studien zur Ilias*, 17.

regarded by many as being very late, remarks that it performs admirably the function of a μέσον. I should like to add that the ninth book of the *Odyssey* fulfils the same requirements, and that both of these μέσα indicate clearly the relation between the theme of their respective poems and the fate of the hero.

To make my meaning clear it is necessary to repeat what all know of the Greek idea of Fate: the future is known and fore-ordained by Moira, a potence higher than Zeus, yet the fated individual usually, if not always, by some act of *hybris* contributes to this fate. For example (δ 502), Aias might have escaped his fate if he had not "let fall a proud word, and become greatly infatuate." I wish to show that in the ninth book of both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* the hero, because of that trait of character which forms the thread of the narrative, commits an act of *hybris*, and that in both cases this λόγου τ' ἀνοια καὶ φρενῶν ἐρινός is directly concerned with his fate, however faintly the latter is emphasized in the poems.

We know that Achilles was fated to die at Troy. This is indicated at the beginning of the *Iliad* (A 352, 416), albeit in vague words. As the narrative progresses we see that this fate will be due to his own choosing. Thetis has told him (I 410-416) that he has a choice between two destinies, death with imperishable fame in the battles about Ilios, and a safe but inglorious return to Phthia. She likewise explains (Σ 96), just before he makes the fatal decision, that his death will come immediately after that of Hector, αὐτίκα γάρ τοι ἔπειτα μεθ' Ἑκτορα πότμος ἐποῖμος. The situation, the words themselves, and the interpretation which Socrates (Plato, *Apology*, 28 C) gives to them make it clear that it is the death of Hector which will lead to that of Achilles. We have a right to infer, therefore, that the death of the hero of the *Iliad*, which is hinted at in A and I (the ἀρχή and the μέσον, respectively, of the poem), and often referred to in the second part of the poem, is intended by the poet to have been caused by his own choice, and that this choice was due to his rage against Hector, to which he was led indirectly by the Μῆνις.

It can also be shown that in refusing Agamemnon's offer of reconciliation, in Book ix, Achilles was guilty of *hybris*. In the first place, Agamemnon had offered all the atonement that was in

his power: the restoration of the prize, a large indemnity, and an alliance with his family. This alone might easily be regarded as sufficient evidence. But far more convincing is the long plea of Phoenix (I 434-605). This mentor of Achilles, who loves him as his own son, begs the hero to yield, not only because of the gifts offered by Agamemnon, but also to the prayers of the Achaean leaders (vss. 520-523). Prayers, he argues, bend even the will of the gods. They are daughters of Zeus, and if one refuse to hearken to them they pray their sire to send after him ἄτη, that he may pay for their slighting with his hurt (vss. 510-512). It is clear, therefore, that when Achilles rejects the offered reconciliation he is guilty of *hybris*, which is due to his angry temper and which leads to his doom (ὑβρις γὰρ ἐξανθοῦσ' ἐκάρπωσε στάχυν αἰτης, Aesch. Pers. 821).

In the *Odyssey* it is much the same. The ἄνδρα πολύτροπον of α 1 is the crafty Odysseus, and the hero's craft is seen in the climax of the poem, the slaughter of the suitors, just as the wrath of Achilles reveals itself in the taking off of Hector. By far the best example of the cunning of Odysseus is found in the ninth book, and it is in this book that the hero commits an act of *hybris* which the poet connects directly with his ultimate fate.

The theme of the Polyphemus episode is the δόλος of Odysseus. This theme the poet very skilfully introduces, in fact he seems to have created the bard, Demodocus, largely to prepare the way for this, the first great episode of the *Apologoi*. For just before Odysseus reveals himself to the Phaeacians he requests Demodocus to sing of the Wooden Horse, *ὃν ποτ' ἐς ἀκρόπολιν δόλω φήγαγε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς*, that is, to describe the greatest stratagem of the hero at Troy, as Odysseus was about to narrate the story of his most famous trick during his voyage home. The bard's song, therefore, forms the overture of the *Apologue*, and introduces the leading motif. This is further shown by the words of Odysseus (ι 19 f.),

εἰμ' Ὀδυσσεὺς Λαερτιάδης, ὃς πᾶσι δόλοισιν
 ἀνθρώποισι μέλω, καὶ μὲν κλέος οὐρανὸν ἔκει.

Of all the adventures described by Odysseus none so well shows his craft as does the blinding of Cyclops, and it is this adventure,

too, which led to all his troubles, even, according to the poet, the suitors. For it is not until Polyphemus has prayed to Poseidon that Odysseus may return "late, ill, on the ship of another, and find trouble at home," that this series of misfortunes is assured him. That Cyclops knew who had blinded him was due to the leading trait of the hero's character, for the trick would have lost its savor if the victim did not know who did it. The amazing success of the stratagem caused Odysseus to forget himself and 'utter a proud word,' "Not even Poseidon can heal thine eye." Then follows the curse, which is fulfilled to the letter, both in the remainder of the *Nóστος* and in the *Tίσις*. The curse of Cyclops, therefore, in a certain sense is the *μέσον* between the two parts of the plot.¹

Rössner² has remarked that Odysseus recognized his error, and after the slaughter rebukes Eurycleia when she would exult over the fallen suitors (as he had done over Cyclops). But atonement was necessary, as well as repentance. This is not so severe as in the case of Achilles, for the *hybris* had not been so great, but it nevertheless concerns the fate of the hero. Teiresias tells Odysseus (λ 119-137), and his prophesy is repeated by the latter to Penelope (ψ 248-284) in the first words which he utters after the recognition, that he must take an oar and travel inland until he finds a people who know not the sea, and there must set up the oar and offer a sacrifice to Poseidon, and later, at home, to the other gods, thus atoning by sacrifice, for the gods are propitiated in this way even if one were guilty of *hybris* (cf. I 499-501). After that Poseidon shall harm him no more; a gentle death shall be his, and it shall not come to him from the sea.

If the above exposition is accepted, it must be admitted that in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* the fate of the hero is hinted at,

¹Professor Lane Cooper of Cornell University suggests to me that in ignoring Cyclop's offer of hospitality (ι 517-525), Odysseus was guilty of a mild sort of *hybris*. Every reader feels, I think, that the hero, remembering the cruel way in which Cyclops had fulfilled one promise (ι 356, 379), was justified in refusing to trust him again. Yet it must be admitted that if Odysseus had accepted the offer, and if Polyphemus had kept his word, there would have been no curse, and consequently no further adventures.

² *Untersuchung zur Composition der Odyssee*. Progr. Merseburg, 1904, p. 48.

although not described; this fate is directly connected with the hero's peculiar trait of character, which forms the theme of the story; the cause of the fate is revealed to us in the same place in each poem, and the episode in which it is revealed, because it forms to some extent a link between the two parts of the narrative, performs the office of a μέσον. These similarities seem to me to be so remarkable that I must believe them to be due to a single poet.

Analogies prove nothing, but they often help us to see the force of an argument. Let us take one from the sphere of plastic architecture. Let us suppose that the two greatest edifices which have survived from remote antiquity are so like one another in material, in decoration, and even in the cutting of the stones of which their walls are made, that no one hesitates to assign them to the same school. Let us further assume that in their plan and in their most striking structural characteristics they show a remarkable likeness to each other, but differ fundamentally from all other buildings of which we have any knowledge whatsoever. Are we justified in concluding that these similarities can be explained by a theory that the two edifices were planned by different men; that their surpassing unity was due to a development and enlargement by successive architects whose work was separated by generations and even by centuries, and that some of the most startling resemblances were due to late and inferior builders? Is it not at least more probable that one great mind planned them both?

IN MEMORIAM

EDWARD BULL CLAPP

Edward Bull Clapp, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of the Greek Language and Literature, Emeritus, in the University of California, died at Berkeley on February 7, 1919, at the early age of sixty-three.

Although not unexpected by his immediate associates, his death came as a shock particularly to those of his friends who had not seen him for a number of years and to whom the mention of his name invariably suggested a commanding figure and an exuberant vitality. The first warning that his apparently superb physique might not long withstand the strain of life occurred as early as 1906 when he was but fifty years of age. A severe illness in the summer of that year was followed by a steady, though at first barely perceptible, failing of his powers, until a stroke of paralysis in the fall of 1914 made evident to all, except fortunately to himself, that the end was not far distant. Indeed, his activities as scholar and teacher virtually ceased at that time, and about two years later he received a disability pension from the Carnegie Foundation and thus retired from the position which he had held with dignity and honor for a period of twenty-three years.

Professor Clapp graduated from Illinois College in 1875 at the age of nineteen, and after a brief apprenticeship as a teacher in secondary schools accepted in 1882 the Professorship of Greek in his Alma Mater. Eight years later he became an Assistant Professor of Greek in Yale College, at which institution he had received in 1886 the degree of Ph.D., the previous year having been devoted to travel and study in Europe. In January 1894 he left Yale to become Professor of Greek in the University of California, which at that time was a small but lusty college of some four hundred or five hundred students. By his enthusiasm, his tireless energy, his vigorous teaching, and his gentle and courtly manner he built up in the University a strong department and fostered the

study of Greek in the high schools of the state until practically every public and private high school of importance in California offered several years of work in this subject. The majority of the teachers of Greek in these schools from San Diego in the south to Eureka in the north looked to him for inspiration and guidance, and he never failed to encourage and support them by every means within his power.

In those days too he had strong graduate classes in the University. In these Pindar and Plato were the authors chiefly studied, and all who came under his influence felt and responded to the charm of his manner, the sincerity of his enthusiasm, and the sterling solidity of his scholarship. He was always a leader also in the company of scholars, not only among his colleagues in the rapidly expanding University, but also among a wide circle of friends in other institutions of learning both in this country and in Europe. He was one of the founders of the Philological Association of the Pacific States and for years one of its most ardent supporters, and twice its president. For many years also he was a member of the executive board of the San Francisco Archaeological Society, and in the year 1907-8 spent the winter at Athens as Professor in the American School.

Although the author of many articles dealing with literary and philological subjects, he published but one book, an edition of the *Iliad* xix-xxiv, in the College Series of Greek Authors (1899). An edition of Pindar, though projected, was never completed owing to his failing health. A prose translation of the odes and fragments of Pindar was made during the early years at Berkeley, but it too was never finally prepared for the press and now reposes among the archives of the University library. Yet, though he published comparatively little, he succeeded in making his influence widely felt and his memory will always be sacredly cherished by a large group of friends and acquaintances. In his death the cause of classical studies in this country has lost one of its most loyal and staunchest supporters.

He is survived by his widow, May Wolcott Clapp, and his two daughters.

JAMES TURNER ALLEN

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

TERESIO RIVOIRA

The study of classical antiquity as well as that of the Middle Ages has suffered grievous loss in the death at Rome, March 3, 1919, of Commendatore G. Teresio Rivoira, best known to the public through his volumes on the origin, development, and derivatives of Lombardic architecture and on Moslem architecture. In a spirit of pure devotion to learning, stimulated and guided by intense patriotic fervor, Commendatore Rivoira had devoted more than fifty years of his life to the study of the ancient and mediaeval monuments of Europe and of the Byzantine and Moslem world. He styled himself the founder of a new science, that of monumental archaeology, which he interpreted as one aspect of the history of civilization. By dint of innumerable travels, absolute system, and perfect steadiness of brain and body even when climbing to dizzy heights, he had accumulated an enormous mass of measurements and other data covering practically all the monuments comprised in this vast field, a veritable armory from which to produce the weapons for his determined attacks on long-established or fashionable theories: for he would not have been the true son of Piedmont that he was if he had not combined with the temperament of the investigator that of the knight-errant. In contrast to the recent German school, who have sought in the East the origins of Byzantine and Lombardic architecture as well as of many other elements in our civilization, and the French, English and American writers, who have emphasized the importance of the rôle played by the Isle de France in the development of Gothic, he found in Italy, and especially in the great structures of imperial Rome, the seeds from which sprang that rich and varied growth.

It was in the genius of the Italic race that he recognized the great creative power which manifested itself in the progressive development of the arts of European civilization; and it is with this doctrine that his name will longest be associated. Probably his greatest individual triumph was the reconstruction of the architectural achievements of the emperor Hadrian: he did the American School of Classical Studies in Rome the great honor of adopting for the medium of his first public presentation of this matter in the year 1910 a lecture which he delivered at that institution. The extent

and character of his researches in the field of Roman architecture were well known to his friends, and it is no betrayal of confidence for me to state that the manuscript of his great work on Roman architecture from Vitruvius to the close of the empire, the appearance of which in his opinion was to mark the culmination of his more than half a century of study, was practically completed before his death. He lived, moreover, to see the triumph of Italian aims and the liberation of many a historic town and many a noble edifice which he knew and loved. Until ten days before his end he worked with unabated vigor; then the insidious malady which has brought deeper gloom to many homes just as the shadows of war time were departing claimed him as its victim.

None of us who knew him will soon forget his fine enthusiasm of voice, glance, and gesture, nor the vast funds of historical and archaeological information so unfailingly at his command. His death comes as a heavy blow to the scholarly community in Rome, and will be felt with especial poignancy by his American colleagues, who revered him as a master, loved him as a friend, and were never sent away empty-handed when they had turned to him for help. Every sentence in his comparatively small amount of literary output had been subjected by him to a process comparable to that through which the purest gold has been refined. The world may accept or reject his conclusions—few there are possessing the competence to pass judgment upon them: but there can be no difference of opinion as to his whole-hearted devotion to his work, and his unstinting employment of the remarkable gifts of eye and mind with which he was endowed. High were his ideals of life and work, precious the memory and inspiring the example which he leaves behind.

A. W. VAN BUREN

ROME

March 5, 1919

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH. 1862-1918

Humanistic studies in America have suffered no greater loss during the academic year now closing than that caused by the death of Professor Kirby Smith of Johns Hopkins University. I say "humanistic" studies because he was more than a professor

of Latin and Greek. His range included many languages and literatures, in which he read widely and from which he absorbed to an amazing degree not merely facts of language and literature, but the spirit of the culture from which they sprang and the essence of the life of which they were the expression. He actually was what classical scholars are so often supposed to be but in fact so rarely are. He was a humanist in the best sense of the word. He was not one of those who in public rave about the beauties of classical literature, but in their own studies and in classroom work confine themselves strictly to the discussion of disputed readings or of doubtful forms. No one ever had more respect for close philological work than he; no one could be more thorough, more critical than he in the preliminary study of a problem; but through the maze of philological minutiae he kept his bearings and he never lost sight of the *summum bonum* of classical studies, the life and literature of Greece and Rome. Like Professor Gildersleeve, who had a profound influence upon his development, he was both philologist and litterateur. With erudition he combined a fine literary appreciation; with technical skill, a curious subtlety of interpretation; and with the scholar's interest in a problem for its own sake, a human sympathy as wide as the world.

I first met him when I was a graduate student at Johns Hopkins many years ago. He was then collegiate professor of Latin, but he gave some courses in the graduate school. He lectured to us on the elegiac poets. To me who had just begun graduate work, the detailed character of his treatment, the elaborate care with which he discussed the text, the length of time he devoted to the question of the transposition of lines, the extent of the bibliography and all the other paraphernalia of technical scholarship were in the highest degree alarming. Not thus were Roman poets treated in the light and airy atmosphere of the undergraduate classroom from which I had so recently emerged. I had expected graduate work to be different from that which I had done in college, but I had never dreamed that an elegiac poet could be made the vehicle for such a burden of learning as this. But after a few weeks I realized how wrong my first impression had been.

He was merely clearing the way for his interpretation of the poets, and was following the method—unexcelled in thoroughness—of the Hopkins school. As soon as he had disposed of these preliminaries and had satisfactorily established a sound basis for literary discussion, he gave us an interpretation of Propertius and Tibullus that for vivid portrayal, critical acumen, and sympathetic appreciation was as charming as it was effective. Many years later I heard him lecture on Propertius at a meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South. Some of the readers of this *Journal* heard him on that occasion and will recall the qualities of his literary style. He showed us Propertius as he was, with all his foibles, his genius, his brilliancy, and his egotism; and then with the art of the accomplished essayist he set him against the background of the Roman society of the time of Augustus, itself sketched in with consummate appreciation of light and shade. And not long ago, on a less formal occasion, I heard him read a paper on Tibullus at a meeting of a literary club in Baltimore, when he gave a number of translations of that poet's elegies, admirably done. Very few of those present were classical men. They were professors from various departments of the university and professional or business men of Baltimore, but I am inclined to think that they carried away with them a more vivid and lasting impression of Tibullus' art than most of the students to whom we professors of the classics deliver our lectures.

He loved old books and new, he loved a good story, and he loved his friends. Of the latter the number was legion. His buoyancy of temperament, his unfailing good humor, his keen sense of the ridiculous, his catholic human interests, gave his personality a unique attractiveness. Wherever he went he made friends, not only for himself, but also for classical studies. When I was at Hopkins he was the most popular instructor in the university, and I have no doubt that he remained so to the end. Nor is it likely that any of his students will ever doubt the value of the classics. He made them feel, as he himself sincerely felt, that only through Latin could one attain to a real appreciation of the literature of the world and see its successive stages in true perspective.

G. J. LAING

THE ONE AND THE MANY

BY JOSIAH BRIDGE
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In the suburbs of a large New England city is a flourishing high school. The townspeople are justly proud of their school—its buildings, record, and principal. Ten years ago the principal taught Greek. In that year a class of five elected the course. This class dwindled to three, and the school board ordered the course to be discontinued. Greek has not been taught in that high school since.

The father of one of those three boys was a college professor and a member of the school board. With the principal's help he might have had the course continued, but would not be placed in the position of persisting so largely in his son's interest. He consoled himself with the thought that colleges had beginners' classes in Greek, and the deficiency could there be made up.

But the boy went to a college which had no beginners' class in Greek. After two years of work, successful in all branches, but especially so in Latin, the boy himself felt a vital lack in his education which Greek alone could supply. In this critical situation the father consulted a friend who taught Greek in a neighboring town. As a result, the boy spent his next summer's vacation studying Greek largely by himself, and with the help of good brains and a strong will he passed satisfactorily, in the fall, entrance examinations in Xenophon and Homer. For two years more he studied Greek in college. When he graduated he was rewarded with the highest honor of the class, the Athens fellowship.

Good as his scholarship was, it is certain that in Greek he would have been much better equipped, could he have had the regular high-school course of preparation. In the honor which he finally achieved, as far as Greek went, his own high school could claim no share.

Why should any school, in its zeal for the interests of the many, so neglect the highest interest of the few? Surely a brief statement of reasons for including Greek in the public high-school course is timely.

When all colleges demanded Greek for the A.B. degree, Greek was given generally in private schools and in public high schools. Now that most colleges no longer require Greek for any degree, the center of demand has been shifted from the college to the school and local community. Private schools are fostering the demand more or less. Public schools have largely dropped Greek altogether. Those that still keep it are generally teaching small classes.

The reasons why public high schools are largely dropping Greek are given with almost brutal frankness in this sentence from the report of two college professors, a report which stopped the study of Greek in the high school of one of the large manufacturing cities of the eastern states: "As Greek is no longer required for entrance to college, its teaching should be discontinued in public high schools, and the money and energy which is spent upon it should go into subjects for which there is a more general demand." To these three reasons, first, that Greek is not required for college, second, that there is not enough public demand, and third, that the comparative cost in money and energy is too large, is sometimes added this fourth, that the results, judged by progress toward the goal, are generally unsatisfactory.

It is obvious, then, that, if Greek is to be even partially reinstated in the public high schools, local communities and school authorities must be convinced that it fills a need which should be satisfied, and that it can be taught so as to satisfy that need. Here is our task; how are we to meet it?

Why should Greek be offered in the public high schools? Perhaps the best argument for the case is found in the reasons published some years ago as those of the headmaster of Harrow for discontinuing the study. The knowledge of Greek, he claimed, is a most precious intellectual possession. Nothing can quite replace it as a vehicle for creating accuracy and refinement of

thought; for filling the mind with high literary ideals. The ability to read and enjoy Homer and Plato enormously increases the happiness of life. But it is common knowledge that the vast majority of boys who learn Greek at school do not learn enough to enjoy or even to read the great masterpieces of Greek literature. If they did, no sacrifice would be too great to make in order to retain Greek. As they do not, Greek should be struck from the ordinary curriculum of public schools; and that, too, although it is his conviction, after forty years of experience as a school-master, "that the study of Greek, when pursued far enough to appreciate the literature, is the most elevating of all studies."

Surely this is very valuable expert testimony. The study of Greek, carried to its proper limit, is worth any sacrifice, and is the most valuable of all studies. What more does the fondest enthusiast claim? But as to the conclusion that because the goal is too seldom reached, the public-school boy and girl must be debarred the opportunity—how unheroic, how undemocratic! Even if results are as bad as claimed, may we not still bid our pupils "hitch their wagons to the stars" while we improve our methods of approach?

But while we can improve, and constantly are improving, our methods, of which more, later, there is abundant evidence that, as it is, the results won by Greek teachers bear favorable comparison with those shown in any other department of study. No valid objection to the study of Greek in public schools can be maintained on the ground of unsatisfactory teaching. On the other hand, the charge is sound that those responsible for dropping Greek from the public high schools, unconscious though they be, are really traitors to the soul of democracy in her very temple.

For what does democracy in education mean if not that every boy and girl shall have the opportunity to pursue that course of study which shall best equip him or her for the highest service of which he or she is capable? There is no conflict of opinion among those whose experience qualifies them to judge as to the unique benefit derived from Greek by those whose natural endowment lets them reap the proper fruit from the study. In every community there are such boys and girls, and these are by no

means confined to well-to-do, cultured, or native families. Are such children to be debarred from their best intellectual or spiritual food because they are few and cannot afford the expense of out-of-town or private schools where Greek is taught? Is it not possible to make our local communities see that it is a failure in democracy not to furnish their best brains with the best food, regardless of expense?

It might be assumed that members of classical associations, thereby committed to the cause of Greek, would concede the soundness of this demand on the principles of democracy, but that it would be hard to get the backing of other educational leaders. Instructive in this connection are the results of a questionnaire recently completed by the New England Classical Association. A set of questions was sent to New England Latin teachers, and a similar set over a broader field to college presidents, school superintendents, and instructors in pedagogy and educational psychology, whom, for brevity, we will call specialists in education. Among other questions the specialists were asked whether, in their opinion, Greek should be taught in public high schools; the Latin teachers were asked whether they would co-operate in creating or increasing a demand for Greek. Less than a third of the Latin teachers who answered were willing to do anything toward promoting the study of Greek. The reports of some of the willing ones are illuminating. "The sentiment of the city is strongly against Greek. It was a struggle to keep it up as long as I did," writes one. "Although I am willing to co-operate in creating a demand for the study of Greek, my actions are governed by officials who are averse to the humanities," writes another. "It seem to me if I did [so co-operate] I should be working against the policy of the school," writes a third. Thus a kind of loyalty shackles these friends. Then some of the only teachers of classics in the different schools frankly admit that they know no Greek and do not care to help. A cheering contrast is furnished by the answers of the specialists. Of the 143 answers received from these, 73 were favorable. That over 50 per cent of these influential specialists in education desire to keep Greek in the high-school course because of needs which it best supplies and because of a

belief that every boy and girl who wants to study Greek should have the opportunity is more than encouraging. It suggests that one of our first steps should be to accept the invitation made by one of these specialists, "that the classicists should join hands with the educational psychologists."

We have, then, powerful allies outside our special field ready to help us convince our local communities that the study of Greek in public high schools fills a need which should be satisfied. We have, too, arguments from experience to present to the hard-headed business men who demand proof that Greek is "practical" from their point of view. One school, for instance, has come through experience to require Greek from all its pupils, not strictly scientific, whose first year in Latin has been successful for reasons similar to those for which it encourages football. It knows no sport like football to teach a boy not to flinch; Greek, on the mental side, best fills this bill. It was found that boys avoided the study because it was hard. To give way on that ground was a weakening of moral fiber. To master Greek requires accurate thought and fearless attack of a hard task. The two qualities next to integrity that a business man most desires in his employee are accuracy and no fear of a hard job. If "practical" properly signifies, as Sill says, "effectual in attaining one's end," there is no more "practical" study than Greek for fitting a youth for business life.

But even with the help of our allies we are not going to succeed soon in reinstating Greek in the public schools—and perhaps fortunately—till we teachers of Greek have learned more thoroughly the lesson from our defeats. There is no question, and never has been, of the supremacy of Greek. But no one knows better than the teachers of Greek themselves how far below their aims they have fallen in teaching their pupils to read Greek masterpieces with enjoyment. Little real comfort we get from the consciousness "how far high failure overleaps the bounds of low successes." We can and must teach Greek better. "The real problem," writes one college president, "is not whether education will always deal with the humanities; it always has, and it always will. The real question is whether the classics shall be taught as

a humanity. They have, unfortunately, in some cases strayed a long way from it."

We need not here take the time to look back in the past for reasons why we have not succeeded better. More cheering and more helpful is the forward look from present evidences of progress. First among the promising portents note the comprehensive examination of the College Entrance Board. Though still somewhat shackled by tradition, it tells the secondary school teachers that they can at last fearlessly teach their pupils in their own way to read Greek. If their pupils can show the power to read intelligently easy Greek prose and passages from Homer of only ordinary difficulty, they need have no fear of results, even though they can not reproduce Greek forms to the satisfaction of Greek scholars. This is as it should be, and, properly treated, implies no lowering of the bars of scholarship, merely a transfer of emphasis in the earlier stages of the study. Our one aim is to get our pupils to read Greek masterpieces with appreciation. This can only be when they read them understandingly in the Greek. Translation is only a step toward this goal. Preparation for the comprehensive examination makes it easier for the secondary-school teachers to keep the one aim always in sight than it was when they were compelled to prepare for separate examinations in Greek grammar and composition.

The second sign of progress is found in recent beginners' books. Not only is there improvement in the books following the traditional methods; any teacher who has familiarized himself at all with Rouse's work, no matter what he thinks of the so-called "direct method," must have been helped in his own teaching. Those who have used the still more recent *First Year of Greek* by Allen, a book intended for college beginners, must have glimpsed the possibility of better results in secondary-school work when the proper textbook for younger beginners along similar lines has appeared. As it is, we Greek teachers have no excuse today for not meeting the plea of one of our allies, springing from his own experience, that the teaching of the classics be made less fragmentary than in the past, that pupils may realize that Greek and Latin authors may be read for pleasure.

Greatest of all our allies in inciting young America to the study of Greek is the spirit of America and the allies in the recent war, a spirit one with the Greek at its best. It is the spirit of Marathon and Thermopylae in fighting to the end for the freedom of the small state from foreign despotism. It is the glad spirit of the Greeks with Xenophon, who abode by their oaths, and hence knew that the gods were their allies against a perjured foe. It is the spirit of heroism in staking all for the best. It blossoms in this voice from the trenches: "Until I became a part of the war, I was a doubter of nobility in others and a sceptic as regards myself. The growth of my personal vision was complete when I recognized that the capacity of heroism is latent in everybody, and only awaits the bigness of the opportunity to call it out."

"The bigness of the opportunity!" And we are told that Greek, conquered, is worth any sacrifice and is the most valuable of all studies. If this message could be carried with conviction to the hearts of our boys and girls in the public schools, would not the spirit of the trenches assert itself, and would not their own demand for the opportunity to study Greek become irresistible? And who is so fit to carry the message as the classical teachers in charge of their first-year Latin? If these teachers fail in their opportunity, then indeed the state of Denmark needs a doctor's care.

Another set of allies is suggested by an answer given by a Latin teacher to the question, "Is there a demand for the study of Greek in the school today?" "Not a conscious one," she wrote. "There is an interest in Greek coming from the study of Greek history." This answer is in accord with the following recent experience in a private school. Owing to the enforced absence of the teacher of history, it became necessary for the Greek teacher to complete the course in Greek history with a class of young boys who would normally begin Greek the following year. Bury's smaller history was the textbook. In explaining the phrase "Zeus Soter," the word *λυτῶς* was given the class in Greek letters. The next day pictures of fish with titles in Greek capitals adorned blackboards of the school. For the maxim, "Nothing to excess," the class was again given the Greek in

Greek letters; and when Socrates and the Delphic oracle was reached γνῶθι σεαυτόν was served them in the Greek. In their next test the class was asked to explain the connection of these three Greek expressions with history. All answers were satisfactory, except that one small boy spelled "know thyself" *no thiself*. This class finished Bury's history at the end of the winter term. By unanimous vote they asked to begin their Greek with the spring term. Their request was granted, with highly gratifying results.

It would be an enormous help to the cause of the classics if all teachers of first-year Latin were also enthusiastic Greek students who could and would present the case of Greek to their promising pupils. It would also be a gain if pupils studied Greek history during their first year in high school under enthusiastic teachers of Greek. The colleges can do no better service to the classics than to send out to every community such Hellenists as teachers of Latin and of ancient history.

As a closing offering, hear these two cheering messages from our allies, which are at the same time challenges to action. The first was given recently in a personal interview by a state secretary of education. "I greatly deplore," he said, "the loss of contact of the United States of America with Greek culture: The whole essence of democracy is opportunity, and the whole essence of opportunity for a pupil is to fulfill his God-given bent. If this leads to Greek culture, he has an indefeasible right to his opportunity there." The second is an answer given in the above mentioned questionnaire by the principal of a state normal school. "I favor the teaching of Greek in secondary schools," he writes, "if there is one pupil who wishes to study it. It is likely to be someone who is worth helping."

Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., for the territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for the Middle States, west to the Mississippi River; Walter Miller, the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for the Southern States; and by Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Miss Julianne A. Roller, Franklin High School, Portland, Ore., and to Miss Bertha Green, Hollywood High School, Los Angeles, Cal. This department will present everything that is properly news—occurrences from month to month, meetings, changes in faculties, performances of various kinds, etc. All news items should be sent to the associate editors named above.]

California

Berkeley.—The fourth annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Pacific States will be held in Berkeley, California in the week beginning July 7, during the summer session of the University of California. Of interest to teachers of the classics is the fact that Lane Cooper, professor of English Literature at Cornell University, is to give a course in the summer session at Berkeley on The Classics for English Readers; a study will be made of the ancient classics in standard translations. In the same session Dr. Torsten Petersson will offer a course on Roman Literature and one on Cicero, dealing with him as a man of affairs and as an author; Professor George M. Calhoun will teach Greek for beginners and lecture on "The Comedies of Aristophanes." Professor John J. Van Nostrand in his course entitled "Roman and Barbarian" will make a study of Roman influence upon Western Europe. In the University of California's summer session in Los Angeles Dr. Walter A. Edwards, recently president of the Classical Association of the Pacific States, will deal with the problems of the second year in Latin; he will also offer a course in Latin composition, and one on the Roman elegiac poets.

Illinois

Chicago.—The Greek and Latin section of the Educational Conference of the Academies and High Schools in Relations with the University of Chicago held on May 9 was well attended and enthusiastic. Professor F. J. Miller presided. Especial interest was excited in Professor Laing's demonstration of Roman costumes with the aid of his students.

The program follows. "Co-ordination between English and Latin," C. E. Pence, Harvard School, Chicago; "Standardized Tests in Latin," Harry F. Scott, University High School; Demonstration of Roman Costumes with Figurines by Members of Professor Laing's Class in Roman Private Life: Curule Magistrate, Miss Bennett; Citizens of Equestrian and Plebeian Rank,

Miss Stejskal and Miss Miller; Boy, Miss Crowder and Miss McCarthy; Girl, Miss Van Deweer and Miss Fortune; Matron, Miss Young and Miss Rust. (Figurines and costumes made by the students). "The Proposed American League for Classical Studies," W. L. Carr, University High School.

Iowa

Indianola.—Miss Joanna Baker, of Simpson College, sends us an interesting modern parallel to the ancient story of how the geese saved Rome. She writes:

Perhaps many of the readers of the *Classical Journal* have noticed how the ducks of Zale-Zir saved the British, early last autumn. The British had the Upper Lake, keeping back the Bulgars. The connecting stream to the north was almost impenetrable, because it was a maze of reeds and swamps. However, the orderly set out one night to visit the outposts up the river, nearly two miles from camp. "It was very dark. As he neared the sentry, he heard the movement of wings," says the report. "He distinguished flock after flock of ducks, flying from their night rest among the reeds."

This peculiar circumstance led to an investigation. It was learned that some two hundred German raiders were approaching. By means of this information, the British were enabled to make an attack upon the enemy, utterly routing them, killing many, and capturing others, until probably "no more than six of the raiders ever reached Bulgar lines."

Massachusetts

Northampton.—The second Annual Conference of the Latin departments of Mount Holyoke, Smith, Vassar, and Wellesley, which was planned to continue the work of the meeting at Vassar in the autumn of 1917, was held at Smith College on March 21 and 22. Mount Holyoke was represented by Professors Searles, Taylor, and Waites; Vassar, by Professors Moore, Haight, and Saunders; Wellesley, by Professors Hawes and Walton and Dr. Miller; and Smith, by all the members of the Latin department.

The opening address was delivered on Friday evening, March 21, by Paul Elmer More, of Princeton, New Jersey, and was a stimulating and well-rounded presentation of the subject "Latin and the Great War." His theme was taken from the letter of a French captain, who recently wrote from the trenches, "*Nous combattons pour l'humanité et pour les humanités.*" A meeting for the consideration of problems in Latin teaching and curriculum was held on Saturday morning. In the evening papers were read concerning aspects of classical studies in America, England, and Rome, and concerning Latin in relation to other courses. Especially interesting was a report from Wellesley of a course in Latin literature for the purpose of general culture, open without prerequisite other than the entrance requirement, and a report from Mount Holyoke on work in derivatives for Freshman classes. Through the papers and discussions each department was enabled to know better the conditions and problems at the other colleges represented, and to work with greater sympathy and co-operation.

Ohio

Columbus.—The spring meeting of the Columbus Latin Club was in the form of a luncheon at the Hotel Chittenden, March 29. The following program was presented: "The Second Type of Latin Conditionals," Professor R. V. Smith, Capital University; "Glimpses of Neo-Latin," Professor Henry R. Spencer, Ohio State University. Miss Harriet Kirby of North High School and Dr. Dwight Robinson of Ohio Wesleyan University participated in the discussion by making eloquent pleas for the rigid adherence to high scholastic standards in the educational reconstruction affecting the courses of study of secondary schools and of universities. Covers at the luncheon were laid for fifty-three guests, including members from Union, Delaware, Licking, and Fairfield counties in addition to the local membership.

Pennsylvania

Philadelphia.—A symposium on educational reconstruction was held by the Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of Liberal Studies, February 21. The speakers and their subjects were as follows: "Principles and Policies, National, State, Municipal," Dr. Francis Burke Brandt, of the Philadelphia Public Schools; "The New Humanities," Dean William McClellan, the Wharton School of Finance, the University of Pennsylvania; "Teachers' Salaries," President Joseph Swain, Swarthmore College; "The Higher Education," Professor William I. Hull, Swarthmore College; "Samson: a Field for Cultural Service," Professor Elihu Grant, Swarthmore College; "Can the Primacy of Culture Be Restored?" Rev. John A. MacCallum, the Walnut Street Presbyterian Church. The papers read for the symposium on the value of the classics, mentioned in the January issue of this *Journal* (p. 270), have been collected and published by the University of Pennsylvania. A copy of this pamphlet, containing fifty-one pages, may be obtained by sending five cents in stamps to Professor George Depue Hadzists, University of Pennsylvania.

Pittsburgh.—The final meeting of the Classical Association of Pittsburgh and vicinity was held on May 17. The program was as follows: "Vergil's Account of Aeneas' Life in Italy Compared with those by Cato, Livy, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus," Miss Laura C. Green, Pennsylvania College for Women; "How to Make the Study of Latin Syntax Interesting and Profitable," Prof. T. W. Dickson, Dean Thiel College; Round Table Conference: "Syntax in the Second Year," Chairman, Mr. Frank T. McClure, Allegheny High School; (a) "Amount," Discussion led by Mr. Frank L. Matteson, Peabody High School; (b) "How?" Discussion led by Mrs. Mabel C. Baird, Fifth Avenue High School; (c) "Why?" Discussion led by Prof. B. L. Ullman, University of Pittsburgh; "The Classics and the Social Emphasis in Education," Prof. John Mossatt Mecklin, University of Pittsburgh.

General Comment

[Edited by Gilbert Campbell Scoggin, The University of Missouri.]

It is well known that the General Advisory Committee of the Classical Conference of the National Education Association recommended certain proposals for a classical league at the meeting in Pittsburg last July. A pamphlet on *The Proposed Classical League* was issued in December explaining the purpose of such a league. The document has been submitted to all the members of the General Advisory Committee and by a large majority it has been entirely approved. At the meeting of the National Education Association next July the proposed Consitution will be submitted to the Classical Conference for adoption. Meanwhile suggestions as to the league and its work should be communicated to the Chairman of the General Advisory Committee, Dean Andrew F. West, Princeton University.

Among recent works of literary interest must be placed *A Writer's Recollections* by Mrs. Humphrey Ward, granddaughter of Dr. Thomas Arnold. From her pages one carries away very lively pictures of many of the most eminent personages of the Victorian Age. As the wife of an Oxford tutor she was acquainted with the great English scholars of the past generation, and she is able to give us many interesting characteristics of them. Pattison and Jowett she knew well, her sympathies inclining her toward the liberal element in the University. She frequently met young Bywater at Lincoln college where the talk was largely about foreign scholars and research. Pattison was always urging her to "get to the bottom of something," to "choose a subject, and know everything about it." "The Rector would walk up and down, occasionally taking a book from the crowded shelves, while Mr. Bywater and Mrs. Pattison smoked." Much in the book is said about Jowett and his influence among the students. Mrs. Ward devotes several pages to a discussion of the value of the classics. "I shall never forget the first time, when, in middle life, I read in the Greek, so as to understand and enjoy, the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus. The feeling of sheer amazement at the range and power of human thought—and at such a date in history—which a leisurely and careful reading of that play awakened in me, left deep marks behind." From her father's autobiography she quotes the following: "In proportion to a man's good sense and soundness of feeling are the love and admiration, increasing with his years, which he bears toward Horace." As for herself she says: "Now, for many years, the daily reading of Greek and Latin has been not only a pleasure, but the only continuous bit of mental discipline I have been able to keep up."

The publishers of these two volumes have yielded to the mercenary tendency of the age. The whole work could have been confined easily to a single volume, and three dollars would have been a high price to ask for it: they have seen fit to issue the work in two light volumes, fixing the price at six dollars net.

Last year the Oriental Club of Philadelphia issued, under the editorship of Professor Roland G. Kent, of the University of Pennsylvania, an account of *Thirty Years of Oriental Studies*. The portion of the account that is of most interest to classical students is "Thirty Years of Indo-European Studies," contributed by Professor E. Washburn Hopkins, of Yale University. In a dozen pages Professor Hopkins summarizes the great advance made in the various fields of Indo-European philology. The foundations of such work naturally were built on a knowledge of language, and the early period was given chiefly to linguistic studies. The American Whitney will always rank among the greatest names in the history of Sanskrit and the science of language. In America at the present time chief interest and advance is to be noticed in the study of comparative religion and several of our scholars stand in the first rank. Archaeology also has assumed an important position and American workers are among the most distinguished. The number of students in Sanskrit has always been small, and most of these desired merely some insight into historical grammar. If classical philology is to be regarded as a science whose object it is to study all phases of a great civilization, then language, man's chief characteristic, must be studied scientifically; this will involve a study of its history and this, in turn, will require a study of cognate tongues. That cognate tongue which can present the earliest recorded forms of Indo-European speech must be of prime importance for a scientific knowledge of the classical languages. Sanskrit is the oldest extant representative of Indo-European speech. The man who has gained a "practical" knowledge of a modern Romance tongue for the sole purpose of "pushing" some article of trade in a foreign country will care as little to learn that this tongue is descended from a language that possessed at least eight cases, as will the "painted savage" to learn that his pony with solid hoofs may be descended from an ancestor whose feet had five toes. The scholar, however, must know something of the history and the laws of language; the man of science must know something of evolution and palaeontology.

Various interesting memorials to Professor Kirby Flower Smith will be found in the *Johns Hopkins Alumni Magazine* for March. Special attention may be called to the touching verses of Professor Gildersleeve, and the account of his life and character by Professor Mustard. Included also is Professor Smith's address before the Association of American Universities at Cambridge, December 5, 1918. This address, on "The Future of the

Humanities in Education," delivered the day before his sudden death, emphasizes the need of conserving at the present time both science and literature as instruments of training in our colleges. The advantages derived from science are obvious, and it is to the less obtrusive, but equally important, influence of literature on character that the address is devoted. In the study of literature the classics must occupy a very important place for three reasons. In the first place, "in practically every department of creative literature the primacy of the masterpieces bequeathed by Greece and Rome cannot be successfully challenged." In the second place, the whole of our occidental civilization is merely "the preservation and development of the legacy left us by Greece and Rome. The importance of the humanities is more than aesthetic; it is also genetic and historical." In the third place, "nothing so classifies and discloses the syntactical and logical relations of language itself or so clarifies one's conceptions of language as an art as a thorough grounding in the humanities." To this is added the advantage that Latin gives in acquiring a knowledge of French, Spanish, and Italian. Science deals so much with formulas that they are likely to become hypnotic. The study of language tends to keep the mind flexible and so affords constant mental discipline. History, syntax, archaeology, everything that can illumine and explain a remote period, are of importance; but the most important and abiding value of the humanities "is spiritual and aesthetic." This is the message which the teacher should convey to his undergraduates. Anyone who is grounded in the humanities will be enabled to spend his leisure with profit; he "can even dawdle to advantage."

Competition for Rhodes Scholarships in this country will be resumed next October. One appointment will be open to every state in the union, and in sixteen states which, because of war conditions, made no appointment in 1918, two candidates may now be appointed. Most revolutionary is the removal of the qualifying examination heretofore required of all candidates by the Oxford authorities. Henceforth "it will only be necessary for candidates to make formal application endorsed by the authorities of their college or university. The selection will be made in the future, as in the past, on the basis of a man's record in school and college according to the four points outlined in the Rhodes Will: (1) scholarship, (2) character, (3) interest in outdoor sports, and (4) interest in one's fellows and instincts for leadership. Of these qualifications the greatest emphasis should be laid on the first two." This last caution is very important because in the early years of the scholarships cases of undue emphasis upon athletics by the appointing committee were not unknown, the meaning of sport in the British sense not being understood.

What will be the result of the removal of examinations formerly required in Greek, Latin, and mathematics? Certainly wide powers of discretion are

now lodged in the state committees of appointment. I quote the following from a letter recently received from Professor Frank Aydelotte, who is the American secretary to the Rhodes trustees: "I do not myself believe that these new regulations will do any real injury to classical scholarship. The plain fact is that an American who had got up Greek merely for Responsions is, as you intimate, wholly unprepared to get much profit from the teaching of classics at Oxford. The authorities there feel justifiably that this very small requirement merely serves to deter students who are otherwise prepared to profit by the very broad range of other subjects taught at Oxford—a range which corresponds to that in our larger American universities. It seems very desirable that some of our better men who are studying modern history, or modern literature, or sciences should have an opportunity to live in the atmosphere of broad and thorough scholarship at Oxford."

At the same time there comes from Oxford the news that the Congregation of the University has abolished Greek as a necessary subject for Responsions, the vote standing practically two to one against the Greek requirement. Among those who voted against Greek was the Regius Professor of Greek. Like his illustrious predecessor, Ingram Bywater, Professor Gilbert Murray had long felt that little good came from the universal requirement. In the words of Bywater: "Where the study of Greek is obligatory, the ordinary student learns little more than the elements of the language, and certainly never succeeds in realizing to the full its beauties or the greatness of the thinking that is to be found in Greek philosophy. Then, again, my view is that science has now got into such a position that you must let scientific men arrange their course of study in accordance with their own notions." This is all reasonable enough, but the strange thing is that those who would substitute a new course of study and a new training are not satisfied with a new mark. The men of science, who often pride themselves on their disregard for tradition, in this case would throw over the substance and then fight for the mere name. In this country they were not content with the degree of Bachelor of Science, which clearly indicated the nature of their training, but they insisted on the degree in Arts, to the utter confusion of that degree. In America today the B.A. degree is wholly without meaning and is rapidly falling into contempt, representing as it does a mere numerical accumulation of hodgepodge credits, based on the false assumption that all conceivable subjects for study are intellectual peers. In an age impatient of distinctions and clamoring for their removal is Oxford inclined to yield to the popular cry and reduce its distinctive training to the monotonous level of that which can be attained already in any one of the half-dozen highly equipped modern English universities? Has the war shown that the Oxford man was out of touch with the problems of modern life? The part so efficiently played recently by her graduates proves the contrary; and their noble ideals, largely imbibed from Plato and Greek philosophy and history, have prevailed against a seemingly overwhelming assembly of modern scientific engines of war.

Book Reviews

Die Antike in Poetik und Kunsttheorie von Ausgang des klassischen Altertums bis auf Goethe und Wilhelm von Humboldt. I. Mittelalter, Renaissance, Barock. VON KARL BORINSKI. Heft IX, *Das Erbe der Alten.* Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1914. Pp. xii+324. M. 8.

The long delay in noticing the present work has been due to the desire to treat both volumes together. Since, however, the second volume has not appeared even yet, as far as can be learned, and while in the present chaotic conditions which prevail in Central Europe it may be many years before it is published, if ever, it seems best not to wait longer in calling the attention of classical scholars in our own country to this remarkable book. To a higher degree than any even of its predecessors in this valuable series, Borinski's monograph presents the influence of classical thought as a constant force dominating every phase of literary and artistic theory, often in apparently remote fields, for a thousand years. The range is wide, the erudition astounding, the mastery of the difficult and frequently obscure material complete. The highly condensed treatment enables the author to touch upon a multitude of themes, but, it must be confessed, adds not a little to the difficulty of the reader, as much is treated by suggestion, allusion, and an almost cryptic reference which makes severe demands upon attention and general information. The scheme of presentation makes this obscurity almost necessary, but one must express a regret that the net result must be to prevent the work from becoming really popular, even among those in whose mother-tongue it is written. Still, no student of the influence of classical antiquity upon mediaeval and modern civilization can afford to disregard this book, and through the lecture room and further studies which it is sure to evoke, its influence ought to spread to the general cultivated public.

The following very brief summary of some of the principal topics treated may show the general scope of the study. The strife between "truth" and "art"; allegory; rhythm, and especially church music; the mechanical and the fine arts; the *imago* or ideal; the place of the man of letters in the social order; *Latinitas*; *amores* and *lusus*; the dominance of artistic theory; *ut pictura poesis*; grotesque and baroque; the hostility to Homer; Aristotle's *Poetics*; the literature of rule and precept, the whole concluding with a series of interesting observations upon Shakespeare's attitude toward the literary controversies, largely Aristotelian in origin, of his day. Among smaller points of peculiar interest to the reviewer (but every reader will note many others,

according to his individual taste and interests) might be noted: the remarks upon the music of the early church (p. 50); religious architecture (p. 61); the column and the arch and dome (p. 61); the ideal of the beautiful Savior (p. 76); anticipations of Carlyle's doctrines of clothes and hero-worship (pp. 89 and 221); the theory of the nude as signifying self-sufficient (p. 90); the "retreat into antiquity" (p. 102); how Boccaccio defended classical letters by representing the Savior as quoting Terence to Saul of Tarsus (p. 117); predecessors of Machiavelli in his appreciation of Livy (p. 130); "cubist" speculation (p. 153); Plato and the theory of perspective (p. 173); Leonardo's denunciation of the "German" tendency to inhibit the free play of body and hands in speech (p. 182); Plato as the remote source of euphuism (pp. 197 ff.); the Adonis allegory and its influence on botanical nomenclature (pp. 204 and 312 f.); Luther's rehabilitation of Aristotle as an authority, but in literature only (p. 219); and the discussion of the vexed question of the etymology of baroque (pp. 199 and 308). But all this gives only the faintest notion of the book's wealth of material, and none at all of the fine critical insight and handling. For the formal literary criticism the English-speaking world has the excellent works of Saintesbury and Spingarn, but I know of nothing which covers the whole field of artistic and literary theory as does Borinski's volume.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

W. A. OLDFATHER

The Sequence of Tenses in Plautus. University of Pennsylvania
Dissertation. BY EDWARD HOCH HEFFNER. Pp. 52.

The author has examined the tenses of the dependent subjunctives in Plautus with the purpose of determining (1) "to what extent the tense usage is at variance with the familiar doctrine of the sequence of tenses" and (2) "what evidence there is against the theory that the dependent, just as the independent, subjunctives denote absolute time and not time relative to that of the verb of the principal clause." The conclusions reached are that the tenses of the subjunctive denote "relative" time and that "there is such an influence as we commonly call the sequence of tenses."

Such a study cannot fail to be useful, though the results obtained, as we should expect, do not differ much from those obtainable from the study of any considerable portion of Latin literature. No matter what one's particular sequence theory may be, he may fit these examples into it as easily as he may any other large number of examples, and no more easily.

Aside from the introductory and concluding chapters, the chapters deal with "Primary Sequence Dependent upon the Perfect," "Violations of the Sequence Principle," "Instances of Mechanical Conformity to the Sequence Principle," and "Shift in Sequence." Naturally the collection of passages said to violate the sequence principle and those said to illustrate the mechanical conformity to the sequence principle are of most interest.

It would hardly be fair to criticize the author for failing to do things which formed no part of his plan; but in the treatment of a subject as complicated as this, there are certain subsidiary questions which cannot be omitted from the discussion if a real advance is to be made. Most of these are discussed in Methner's article in *Neue Jahrbücher für Pädagogik*, IX (1906), 65-82, 137-63, and 205-17. The article is not mentioned in Dr. Heffner's bibliography.

It will hardly do to speak of the "familiar doctrine of the sequence of tenses," and let it go at that. There are too many varieties of that doctrine. Certainly Professor Walker's theory of sequence has little in common with that held by the author.

Nor may one properly adopt and seek to apply a doctrine of "relative time" without an explanation of the doctrine and without an examination of the arguments against the existence of any such thing in Latin.² A clear understanding of the distinction between "aspect"³ and tense does away with "relative time" not only as applied to the subjunctive but also as applied to the infinitive.

Again any theory of sequence must take cognizance of two classes of clauses.⁴ It is one thing to apply the doctrine to such relative clauses as Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 33.92: *video causas esse permultas, quae istum impellerent*, or to result clauses as *Men.* 712: *quid tandem admisi in me ut loqui non audeam* (p. 19), in which the tense is and must be the same as in the corresponding independent sentence. It is quite another thing to apply the doctrine to such sentences as *Merc.* 426: *mandavit mihi ut emerem*, in which the direct command was an imperative or a present subjunctive. If in such clauses we have a present tense after a past tense in the principal clause (cf. Liv. 3.28.1, *imperavit ut sarcinas in unum conici iubeant*) the explanation is that the tense of the direct command is retained, while in the Plautus passage quoted we have the result of something which may possibly be called tense attraction. There was no such thing as a "jussive of the past" in independent sentences; but in dependent clauses the imperfect subjunctive did come to be used with that modal force. However, this is not to say that the past tense of the subjunctive lost its preterite meaning but quite the contrary; *emerem* meant, "it was his will that I should buy." There is no support here for a theory of sequence of tenses. It is interesting to note that in English we have the same choice between present and past; we may say "He ordered that he go" or "He ordered that he should go."

Concerning the examples of alleged mechanical conformity to the sequence principle (collected in chapter v), one group calls for special notice. *Vellem* in *Poen.* 1066, *patrem atque matrem viverent vellem tibi*, is said to be a potential subjunctive referring to the present and in *Asin.* 675, *si hoc meum esset, hodie*

¹ *Classical Journal*, 246-51 and 291-99.

² See Methner in article mentioned, p. 208 f.

³ Cf. Bolling, *Classical Journal*, XIII, 104 ff.

⁴ Cf. Methner's article for a classification of clauses on the basis indicated.

numquam me orares quin darem, orares, is said to denote present time in a contrary to fact conclusion. The imperfect tense in the dependent clause in both cases is said therefore to be due to mechanical sequence. But such an explanation should be satisfactory to no one. The classification of tenses as secondary or primary is one based on meaning. The perfect indicative, for example, is secondary or primary according as it denotes past or present time. Now it is asserted that *vellem* denotes *present* time and takes the *secondary* sequence. The rule here must be that the imperfect tense *form*, no matter what its *tense meaning*, requires the secondary sequence. All difficulty concerning these cases vanishes at once when we give up the notion that the imperfect subjunctive expressed present time.¹ Indeed the "secondary sequence" here goes to prove that the imperfect here as elsewhere was a preterite. Surely *fuit* in *Truc. 139, si rem servassem, fuit ubi negotiosus essem*, was not felt as a present.

Unfortunately there is no agreement among scholars concerning sequence of tenses. However, the fundamental trouble is that we have no generally accepted formulation of the tense meanings of the subjunctive. That we may arrive at a formulation worthy of general acceptance, it is necessary, I think, to accept the following principles.

1. A sharp distinction must be made between tense and aspect. Tenses, properly speaking, are three—past, present, and future.

2. The subjunctive in subordinate clauses has a modal meaning. In those clauses in which it is said by some to have lost its modal meaning—in clauses of "actual" result, in relative clauses (relative "purpose" clauses included), in *cum* clauses, and in indirect questions—the subjunctive in fact has the meaning of external determination, a compulsive meaning, "is (bound) to," "was (bound) to." Such a sentence as *hic liber est talis ut quemvis iuvet* (cf. Heffner, p. 18) meant originally and always "this book is of such nature that anyone you please is bound to like it."

3. The tense meaning expressed by the Latin subjunctive forms is the time of the modal idea just as the tense meaning expressed by the English periphrastic modes is the time of the modal auxiliary. In *Quid facerem?* as in "What was I to do?" the verbal idea is left timeless, but the modal idea is placed in past time.

Adopting these principles one may say that the Latin subjunctive in subordinate clauses always tells its own temporal story and that each tense denotes absolute time. In *Amph. 465 amovi a foribus maximum molestiam patri ut liceret tuto illum amplexarier*, it may be that the time of *licere amplexarier* is future to the time of speaking, but the modal idea, will, expressed by the modal form lies in the past, "that it *should* be permitted." In *Asin. 929, iam surrupuisti pallam quam scorto dares?* it may be that the cloak at the time of speaking has not been given, but *quam dares* means, "which *was* to be given,"

¹ Cf. Methner, "Der Sogenannte Irrealis der Gegenwart im Lateinischen," *Neue Jahrbücher für Pädagogik*, VIII (1908), 73 ff.

and there is nothing mechanical about the use of the tense. In *Most.* 715, *repperi qui senem ducerem*, the fact that the action of *ducerem* is still on the program does not prove that the sequence is mechanical. The speaker says, "how I was to deceive," a perfectly logical thing to say. In saying this he implies "how I could" or "how I might." If he had said *qui ducam* he would have implied "how I can" or "how I may."

FRANK H. FOWLER

THE WILLIAM WARREN SCHOOL

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- BURTON, H. E. *The Aeneid of Vergil*. Edited with introduction, notes, and vocabulary. Boston: Silver, Burdett Co. Pp. xx+530. \$1.50.
- FAIRCLOUGH, H. R. *Vergil*. With an English translation. In 2 volumes. Vol. II. *Aeneid* 7-12 and *Minor Poems*. (Loeb Classical Library.) New York: Putnam. Pp. 551. \$2.25 net.
- FERRERO, G., and BARBAGALLO, C. *A Short History of Rome*. Vol. II, the empire from the death of Caesar to the fall of the Western Empire, 44 B.C.-476 A.D. New York: Putnam. Pp. 5+516. \$1.90 net.
- FREEMAN, C. E. *Vergil's Aeneid, Book V*. Edited with introduction, notes and vocabulary. (Junior Latin Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 18 mo, pp. 144. 15. 9d.
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- PRICKARD, A. O. *Selected Essays of Plutarch*. Vol. I. Translated with an Introduction. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. xix+336. \$1.50 net.
- STEWART, H. F., and RAND, E. K. *The Theological Tractates of Boethius*. With an English translation. *The Consolation of Philosophy*. With the English translation of "I. T." (1609), revised by H. F. Stewart. (Loeb Classical Library.) New York: Putnam. Pp. 14+420. \$2.25 net.
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